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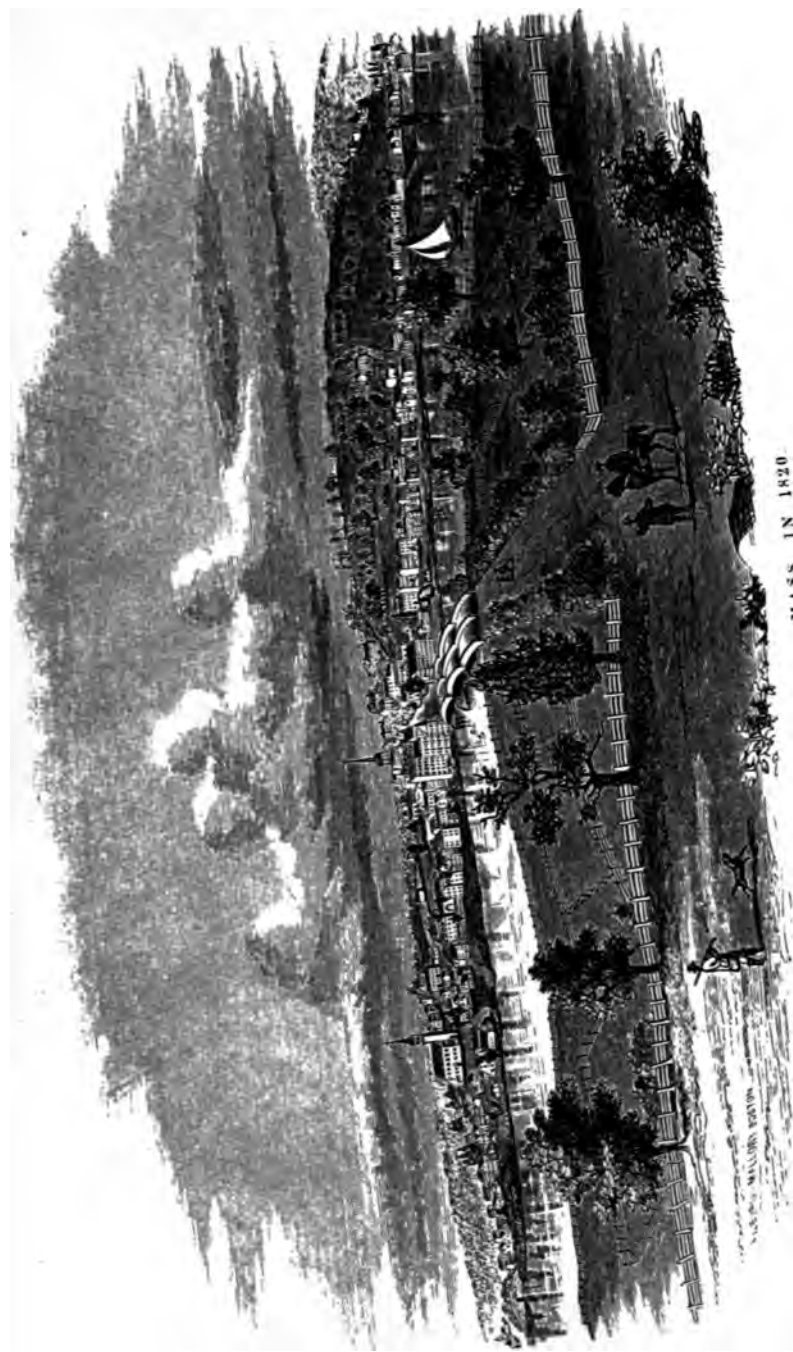
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VIEW OF HAVERHILL. MASS. IN 1820.

THE
HISTORY OF HAVERHILL,

MASSACHUSETTS,

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, IN 1640,

TO THE YEAR 1860,

BY GEORGE WINGATE CHASE,

Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society; Cor. Mem. of the Wisconsin Historical Society; Author of a Digest of Masonic Law, &c.

Home of my fathers ! * * * *
O never may a son of thine, —
Where'er his wandering steps incline, —
Forget the sky that bent above
His boyhood, like a dream of love.

— WHITTIER.

HAVERHILL:
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.
1861

1861. Oct. 28
1861. Oct. 28

1861. Oct. 28

Gray Fund.

\$ 2.00

ENTERED according to Act of Congress, in the year 1861, by

GEORGE WINGATE CHASE,

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PREFACE.

THE earnest and frequent demand for a new *History of Haverhill*, induced the compiler of the following pages to enter upon the task of its preparation, and in February, (12th) 1859, public notice to that effect was given through the columns of the local press. The original design was to include the history of the town from its first settlement, in 1640, to January, 1860, in one octavo volume, of about five hundred pages; but twelve months of almost constant application to the work, revealed such a mass of valuable and interesting material, that a proposition was made to the town, at its annual March meeting, in 1860 —

“To see if the town will make an appropriation toward the publication of a History of the town, and if so, how much, as requested by Geo. W. Chase.”

The proposition met with a most hearty approval, as may be seen from the following extract from the town records: —

“It was *unanimously* voted, That the sum of five hundred dollars be appropriated and paid to Geo. W. Chase toward a publication of a History of this town, said money to be paid at times and in sums at the discretion of the selectmen; — *provided*, that not more than one hundred dollars shall be paid until five hundred pages of the proposed History is printed; and *provided also*, that the price of the book, in good substantial binding, shall not exceed two dollars per copy.”

Encouraged by this generous aid, given, as it was, with entire unanimity, the work was pushed forward with all possible despatch; and, early in the following December, the first pages went to press. Various causes have

rendered the work of printing much more protracted than was expected, or could have been foreseen, but it is believed that the value of the book has been increased rather than diminished, through the corrections and numerous additions permitted by the delay.

In the preparation of this History of his native town, the compiler has endeavored to collect his material from the most reliable sources, and, in nearly every case where practicable, has recorded the facts in the exact language in which they were found, or were received. It has been his endeavor that each and every "quotation" introduced may be safely relied upon as *literally* correct, believing that thereby not only will the reader's interest in no wise be diminished, but the historical value of the work will be greatly increased.

In many instances, particularly during the earlier years of our history, minor incidents and matters are mentioned. This has been done either to illustrate the manners, customs, &c., of the early inhabitants, or for the purpose of introducing the names of persons in town, rather than for any interest or value in the incidents themselves. The frequent introduction of lists of names, has, in many instances, been intended as an aid to those particularly interested in genealogy, rather than as items of interest to the general reader.

In a work like the present, where so much dependence is of necessity placed upon traditions, — often vague and indistinct, or confused and conflicting, — and abounding in names, dates, and figures, it is hardly possible to avoid errors. It is hoped and believed, however, that the following pages will compare favorably in this respect with other similar works; — more or less than this could not well be expected.

As it was impossible to include within the limits of a single volume all that might be classed as local history, or of local interest; and as the general history of the town, for the last half a century, is already comparatively well preserved by the local newspapers, as well as by living memories; less space has been devoted to the latter period than might, perhaps, be considered as its just proportion. A desire to preserve the traditions and incidents fast receding from our sight in the dim twilight

of the past, must plead our excuse, if excuse be necessary, for this seeming partiality for matters relating to "ye olden time."

In the preparation of this work, a large amount of valuable and interesting material has been gathered, which could not well be used. This will be carefully preserved, and every opportunity to add to the stock will be as carefully improved. Its ultimate disposal cannot now be indicated with any degree of certainty.

To name the many who have directly or indirectly aided the compiler in his labors, would greatly exceed the space allowed for the present purpose. To one and all of them, we would return our hearty acknowledgments. We cannot, however, forbear to mention, specially, — Hon. James H. Duncan, for his active exertions in securing the above mentioned appropriation by the town in our favor, and for his many other acts of kindness and liberality; George Johnson, Esq., of Bradford, for his generous donation of fifty dollars for the same purpose; Benjamin Bradley, Esq., of Boston, for his proposal to bind one hundred copies of the book, gratuitously; A. W. Thayer, Esq., of Northampton, John Bartlett, Esq., of Roxbury, and Rev. G. W. Kelley, of this town, for special favors; and Mr. Alfred Poor, of this town, (who has for several years devoted his whole time and attention to genealogy) for much valuable assistance.

With the hope that the book, — to the preparation of which so many pleasant hours have been devoted, — will be kindly received, this *History of Haverhill* is now submitted to the public.

MOUNT WASHINGTON, HAVERHILL, }
September 1, 1861.

G. W. C.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE town of *Haverhill*, Essex County, Massachusetts, is situated on the northerly side of the Merrimack, — the fourth in size, but perhaps the most beautiful river in New England, — about eighteen miles from its mouth. The principal village is twenty-nine miles from Boston, twenty-two from Salem, fourteen from Newburyport, eighteen from Lowell, nine from Lawrence, and thirty from Portsmouth, N. H. The town is bounded on the north by Salem, Atkinson, and Plaistow, N. H.; on the east by Amesbury; on the south by the Merrimack river; and on the west by Methuen. The northern line of the town is also the boundary line between the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The township, as originally purchased of the Indians, was fourteen miles in length, — six miles from the Little River eastward, and eight miles from the same river westward, — and six miles in breadth. As first laid out by the General Court, in 1667, it was nearly in the form of a triangle, extending upon the Merrimack about fifteen miles from Holt's Rocks westward, the northerly line running about the same distance due north-west from the above point, and the westerly line running due north and south. As thus laid out, the town included a large portion of the territory now forming the townships of Salem, Atkinson, Hampstead, and Plaistow, N. H., and Methuen, Mass. Since the running of the State line, in 1741, the bounds of the town have been the same as at present.

The township is now about nine miles in length, and three miles in breadth, and contains fifteen thousand two hundred acres, divided nearly as follows: acres of land annually tilled, excluding orchards tilled, one thousand and eighty-six; acres of orcharding of all kinds of fruits, three hundred and fifty-one; acres of upland mowing, excluding orcharding mowed, three thousand two hundred and twenty-six; acres of orcharding mowed, two hundred and eighty-nine; acres of fresh meadow, five hundred and thirteen; acres of pasture-land, excluding orcharding pastured, six thousand one hundred and forty-seven; acres of meadow, exclusive of pasture land inclosed, two thousand three hundred and forty-nine; acres

of unimproved land, forty-three; acres of land unimprovable, thirteen; acres of land used for roads, five hundred and twenty-eight; acres of land covered with water, one thousand one hundred and seven.

The soil is, generally, a rich friable loam, easily cultivated, and highly productive. But few towns can show so small a number of acres of unimprovable land, or of land of decidedly inferior quality. Many of the farms are under a high state of cultivation, and will compare favorably with those of any other town in the Commonwealth. In an agricultural point of view, but few, if any, towns in the State, surpass this, either in regard to its capacity, or the developement of its resources.

Besides the Merrimack, which is included in the town, and which forms the entire southern bound of the town, there are three smaller streams, viz: Little River, East Meadow River, and Creek Brook. *Little River*, so called to distinguish it from the "Great River," has its principal source in Plaistow, N. H., enters Haverhill a little east of the Atkinson line, and flows nearly south, to the Merrimack, emptying into the latter at the principal village, and one-fourth of a mile west of the Haverhill bridge. This stream has several tributaries, the principal one of which is known as Fishing River, taking its rise from the north-western extremity of Kenoza Lake, and flowing at first northerly into Plaistow, then gradually bending to the south-west, and entering the Little River about one and a half miles from its mouth. There are several mills upon Little river, the largest of which is the flannel mill, long known as "Hale's Factory," and located on Winter street, about one-fourth of a mile from the mouth of the river. Upon the opposite side of the stream at this place, there was, for nearly two hundred years, a saw-mill, and the stream was most commonly known as "Sawmill River." The last mill of the kind was taken down about twenty years since. About midway between this point and the Merrimack, and near the small island, there was for many years a grist-mill, which also ceased operations about twenty years since. There is also a grist-mill on the stream, near the State line, which has been known these many years as "Clark's mill." A mill has been constantly located at this place for at least one hundred and fifty years.

Fishing River,—so named on account of the large quantities of alewives taken from it in former times,—is now used principally to conduct the surplus water of Kenoza Lake to the flannel factory, in the dry season. This privilege was granted to Mr. Ezekiel Hale, jr., in 1835, who there-upon erected a flume at the outlet of the Lake, and deepened the bed of the stream, so that about six feet of water can now be easily drawn, as occasion may require. There was formerly, and for many years, a corn

mill upon this stream, situated about half a mile from its mouth. The first mill of the kind at that place, was erected by William Starlin, who subsequently sold it to Thomas Duston, from whom it descended to his son, Timothy Duston.

East Meadow River takes its rise in Newton, N. H., enters Haverhill about three-fourths of a mile east of Brandy Brow Hill, and flows nearly due south, to the Merrimack, emptying into the latter at "Cottle's Creek," — one mile below the Chain Ferry. There has long been a saw-mill and a grist-mill upon this stream, near the Amesbury line, known as "Peaslee's Mills." The first mill at this place was erected by Joseph Peasly, in 1693, since which time the privilege has been almost, or quite, constantly in the possession of his descendants. There was formerly a saw-mill, grist-mill, and fulling-mill, about half a mile from the mouth of the stream. These were built by Anthony Chase (great-grandfather of the writer), — the first in 1757, and the others a few years later, — and continued in operation for many years. There is also a grist-mill about one-fourth of a mile from the Merrimack, — known as "Johnson's mill," — which was first built by Thomas Johnson, about 1790, or later. There was formerly a fulling-mill about one mile above the mills of Anthony Chase, which was erected by his son, John Chase, who carried on the business for many years.

Creek Brook, which runs from Creek Pond nearly due south to the Merrimack, carries two mills. The first, which is located at the outlet of the pond, was long operated as a grist-mill, but has recently been transformed into a hat factory. The other, — known these many years as "Bradley's Mill," — is a grist mill, and is located about fifty rods from the Merrimack.

There are four ponds in the town, three of them situated within a mile of the principal village, and within half a mile of each other.

Plug Pond, — formerly called "Ayer's Pond," from the fact that several persons of that name settled near its western end, and owned a large part of the adjoining land, — is the smallest of the four, and is situated about half a mile from the Merrimack, in a north-easterly direction from the village. It covers an area of about seventy acres. At its northern, southern, and western extremities, particularly the latter, the bottom is mostly covered with mud, which will perhaps account for its moderate stock of fish, as well as for the greenish and unpleasant appearance of its water during the latter part of the summer. At its southern point a dam, or "plug," has long existed, through which its surplus water is drawn to supply the mills on the brook connecting it with the Merrimack. Upon

this stream, known as "Mill Brook," there is at the present time a plaster-mill, a grist-mill, a bark-mill, and a hat factory, with a variety of other machinery attached. Near its mouth is also located a steam saw-mill. The first corn-mill in the town was erected upon this stream, as was also the first tannery, and fulling-mill. In its passage from the pond to the river, the water of this brook can be used for mill purposes at least five times, though we believe that four times is the most ever yet required of it.

Round Pond is situated about one mile north of the Haverhill Bridge, and about half a mile north-westerly from Plug Pond. It covers an area of about eighty acres, and was formerly called "Belknap's Pond," and also "Little's Pond," from persons of that name who lived near it. With the exception of one small cove at its north-western extremity, the shores of this beautiful sheet of water are entirely free from mud, and show its bottom to be a clean gravel. There is not a single living stream, large or small, seeking outlet into the pond, but it is, with the exception of what water may be turned into it from the gently sloping hills surrounding it, entirely supplied by subterranean springs. From this pond, by means of an aqueduct, the central village is mostly supplied with pure, cold, soft water, for domestic purposes. The water in the pond is about one hundred and fifty feet above that of the Merrimack, and is well stocked with pickerel and perch. The natural outlet to the pond was to the south-west into the Little River, through which salmon, and other fish, passed up into the pond, in the appropriate season, to deposit their spawn. The direction of this outlet was long ago artificially changed,—toward the Plug Pond,—so as to secure the surplus water for the mills upon Mill Brook. Within a few years, the Aqueduct Company have purchased the original mill privilege upon the latter stream, and the above outlet has been discontinued.

Great Pond, or, as it has recently been re-named, "Kenoza Lake," is situated about one and a half miles from Haverhill Bridge, in a north-easterly direction, and about one-third of a mile east of Round Pond. It covers an area of about three hundred acres, and is the largest sheet of water in the town. The water, which in some places is fifty feet in depth, is about one hundred and fifty feet above the bed of the Merrimack, and abounds with the finest pickerel,—hence the new name, "Kenoza," signifying "pickerel." The only outlet from this miniature lake, is the Fishing River, already mentioned, through which large numbers of salmon and alewives formerly passed into the pond. White perch, of the finest flavor, once inhabited the waters of this pond, but have now nearly disap-

peared. The woods bordering the pond were long the retreat of various kinds of game, and the favorite hunting ground of sportsmen. The beautiful point of land near the north-eastern extremity of this pond, has long been a popular place of resort for parties of pleasure. Since 1807, the inhabitants of the town have, by purchase, enjoyed the unrestricted right to occupy the grounds for that purpose.

Creek Pond is situated in the West Parish, about three miles north-west from the principal village, and covers an area of about two hundred and fifty acres. The shores, which are quite irregular, exhibit some really beautiful scenery, and there are many fine farms in the neighborhood. The waters of the pond are remarkably clear and transparent, and the bottom is for the most part even and sandy. The pond has long been a favorite resort for those who delight to style themselves disciples of Izaak Walton. The outlet to the pond was formerly one of the most productive of our alewife fisheries, and was one of the last that ceased to be profitable.

There are several prominent hills in the town, but none which can be dignified with the title of mountains. Among them may be named Golden Hill, Silver Hill, Turkey Hill, Brandy Brow Hill, and the Great Hill. The hills are all of gentle ascent, and capable of profitable and easy cultivation to their summits.

There are no *chains* of hills in the town, the eminences being, in nearly every case, detached, affording from their summits the view of an unobstructed and complete circle of charming landscape. There are no craggy peaks, or barren ledges, but the view from valley and hill-top can hardly be surpassed for its quiet, unpretending loveliness.

Golden Hill, which rises upward of three hundred and twenty-five feet above the river, is situated about one mile east of Haverhill bridge, and its base is about twenty rods from the Merrimack. The prospect from its brow is extensive and picturesque. The beautiful island,—long known as Clement's Island,—with its fringe of delicately variegated foliage, and its smooth, green carpet; the quiet, rural villages of Groveland, and Bradford, with their snow-white cottages, and well cultivated meadows; and the more extensive village of Haverhill, with its long line of substantial manufactories; are in full view, and, with their rural environments, combine to form a picture of extraordinary beauty. This hill was originally called "Golding's Hill," from a person of that name who owned, or lived near it.

Silver Hill, or "Silver's Hill,"—so called from a former owner—is situated about three-fourths of a mile west of Haverhill bridge, and is

also plainly seen from the central village. It rises gradually from the Merrimack, which flows past its southern base, to the height of about three hundred feet. The view from its summit is exceedingly beautiful. Before us, and almost at our very feet, lies the pleasant village of Haverhill, with its twelve hundred dwelling houses, its one hundred shoe manufactories, and its eleven churches. Its natural situation is uncommonly fine. Built upon a gentle acclivity, the houses rise one above another in such regular order that nearly every one can be counted. The Merrimack, dotted here and there with a variety of craft, from the light and trembling skiff to the heavy gondola,—and the still more imposing and majestic moving ocean craft with their broad white sails, and tall masts overshadowing the water,—and spanned with its bridges, flows calmly at its base, not in one straight, monotonous course, but with a gentle meandering, of which the eye can never tire. Across the river are seen the smoothly rounded hills, the green and fertile fields, and the pleasant villages of Bradford and Groveland. To the south rises the hills of Andover, with their wooded slopes dotted here and there with neat white farm-houses. A little to the west, the tall spires, just peeping above the hills, point out the whereabouts of the city which sprang into existence almost like Jonah's gourd,—the city of Lawrence. A little further still to the west, and the same signs indicate the spot long ago settled by the hardy sons of Haverhill,—the village of Methuen. In the dim distance beyond, enveloped in its misty blue, can be traced the outline of Mount Wachusett. Still further toward the west,—as if it were not well the eye should roam too far,—the "Scotland" and "West Meadow" hills shut out the more distant view beyond;—but not until we have caught sight of the tall peaks of the Grand Monadnock. Sweeping toward the north, we have a view of the thrifty farms of the West Parish, with the granite hills of New Hampshire in the background. To the north, the eye rests upon a fine succession of green fields and wooded slopes, marking a section of the town which suffered the most severely from the atrocities of the murderous savages. There the brave and resolute Hannah Bradley was twice taken captive; there the lion-hearted Hannah Duston was captured, but not conquered,—and there stands her monument; there the heroic Thomas Duston defied the murderous tomahawk to harm the humblest of his little flock. There, too, upon that gentle slope, the brave Captain Ayer, and his little band, boldly attacked the retreating foe, upon the memorable 29th of August, 1708. From this summit might have been heard the war whoop, and have been seen the gleaming tomahawk, in nearly every attack made upon the inhabitants of Haverhill by the savages. The

valley of the Little River, (or *Indian River*, as it was also once called) of which the section just mentioned forms a part, is here seen in all its beauty, as it stretches with its charming succession of hill, and dale, and meadow, from the Merrimack far back among the granite hills of our sister State. This view alone is well worth a visit to the broad summit of Silver Hill.

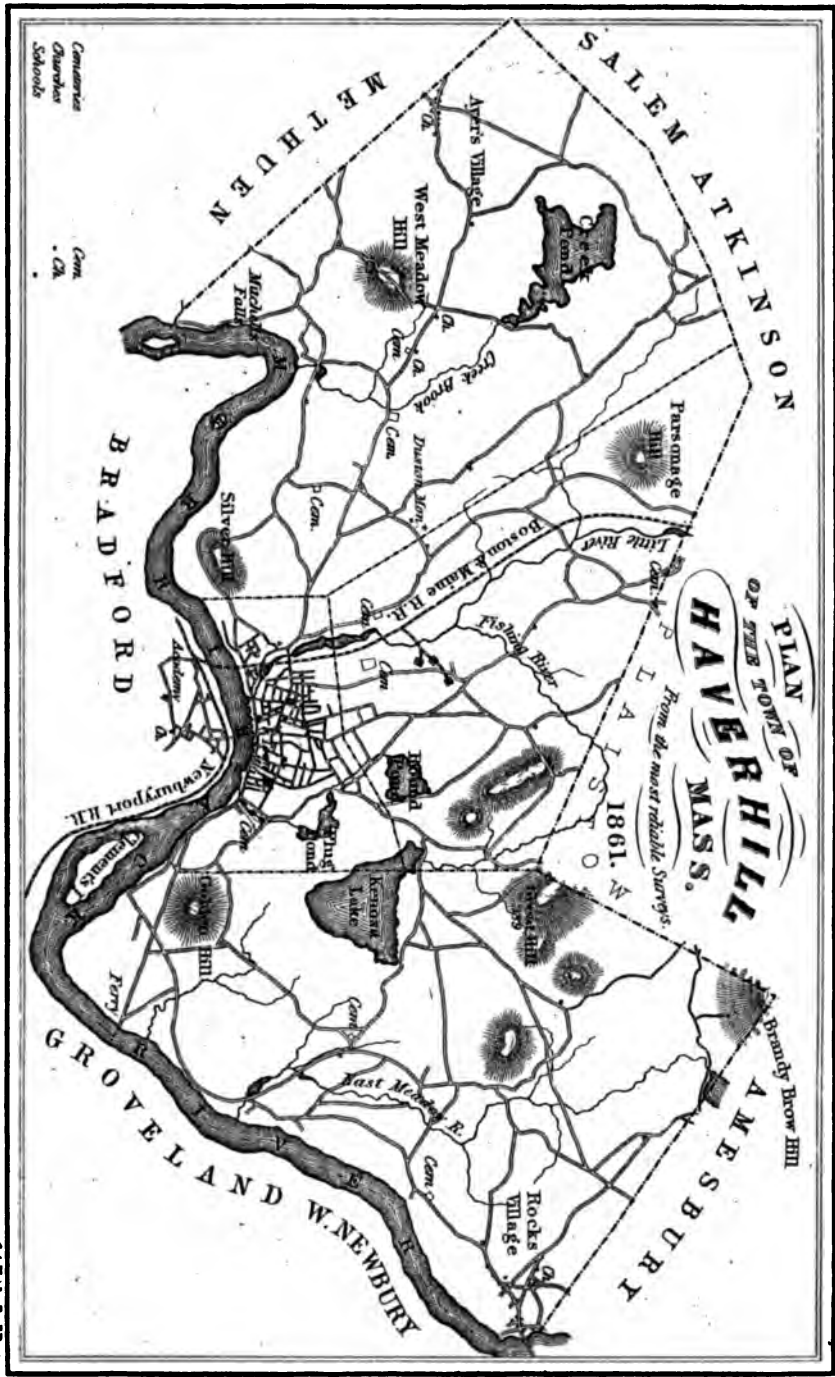
Turkey Hill, or, rather, the "Turkey Hills," is the irregular group of hills, near, and north of, the East Parish meeting-house. From the southeastern brow of the principal hill, a fine view is had of the valley of the Merrimack, for several miles. From the summit of *Job's Hill*, which is situated a short distance directly north of the Turkey Hills, a charming view of the East Meadow river and valley is obtained. These meadows were the most valuable, as well as most extensive in the town, and were highly prized by the early settlers.

Brandy Brow Hill,—so named from the accidental breaking of a bottle of that traditional liquor upon its summit,—is a hill of moderate elevation in the extreme northern part of the town. Upon the brow of this hill is a large rock, which stands at the corner of four towns,—Haverhill, Plaistow, Amesbury and Newton. The vicinity of this hill was long noted for the abundance and excellence of its pine timber.

Great Hill is the name applied to the highest elevation of land in the town, and is situated one mile north of Kenoza Lake. This hill, which rises three hundred and thirty-nine feet above the level of the ocean, and is the second highest land in Essex County, is the most prominent of a group of hills, which, as seen from the west and north, appear quite near each other, and were early known as *The Great Hills*. The view from the summit of this hill is the most extensive and interesting of the many similar views to be obtained in the town. Portions of more than twenty towns in Massachusetts, and nearly or quite as many in New Hampshire, are easily distinguished by the naked eye. To the east stretches the broad Atlantic, whose deep blue waters, dotted with the white wings of commerce, are plainly seen, from the Great Boar's Head to Cape Ann. Near its edge, and partially hidden from our sight by Pipe Stave Hill, in Newbury, are seen the spires, and many of the houses of the city of Newburyport. To the right, the eye can distinctly trace the outline of Cape Ann, from Castle Neck to Halibut Point. With the aid of a glass, several villages upon the Cape are made visible. As we sweep around from east to south, nearly all the most prominent hills in "Essex North" can be distinctly seen, and easily identified. To the south and south-west, portions of the villages of Groveland, Bradford, Haverhill, North Andover,

Andover, and Methuen, and the city of Lawrence, can be seen, peeping above the intervening hills. To the south-west, the Wachusett; to the west, the Monadnock; and to the north, the Deerfield mountains, are easily distinguished. To the north-west, the village of Atkinson, with its celebrated Academy, is spread out in bold relief. To the north-east, is seen the top of Powow Hill, in Salisbury — so named from its having been the place selected by the Indians for their great “pow-wows,” long before a white man gazed upon the waters of the Merrimack from its summit. Turning again to the south, we notice, almost at our feet, the beautiful Lake Kenosha, glistening in the sun like a diamond encompassed by emeralds. Once viewed, the memory of this lovely landscape scene will never be effaced,—

“the faithful sight
Engraves the image, with a beam of light.”



C. B. May, Eng. & Surveyor

HISTORY OF HAVERHILL.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY VOYAGES. — DISCOVERY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THOUGH the Western Continent bears the name of a later voyager, the honor of its discovery has been generally conceded to Christopher Columbus. But, from the evidence published by the Northern Antiquarian Society, at Copenhagen, in 1837, and which seems entitled to confidence, it would appear that the Western World was discovered by the Northmen, several centuries before the time of Columbus.

About the year 986, one Biorne, or Biarne, a Norwegian, in sailing from Iceland to Greenland, lost his reckoning in dense fogs. When the weather became clear, he found himself sailing northeasterly, with low and wooded land on his left. Continuing the same course nine days, he arrived at Greenland, reaching it in an opposite direction from that in which he commenced his voyage.

Fourteen years afterwards, Leif, with a single vessel and thirty-five men, sailed from Greenland in quest of the land discovered by Biorne. He found it and named it *Helluland*. Proceeding southwardly, he came to a land well wooded and level, which he called *Markland*. Thence sailing northeasterly two days, he reached an island, where he landed, built huts, and wintered. Having found grapes in its woods, he named it *Vinland*, or Wineland.

On his return to Greenland, Leif gave over his vessel to his brother Thorwald, who sailed in 1003, to explore the new country. He wintered at Vinland, and the next summer found several uninhabited islands. After another winter, he sailed to the eastward and then to the north, where he was killed by the natives. After passing a third winter at Vinland, his companions returned to Greenland,

In 1007, Thorfinn, with three vessels and a hundred and sixty men,

sailed from Greenland to Vinland to found a colony. He touched at Helluland and Markland, and, steering south, came to a bay extending into the country, with an island at its entrance. Southwesterly from this Island, they entered a river and passed up into a lake upon whose banks wheat and vines grew wild. Here they found natives, of a sallow complexion, with large, ill-formed faces, and shaggy hair, who came about them in canoes. Several conflicts with the savages caused Thorfinn to give up his project of colonization and return to Greenland.

There are also accounts of two more voyages to Vinland within the next three or four years, and it is claimed that communication between the two countries was not entirely discontinued before the middle of the fourteenth century.

The name *Helluland* is supposed to have been given to what is now called Labrador, or to Newfoundland; *Markland* to Nova Scotia, and *Vinland* to Rhode Island and the southeastern part of Massachusetts.

There are also traditions, with important corroboration, of a voyage in 1170, by Madoc, a Welshman; of the Venitian brothers Zeni, in 1390; of John Vas Cortereal, a Portuguese, in 1463; and of Szkolney, a Pole, in 1476.

The existence of this continent may possibly, therefore, have been known to the civilized world before the voyage of Columbus, in 1492; but by him conjecture and doubt were converted into certainty, and all illusions dispelled. The news of his discovery of a "New World," and the glowing descriptions of its wealth, awakened the liveliest enthusiasm throughout Europe, and gave a fresh impulse to maritime adventure.

In 1497, John and Sebastin Cabot sailed from England with three hundred men, in two ships,—touched at Iceland,—and, sailing west, came unexpectedly upon the coast of Labrador, or Newfoundland. After sailing along the coast as far south as Maine, and perhaps Massachusetts, they returned to England. These discoveries of the Cabots gave to England her claims to this part of North America; but, for various reasons, only a few voyages were undertaken by the English for the next half century.

In 1524, John Verazzano, a Florentine, in the service of France, sailed along the shore from the 34th to near the 50th degree of north latitude. He entered Hudson's River, sailed up Narragansett Bay, for fifteen days lay at anchor in the harbor of what is now called Newport, where his vessel was freely visited by the natives; kept the coast of Maine in sight for fifty leagues, and visited as far north as Nova-Scotia.

Before the voyage of Verazzano was known in Spain, Stephen Gomes had sailed for the new world. He made the coast of Newfoundland and sailed along the country southwardly, as far as the capes of the Delaware, passing through Long Island Sound.

In 1535, Jaques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence, and, in 1540, he built a stockade on the hill at Quebec.

Fifty years after the discovery of America by Columbus, no permanent settlements had been made in New England or to the north. The French had commenced a lucrative fur trade in Canada, and the cod fisheries of Labrador and Newfoundland were already extensive, (in 1577 they employed nearly three hundred and fifty vessels), but in all New England not a white family was settled—not a white child had been born.

But, by the opening of the seventeenth century, the thirst for discovery was fully enkindled, and colonization efforts were more seriously entertained.

In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold sailed from Falmouth, in England, with thirty-two men in a small bark, and in forty-nine days made the coast of New Hampshire, or perhaps Maine. The next day, he discovered a "mighty headland," which, from the large quantity of cod-fish caught in the vicinity, he named "Cape Cod." Here he landed and explored the coast to the south. On a "rocky ilet," in the western part of what is now *Cuttyhunk*, he resolved to make a settlement; and, after three weeks' labor, a cellar was dug and house erected^o; but scarcity of provisions and troubles with the Indians, induced him to abandon the idea of a settlement, and he sailed for England.

Gosnold's favorable descriptions of the country were incentives to further enterprise, and the next year William Brown, with two vessels and forty-two men and boys, made land near the mouth of the Penobscot, and ranging the coast to the southwest, they passed the islands of Casco Bay, the Saco, Kennebunk, York and Piscataqua rivers, sailed by Cape Ann, crossed Massachusetts Bay, and, rounding Cape Cod, came to anchor in what is now Edgarton or Oldtown harbor,

In 1605, George Weymouth arrived on the coast near Cape Cod, and sailing northward about fifty leagues, anchored at Monhegan, or vicinity, where he remained several weeks trading with the natives and exploring the country. Before he left, he kidnapped five of the natives, whom he hurried into bondage. About the same time, Poutrincourt, a Frenchman,

^o The spot where Gosnold erected his house was identified by a party of Antiquarians in 1817.—*"N. Am. Review"*; V.—512.

examined the shores of Maine and Massachusetts as far as Cape Cod, but the unfriendly disposition of the natives discouraged him from further undertaking.

In 1606, Sir John Popham, Sir Ferdinando Georges and others, having procured a grant from King James for two plantations on the Atlantic coast, formed two companies—the London and the Plymouth—and soon after, the London company sent three ships with one hundred and five colonists to the coast of Virginia, where they effected a settlement which they called *Jamestown*. About the same time, the Plymouth company sent two ships with over one hundred landmen, under Raleigh Gilbert and George Popham, but the result was an unfortunate colony at the Sagadahoc, which continued only until the next year. This checked, for a season, the ardor of the company.

Meanwhile, discoveries had been made, under the auspices of the Dutch, of the Housatonic, Thames and Connecticut Rivers, and upon the Hudson, and a trading house had been established near Albany.

The earliest notice we find of the river Merrimack, is through the Sieur De Monts, who wrote from the banks of the St. Lawrence, in 1604, thus: "The Indians tell us of a beautiful river, far to the south, which they call the Merrimack." Its abundant fisheries, and fertile planting grounds, were the scenes of Indian story, and the theme of Indian praise, at that early date. The next year, the Sieur De Champlain discovered the Merrimack. Its position was marked out for him with a coal, upon a board, by some Indians whom he met upon the beach, near the point of land at the west mouth of the Piscataqua river. This was June 16th. The next day, Champlain sailed along the coast to the southward, and discovered the river, as the Indian had laid it down. He named it "*Riviere du Gas*." The same Indian gave him to understand that there were six tribes of Indians on the coast, or on the river, under as many chiefs.

The river was called Merrimack by the northern Indians; probably from *Merruh* (strong), and *Auke* (a place)—a strong place; or a place of strong currents. The strong and rapid current which met them at the mouth of the river, as they entered it with their frail canoes from the northward, would naturally be the most prominent thing to excite their attention, and lead them to couple it with the name of the river. The Massachusetts Indians called the river *Monomack*, from *Mona*, (an island) and *Auke* (a place)—the *Island Place*, or *A Place of Islands*. By some, the latter name is derived from *sturgeon*, large quantities of which were taken by the Indians, and also by the early English settlers.

But a new era in the annals of New England begins with the voyage of Captain John Smith, in 1614. With two vessels and forty-nine men and boys, he sailed from London, in March, and in a few weeks arrived at Monhegan. While his men fished, Smith ranged the coast in an open boat making noted discoveries. In this voyage, the coast was explored from Penobscot to Cape Cod, within which bounds, he says: "I have seen, at least, forty several habitations upon the sea coast, and sounded about twenty-five excellent good harbors." He speaks of the coast of Massachusetts as "planted with gardens and cornfields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong, and well-proportioned people, ° ° ° I can but approve this a most excellent place, both for health and fertility. And of all the four parts of the world I have yet seen, not inhabited, could I but have means to transport a colony, I would rather live here than any where. ° ° ° Here are many isles, all planted with corn, groves, mulberries, salvage gardens° and good harbors; and the sea coast as you pass, shows you cornfields, and great troupes of well proportioned people." Smith acted honorably with the natives, but his companion, Hunt, whom he left behind, copied the vile example of Weymouth, and kidnapping upwards of twenty of the natives, sailed for Malaga, where a part (at least) were sold as slaves. This barbarous act, says Mather, "was the unhappy occasion of the loss of many a man's estate and life, which the barbarians did from thence seek to destroy; and the English, in consequence of this treachery, were constrained for a time to suspend their trade, and abandon their project of a settlement in New England."

In 1618, Georges, who was still anxious to settle a colony, sent out a vessel in charge of Capt. Thos. Dermer, and also sent with him one of the natives who had been carried to England, and who had acquired a smattering of the language. After sending his vessel back laden with furs, Dermer embarked in an open pinnace of five tons, taking with him Tisquantum, or Squanto,† the native above-mentioned, and "searching every harbor, and compassing every capeland," he arrived at what is now called Plymouth. This was his "savage's native country," and near here he held a friendly conference with two native kings‡ from Pockanokit. From this place Dermer, passing the Dutch settlement at Manhattan, con-

° Savage gardens.

† Who subsequently became the friend and interpreter of the Pilgrims.

‡ Massasoit and his brother Quadequina, who soon after extended a hospitable reception to the Plymouth colonists.

tinued on to Virginia. This journey of Dermer preceded the landing of the Pilgrims but little more than a year, and was an important addition to the knowledge of the country.

No colony had as yet been planted upon the territory of Massachusetts, though colonies were established in Canada and Newfoundland, and the Dutch had established trading posts in the "New Netherlands," where they were conducting a lucrative trade in furs. It was left for a religious impulse to accomplish what commercial enterprise had attempted without success. Civilized New England is the child of English Puritanism, and a history of its early settlement involves, at least in part, a history of Puritanism in England.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF PURITANISM. — THE PILGRIMS.

At the time Columbus discovered the New World, nearly all Christian Europe was under the dominion of the church of Rome. The pope was the recognized head of that church, and the fountain of all power, both spiritual and temporal.

England was Catholic, and for hundreds of years had been the vassal of Rome. When Luther kindled the fires of the Reformation, the reigning monarch of England denounced him as the chief of heretics; wrote in defence of the seven sacraments; and was rewarded with the flattering title "Defender of the Faith."

But in twenty years from the day Luther burned the bull of pope Leo before the gates of Wittemberg, his view had spread over a large part of Europe, and Protestantism had assumed its distinctive position. The reformation had gained a foothold; the assumptions of Rome had been publicly spurned, and a host of determined opponents of the supreme and unlimited authority of the pope had sprung into existence. Even the "Defender of the Faith" had experienced a change, and when Clement VII refused to decree his divorce, the monarch renounced his allegiance to the Roman See, abrogated the authority of the pope in his realm, and assumed the title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England."

But it was only a transfer of the tiara from the Tiber to the Thames; and, in four years after, an act was passed "abolishing diversity of opinion,"^o making the king's form of orthodox doctrine a standard of belief, and punishing all teaching to the contrary, even to forfeiture of goods and burning at the stake. The king could burn as heretics the favorers of Protestantism, and hang as traitors the supporters of the pope.

The accession of Edward VI opened a brighter prospect. The thunder of *The Bloody Statutes* died away; prisoners for heresy were set at liberty; fugitives allowed to return; the Bible in English was placed in every church, and soon *The Six Articles* were repealed. But soon followed the requiring of uniformity in public worship, by using the prescribed liturgy. All innovations were prohibited, under severe penalties, even to imprisonment for life.

^o Known as the "Bloody Statutes," and the "Six Articles."

The accession of Mary still further eclipsed the star of Protestantism. Educated a Catholic, and filled with bigotry and pride, she re-established Catholicism with all its pageantry and creed, and let loose the fierce winds of persecution upon the favorers of Protestantism. The fires of Smithfield were kindled, and hundreds perished at the stake, while hundreds more, fortunate enough to escape, found in various places on the Continent an asylum from the violence raging at home.

Happily, the career of Mary was of short duration, and when Elizabeth ascended the throne, in 1558, the kingdom was once more, and permanently, severed from the Papal see. The exiles returned, and those who had hid emerged from their concealment. But the *Puritans*, as they were now called, were soon satisfied that there was very little hope of a further reformation in religious affairs. The *Act of Supremacy* required an oath of renunciation of the authority of any foreign priest or prelate, and a recognition of the supremacy of the sovereign in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil; while the *Act of Uniformity* forbid the conducting of public worship otherwise than according to the rubric. Two hundred Catholics suffered death, and hundreds were imprisoned, and large numbers of ministers were punished for *Non-conformity*. But, instead of destroying, opposition only served to radicate their principles and increase their power. In all classes of society, Puritans were found; and before the close of this reign, they began to return a majority in the House of Commons.

The accession of Whitgift to the primacy, in 1583, was a severe blow to the dissentients. In one week, instructions were issued forbidding preaching, catechising and praying in any private family in presence of persons not belonging to it; and to silence all preachers who had not received orders from episcopal hands, or who refused or neglected to read the whole service, or to wear the prescribed habit, or subscribe to the queen's supremacy, the "Thirty-nine Articles," and the "Book of Common Prayer." In one year, two hundred and thirty-three ministers were suspended in six counties. A "Court of High Commission" was organized, with power to "visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever." The law of England virtually declared England to be uninhabitable by non-conformists."^o

^o *Puritanism*, as an element of church politics, dates from the time when Hooper refused to be consecrated in the ecclesiastical vestments, in 1560. In like manner, *Non-conformity* takes its date from the refusal of Bishop Coverdale and others to subscribe to the Liturgy and other ceremonies, in 1563. *Separatism* soon followed, when several deprived ministers broke off from the public churches, and separated in private houses.

But the High Commission Court did not admit of opposition, except from such as were prepared for ruin. Many such appeared. Some suffered death, and many others long imprisonment and ruinous fines. But the seed scattered grew rapidly.

In 1593, there were four religious classes in England: 1. The *Catholics*, who adhered to the Church of Rome; 2. The members of the *English* Church; 3. The *Puritans*; and 4. The *Separatists*, or Independents. Of the third class were the founders of the Massachusetts colony, and to the fourth belonged the settlers of Plymouth.

The *Puritans* were simply non-conformists. Connected with the national church, they questioned chiefly the propriety of some of her observances. They submitted to her authority as far as they could, and acknowledged her as their Mother in all matters of doctrinal concern; and, up to the date of their removal to America, they made no open secession from her communion. Had liberty been allowed them, they would probably have continued in the land of their nativity and in the bosom of the Establishment.

The Plymouth colonists were not of the national church. Years before their expatriation, they had renounced her communion and formed churches of their own. Between them and the Massachusetts colonists, however, the differences were in matters of policy, rather than in articles of faith; and, on their arrival in the New World, apart from the influences of their native land, and under far different circumstances, a few years intercourse assimilated their views and cemented their union.

Such was the origin of Puritanism and Independency. We now pass to a brief notice of the church of the Pilgrims.

The church of the Pilgrims was first organized at Gainsborough, about 1598, and was afterward formed into two bodies, the junior of which met at the house of William Brewster, in Scrooby. In July, 1604, a proclamation was issued, commanding the Puritan clergy to conform before the last of November, or to dispose of themselves and families in some other way. In consequence of this edict, and the persecutions which followed it, the Independent churches at Gainsborough and Scrooby resolved to escape. The former was the first to depart, fleeing to Holland. The other tarried a little longer, hoping for a lull in the fierce storm; but, finally, after many troubles, and two unsuccessful attempts to escape, in August, 1608, they arrived safely in Holland. For a few months, they sojourned at Amsterdam, when they removed to Leyden, about forty miles distant. Here they lived in comparative peace. Others, from time to time, joined them, until they numbered about two hundred persons.

But eight years residence in a land of strangers, satisfied this little band that Holland could not be for them a permanent home; and after long and anxious consideration, they resolved to remove to America. A grant was finally obtained from the Virginia company, and after many delays and perplexities, one hundred and twenty persons sailed from Southampton, in two small vessels, — the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*. The former vessel proving leaky, they were obliged to abandon it, and one hundred and two embarked in the *Mayflower*. Their destination was to some point near Hudson's River; but after a stormy passage of sixty-four days, they came in sight of the white sand-banks of Cape Cod, when they tacked to stand to the southward. Becoming "entangled among roaring shoals," they retraced their course, and the next day came to anchor in what is now the roadstead of Provincetown. After a brief exploration of the adjacent country, the voyagers landed and commenced a settlement, which they called New Plymouth. The landing was made on Monday, December 11th, Old Style, upon what has long since been called *Fathers' Rock*.

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENTS IN MASSACHUSETTS FROM 1620 TO 1640.

THE fame of the "plantation" at Plymouth soon spread through a large portion of England, exciting the deepest interest in the subject of colonization, and emigration soon began in earnest.

In 1623, settlements were made at Coheco, (Dover, N. H.) and at Piscataqua, (Portsmouth); and there were probably a very few settlements in Maine. In 1624, a company from England, called the *Dorchester Adventurers*, commenced a settlement at Cape Ann, but soon abandoned it and removed to Naumkeag (Salem). The Plymouth colony, now numbering two hundred and eighty persons, in thirty-two cabins, had already established a trading house at Nantasket, and commenced one at the Kennebec. During the succeeding year, a settlement was commenced in Quincy, on the eminence which still bears the name of the founder of the plantation, Mount Wollaston.

From 1620 to 1630, the emigration to New England was inconsiderable, and but few new settlements were made.

The first vigorous and extensive movement toward the settlement of Massachusetts commenced in 1628, when a patent was obtained for Sir Henry Roswell and others, conveying lands extending from the Atlantic to the Western Ocean, and in width from a line running three miles north of the River Merrimack, to a line three miles south of the River Charles. In August, of the same year, John Endicott, one of the patentees, with a company of "fifty or sixty persons," arrived at Naumkeag; and before winter commenced a new settlement at Mishawam (Charlestown). The next year, the company was much enlarged; a royal charter was obtained, creating a corporation under the name of the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England;" and soon after the organization under the charter, six vessels with "eighty women and maids, twenty-six children, three hundred men, with victuals, arms, tools, and necessary apparel, one hundred and forty head of cattle, and forty goats," arrived at Salem, at which place they found "half a score of houses, and a fair house newly built for the Governor." One hundred of the colonists immediately "planted themselves" at Charlestown.

In 1629, it was determined to transfer the charter to New England. John Winthrop was chosen Governor, and in March, 1630, he sailed for

Massachusetts with a fleet of eleven vessels, "filled with passengers of all occupations, skilled in all kinds of faculties needful for the planting of a new colony." During this year, seventeen ships, with about fifteen hundred passengers, arrived in the Bay and at Plymouth. Settlements were then established at Wessagussett, (Weymouth) Nantasket, Mount Wollaston, Mattapan, (Dorchester) Salem, Mystic, (Medford), Lynn, Charlestown, Winnissimmet, (Chelsea), Noddle's Island, (East Boston), Thompson's Island, Shawmut, (Boston) Watertown, Roxbury and Newtown, within the limits of the Massachusetts colony.

✓ The accessions in 1631 were but few, but in the two following years they were more numerous. In 1634, the colony contained from three to four thousand inhabitants, distributed in sixteen towns. Boston was the capitol. During this year, settlements were commenced at Saugus, Marvill Head, (Marblehead) Agawam, (Ipswich) and Merrimacke.^o

In 1635, Newbury, Concord, and Dedham were incorporated. Already "the people were straightened for want of room," and parties from Dorchester and Newtown had "planted in Connecticut." In 1636, Roger Williams laid the foundation of Providence, R. I., and new settlements begun to spring up on every hand. Plantations were made at Windsor, Hartford, Weathersfield, and New Haven, in Connecticut; and at Excter, and Hampton, in New Hampshire.

✓ Emigrants continued to arrive in large numbers. In three months, in 1638, no less than three thousand settlers arrived in Massachusetts. Plantations were commenced at Salisbury and Rowley, in 1639, though persons had settled in the former place as early as 1637.

✓ In 1640, it is calculated there were in New England over twenty thousand persons, or four thousand families.

Before 1643, at which time the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, formed a "Confederation of New England Colonies," there were supposed to be a thousand acres of land planted for orchards and gardens, and fifteen thousand other acres under general tillage. The number of neat cattle was estimated at twelve thousand, and the number of sheep at three thousand. Acts had been passed incorporating North Chelsea, Salisbury, Springfield, Rowley, Sudbury, Braintree, Woburn, Gloucester, Haverhill, Wenham, and Hull, in addition to those already mentioned. This year four counties were incorporated: Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, and Old Norfolk, containing in all thirty towns.

The country east of the Piscataqua was still almost without English

^o Wood's *New England Prospect*.

inhabitants, and the only town then incorporated west of Worcester, (in this State) was Springfield.*

Emigrants continued to arrive in large numbers, until about 1640. The meeting of the Long Parliament, by opening the prospect of a fair field to fight out the battle of freedom at home, put a final stop to the expatriation of patriotic Englishmen; and for the next century and a quarter, it is believed that more went hence to England than came hither from England. Nor did anything that can be called an immigration occur again for nearly two hundred years.†

* The following is a list of the towns in Massachusetts which were settled previously to 1640, and also those settled in that year:

Settled.	Settled.	Settled.	Settled.
Barnstable.....1639	Ipswich.....1633	Sudbury.....1638	
Beverly.....1636	Lynn.....1629	Watertown.....1630	
Boston.....1630	Marblehead.....1631	Wenham.....1639	
Braintree.....1630	Medford.....1630	Weymouth.....1634	
Cambridge.....1630	Newbury.....1635	Yarmouth.....1639	
Charlestown.....1628	Plymouth.....1620		
Concord.....1636	Rowley.....1639	HAVERHILL.....1640	
Dedham.....1635	Roxbury.....1630	Woburn.....1640	
Dorchester.....1630	Salem.....1636	Reading.....1640	
Duxbury.....1637	Salisbury.....1639	Marshfield.....1640	
Gloucester.....1639	Seltmate.....1633	Manchester.....1640	
Hingham.....1633	Springfield.....1635		

Haverhill was the *thirtieth* town settled within the present limits of the State of Massachusetts and the *forty-ninth* in New England. It was the *thirty-second* incorporated town in the State.

† Palfrey.

CHAPTER IV.

ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS.

THE native population of New England, at the time of the first English immigration, was probably not far from fifty thousand; of which number Connecticut and Rhode Island contained perhaps one-half, and Maine rather more than one-fourth.^o Of the Maine Indians, the Etechemins dwelt furthest towards the east; the Abenakis, of whom the Tarratines were a part, hunted on both sides of the Penobscot, and westward as far as the Saco, or, perhaps the Piscataqua. The home of the Penacook or Pawtucket Indians, was in the valley of the Merrimack, and the contiguous region of Massachusetts. The Massachusetts tribe dwelt along the Bay of that name. Then were found the Pokanokets, or Wampanoags, in southeastern Massachusetts, by Buzzard's and Narragansett Bays; the Narragansetts, in Rhode Island; the Pequots, between the Narragansetts and the river Thames; and the Mohegans, from the Pequots to the Connecticut river. In central Massachusetts were the Nipmucks, or Nipneta. Vermont, Western Massachusetts and northern New Hampshire, were almost, if not absolutely, without inhabitants.

These principal tribes were sub-divided into numerous smaller tribes. Of those upon the Merrimack river, were the Agawams, who occupied from the mouth of the river to Cape Ann; the Wamesits, at the forks of the Merrimack and Concord rivers, on the west side of the former and both sides of the latter; The Nashuas, at Nashua; the Souhegans, on the river of the same name; the Namaoskeags, at Amoskeag; the Pemacooks, or Penacooks, at Concord; and the Winnequesaukees, at the Wiers, near Lake Winnepiseog.

The Penacooks were the most powerful tribe in this whole region. The others were controlled by them for a long time, and paid tribute to them. Passaconaway, a firm friend to the English, was the chief of the Penacooks, and the "Great Sachem of all the tribes that dwelt in the valley of the Merrimack.† He was the most noted powow or sorcerer of all the country, and exerted an almost boundless influence over his people. He lived to a very great age, as Gookin‡ saw him at Pawtucket (Lowell) "when he was about one hundred and twenty years old." He died about 1665, and was succeeded by his son Wannalancet, who remained at the

^o Falfrey. † Elliott. ‡ *Hist. Praying Indians.*

head of the fast diminishing people until 1677, when he retired to Canada. Wannalancet was succeeded by Kancamagus, (known to the English as John Hogkins) son of Nanamocomuck, the eldest son of Passaconaway. He was elected Sagamore by the remnant of the tribe who remained at Pennacook after the withdrawal of Wannalancet, and was afterwards joined by many "strange Indians," from other tribes, who had become disaffected with the English. He was an active spirit in the Indian difficulties of 1676 to 1691, and one of the most troublesome enemies of the English.

The aboriginal inhabitants of New England held a low place in the scale of humanity. They had no civil government, no religion, no letters, no history, no music, no poetry. The French rightly named them *Les Hommes des Bois*—"Men Brutes of the Forest." Except a power of enduring hunger and weather, acquired by their hunting habits, they were tender and not long-lived; and though supple and agile, they always sank under continuous labor. In them, the lymphatic temperament predominated. They scarcely ever wept or smiled. Their slender appetites required small indulgence, though at times a gormandizing rage seemed to possess them. Though no instance is recorded of their offering insult to a female captive, it must be credited wholly to their natural coldness of constitution. Their grave demeanor, which has so often been interpreted as an indication of self-respect, was rather an indication of mere stolid vacuity of emotion and thought. In constitution of body and mind, they were far below the negro race.

They were simple, ignorant, and indolent. The Indian women performed all the drudgery of the household, and were also the tillers of the soil; the lazy, indolent lords and masters deeming it debasing to engage in aught except hunting, fishing, and war.

Their principle article of food was Indian corn, prepared in various ways,—either boiled alone into *hominy*, or mixed with beans and called *succotash*, or parched, or broke up into meal and moistened with water, in which case it was named *nookik*^o. They had also fish and game, nuts, roots, berries, and a few cultivated vegetables.

A hoe, made of a clam-shell or a moose's shoulder-blade, was their only tool of husbandry. Their manure was fish, covered over in the hill along with the seed. Fish were taken with lines or nets, the cordage of which were made of the fibres of the dogbane, or the sinews of the deer. Hooks were made of sharpened bones of fishes and birds.

^o Corrupted into *nokik*, *nocake*, *nonecake*, "Johnny-cake," etc.

Their houses, or *wigwams*, were of a circular or oval shape, made of bark or mats, laid over a frame-work of branches of trees stuck in the ground in such a manner as to converge at the top, where was an aperture for the escape of the smoke. The better sort had also a lining of mats. For doors, two low openings were left on opposite sides, one or the other of which was closed with bark or mats, according to the direction of the wind.

They were slothful, improvident, deceitful, cruel and revengeful. Parental and filial affection were feeble and transient. They had no formal marriage or funeral ceremonies, or forms of worship; no flocks, herds or poultry. Their shelters, clothing, tools, hunting implements, &c., were of the simplest and rudest kind, and could scarce be called ingenious.

The aborigines of New England possessed no code of laws, or any set of customs having the force of legal obligation.

The early French explorers declared that tribes visited by them were without a notion of religion, and there is not wanting testimony of the same kind in relation to the New England tribes. It is certain they had no temples, no public ritual, nothing which can be called social worship, no order of priests, no machinery of religion.

In revenge, they were barbarous and implacable; they never forgot or forgave injuries. Their wars were massacres.

With the Indian, the social attraction was feeble. The most he knew of companionship and festivity, was when he would meet his fellows by the shores of ponds, and falls of rivers, in the fishing season. Much of his life was passed in the seclusion of his wigwam, and the solitude of the chase. This habit of loneliness and of self-protection, made him independent and proud. His pride created an aptitude for stoicism, which constituted his point of honor. This was fortitude under suffering. Craft, rather than valor, distinguished him in war. Stealth and swiftness composed his strategy. He showed no daring and no constancy in the field; but it was great glory to him to bear the most horrible tortures without complaint or a sigh of anguish.

His brave endurance presented the bright side of his character. He was without tenderness, and but few instances are recorded of his appearing capable of gratitude. Cunning and falsehood were eminently his. His word was no security. A treaty could not bind him when he supposed it might be broken without danger. Exceptions are to be allowed for in every portraiture of a class of men, as everywhere and at all times there are natures that rise above the moral standard of their place. But

it remains true of the normal representative of this peculiar race, that his temper was sullen, jealous, intensely vindictive, and ferociously cruel.*

They have been called eloquent. Never was a reputation more cheaply earned. Take away their commonplaces of the mountain and the thunder, the sunset and the water-fall, the eagle and the buffalo, the burying of the hatchet, the smoking of the calumet, and the lighting of the council-fire, and the material for their pomp of words is reduced within contemptible dimensions. Their best attempts at reasoning or persuasion have been the simplest statements of facts. Whatever may be thought of the specimens of Indian oratory in other parts of North America, — which must be allowed to be mostly of doubtful authenticity, — certain it is there is no recorded harangue of a New England Indian which can assert a claim to praise. Occasions were not wanting, but the gift of impressive speech was not his.

Their manner of expression was vehement and emphatic; their ideas being few, their language was far from copious. It really consisted of but few words. They had no letters, but few symbols or signatures, no chronicles, and scarce any traditions extending back farther than two or three generations.

Such was the aborigines of New England. Those who have studied only the Indian of romance, will seek in vain for a single specimen of such among the sober realities of life. Like the traditional Yankee, they are only and altogether creations of fancy.

A few years before the settlement of New England by the English, a war broke out among the aborigines of the country, which resulted in the destruction of thousands of the Indians. To the war succeeded a pestilence, which spread far and wide, and was exceedingly fatal. It raged, at intervals, for more than two years, and extended from the borders of the Tarratines southward to the Narragansetts, "The people died in heaps;" whole families and tribes perished; so that "the living were no wise able to bury the dead," and seven years afterward the bones of the unburied lay bleaching upon the ground around their former habitations. The nature of this epidemic has never been determined. It has been supposed to have been the small pox, or the yellow fever. The Penobscots and the Narragansetts suffered but little from it, nor does it seem to have troubled the few English residents of the country. Richard Vines, who was stopping at Saco when the pestilence was at its height, says that though he and his men "lay in the cabin with these people that died, not

* Palfrey.

one of them ever felt their heads to ache so long as they stayed there," Thus, as if by special Providence, were the aborigines weakened and scattered, and New England prepared for the reception of civilized and christian immigrants. Throughout the whole of the region swept by the pestilence, there was scarce a tribe that dare oppose the sturdy settlers; and it was only when several of the stronger ones combined, that they were able, even temporarily, to obstruct the progress of the settlement.

The only serious conflicts with the natives between the settlement at Plymouth, in 1620, and that of Haverhill, in 1640, was during the troubles with the Pequots, 1636-7. But so vigorously was the war prosecuted on the part of the English, that, in a few months, that once formidable nation was nearly exterminated, and the few that remained were divided among the friendly tribes as vassals.

CHAPTER V.

SETTLEMENT OF HAVERHILL. 1640.

THE large immigration into Massachusetts during the years immediately preceding 1638, led to the settlement of many new plantations, as well as the rapid enlargement of those already settled. So great, in fact, was the influx of immigrants, that in many places they could not be accommodated. This was particularly the case with Ipswich and Newbury, whither had flocked large numbers of emigrants from the vicinity of Ipswich, Newbury, Haverhill, Lynn, and other towns in the easterly part of England. By these persons, several new places were settled; among them, *Pentucket*, or Haverhill.

The earliest intimation we can find of the settlement of this town, is contained in the following letter^o to Gov. Winthrop, from one Giles Firman, of Ipswich, under the date of Dec. 26, 1639:—

" Much honored and dear Sir:

But that I thinke it needlesse (God havinge more than ordinarye fitted you for such trials) my letter might tell you with what grieffe of spirit I received the news of that sad affliction which is lately happened to your worship, by means of that unfaithful wretch; I hope God will find a shoulder to helpe you beare so great a burthen. But the little time that is allotted me to write, I must spend in requesting your worships counsel and favour. My father in law Ward,[†] since his sonne[‡] came over, is verey desirous that wee might sett down together, and so that he might leave us together if God should remove him from hence. Because that cant be accomplished in this town, is verey desirous to get mee to remove with him to a new plantation. After much perswasion used, consideringe my want of accommodations here (the ground the town having given mee lying 5 miles from mee or more) and that the gains of physick will not finde me in bread, but besides apprehendinge that it might bee a way to free him from some temptations, and make him more cheerful and more serviceable to the country or church, have yeelded to him. *Herein, as I desire your counsel, so do I humbly request your favor, that you would be pleased to give us the libertye of choosinge a plantation; wee think it will bee at Pentucket or Quichichek,*[§] [*Cochichawick*] *by Shawshin: so soon as the season will give us leave to goe, we shall inform your worship*

^o Hutch. Hist. Coll., 128. [†] Rev. Nathaniel Ward. [‡] John Ward. [§] Andover.

which we desire: And if that, by the court of election, wee cannot gather a company to begin it, wee will let it fall. We desire you will not graunt any of them to any before wee have seene them. If your worship have heard any relation of the places, wee should remaine thankful to you if you would be pleased to counsel us to any of them. Further, I would entreat for advise in this; The towne gave mee the ground (100 acres) upon this condition, that I should stay in the towne 3 years, or else I could not sell it: Now my father supposes it being my first heritage (my father having none in the land) that it is more than they canne doe to hinder mee thus, when as others have no business, but range from place to place, on purpose to live upon the countrey. I would entreate your counsel whither or noe I canne sell it. Further: I am strongly sett upon to studye divinite, my studyes else must be lost; for physick is but a meene helpe. In these cases I humbly referre to your worship, as my father, for your counsel, and so in much haste, with my best services presented to your worship, wishinge you a strong support in your affliction, and a good and comfortable issue, I rest your worships in what he canne to his power.

GYLES FYRMIN.^o

IPSWICH, 26, 10th, 1639.

Wee humbly entreate your secreeye in our desires."

Whether the reply of the Governor was favorable or otherwise, we are unable to determine, but it is certain that Fyrmin did not leave Ipswich until fifteen years afterwards.

At the session of the General Court, held at Boston on the 13th of the succeeding May, (May 13, 1640) a petition was received from "Mr. Ward and Newberry men" for permission to begin a new plantation on the Merrimack,† which petition was "committed to the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Mr. Winthrop, Senior, to consider of Patucket and Coijchawick, and to grant it them, provided they returne answer within three weeks from the 21st present, and that they build there before the next Courte."‡

^o Gyles Fyrmin (or Firman) was the son of Giles, an apothecary at Sudbury, England. He was born in 1614, educated at Cambridge, England, and afterwards studied medicine and was admitted to practice previous to his emigration to this country. In 1638, the town of Ipswich granted him one hundred acres of land, on condition that he lived there three years. In December, 1639, he married a daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, a few days after which he wrote the above letter to Gov. Winthrop. He was made a freeman in the same year. Fyrmin was an elder in the church at Ipswich, where he continued to reside until 1654, when he returned to England. He afterward became eminent as a divine, as well as physician, and after a long and useful life, he died in April, 1697, at the ripe age of eighty-three years.

† This petition is probably now lost, as the most careful search has failed to give us any further clue to it.

‡ Colonial Records, 1—290.

Mr. Ward and his associates selected Pentucket, and commenced a settlement at that place some time previous to the October following their petition. It is probable that they commenced operations immediately on learning the action of the General Court, as they had then barely sufficient time to plant for that season, and the fact that before the prescribed time they had commenced a plantation shows that they were by no means dilatory in their movements.

At the next session of the Court, (October 7th, of the same year) a committee was appointed "to view the bounds between Colchester^o and Mr. Ward's plantation.†

We are confident that no white man had settled within the limits of Pentucket previous to the coming of Mr. Ward's associates, as no mention can be found of such settlement in the records of the colony, which are quite full and explicit upon all similar matters relating to that early period of its history. As early as September, 1630, (within two months after the arrival of the Charter of the Colony) it was "ordered that no person shall plant in any place within the limits of this patent, without leave from the Gouvernor and Assistants, or the maior part of them;" and "also that a warrant shall presently be sent to Aggawam, to command those that are planted there forthwith to come away." That this was no "dead letter" enactment, may be judged from the fact that seven years afterwards,—and when thousands of immigrants had arrived in the country, and new settlements were increasing with great rapidity,—an order was given to the constable of Newberry to apprehend those men who had thus planted themselves at what is now Salisbury, and to take them before the court, at Ipswich, to answer for such violation of law. At the November Court, 1637, leave was granted certain petitioners from Newberry to settle at Winnacunnet, (Hampton) "or upon any other plantation upon the Merrimack, below the first falls, and to have six miles square;" and, in Sept., 1638, liberty was allowed Gyles Firman, and others, upon their petition, "to begin a plantation at Merrimack."

Winthrop,‡ under the date of 1643, says: "about this time, two plantations began to be settled upon Merrimack, Pentucket called Haverhill, and Cochichawick called Andover," Under the date of 1638, he says: "One (plantation) was begun at Merrimack," doubtless referring to Salisbury, which was settled about that time.

Cotton Mather§ makes the date of the settlement of Haverhill 1641, but he, as well as Winthrop, evidently reckons from the time of Rev. John

^o Salisbury. † Colonial Records, 1—303.

‡ Hist. of New England, 2—121. § Magnalia, 470.

Ward's coming to Haverhill, which, as we shall see, was not until some time after the first settlement.

Felt^o, under the date of 1640, says: "Mr. (Nath'l) Ward, with some men of Newbury, is conditionally allowed to form a settlement at Haverhill, or at Andover. This privilege was improved, and the former place was chosen before October. His chief object in obtaining such a grant was to prepare a residence for his son, who became an estimable minister there."

We think that the conditions upon which the petitioners were to be allowed their request, viz: "provided they returne answer within three weeks from the 21st present, and *that they build there before the next Courte*;" and the appointing of commissioners at that Court "to view the bounds between Colchester and *Mr. Ward's plantation*"; with the absence of conflicting records, or even traditions, are sufficient to fix the date of our first settlement as 1640.

The first company of settlers in the wild woods of Pentucket were from Ipswich and Newbury, and were twelve in number. The following are their names:—

William White,	John Robinson,	Abraham Tyler,
Samuel Gile,	Christopher Hussey,	Daniel Ladd,
James Davis,	John Williams,	Joseph Merrie,
Henry Palmer,	Richard Littlehale,	Job Clement.

The last four were from Ipswich.

It has been generally supposed that the Rev. *John Ward* was the person who petitioned to the General Court in the spring of 1640, and that he accompanied the first band of settlers to Pentucket. But we are confident that neither supposition is correct. The historian of Ipswich, in the passage already quoted, and the editor of our Colonial Records† both say that the Ward alluded to in the Court Records, was *Nathaniel*, (the father of John Ward,) who was, it seems, very anxious to find some good place for his son to settle in the ministry.

That John Ward did not settle in Haverhill as early as 1640 is evident from the fact that he preached at Agamenticus (now York, Me.) in the early part of 1641, and perhaps later. Winthrop, (Hist. 2, p. 34) under date of Feb. 29, 1641, says:

"Mr. Peters and Mr. Dalton, with one of Acomenticus, went from Piscataquack, with *Mr. John Ward*, who was to be entertained there for their minister; and though it be but six miles, yet they lost their way, and wandered two days and one night, without food or fire, in the snow and wet. But God heard their prayers, wherein they earnestly pressed him

* Hist. Ipswich, 1834.

† Dr. Shurtleff.

for the honor of his great name, and when they were even quite spent, he brought them to the sea-side, near the place where they were to go, blessed forever be his name."

After diligent search, we have been unable to find the name of any other John Ward to whom the incident could refer; and, to strengthen us in our supposition, no writer except Mirick (in his History of the town) places the date of Mr. Ward's coming to Haverhill earlier than sometime in the year 1641. Mather (Mag. 2, 470) says of him: "The first notice of him that occurs to me, being in the year 1639, when he came over into these parts of America; and settled there in the year 1641, in a town also called Haveril." Farmer (N. E. Geneo.) gives the date of Mr. Ward's settlement in Haverhill as 1645. He evidently, however, mistakes Mr. Ward's settlement *as minister*, for his first settlement in the town. Felt, (Hist. Ips.) under date of 1641, says:—"Rev. John Ward, Mr. John Favor, and Hugh Sherratt went from Ipswich to Haverhill;" and Allen, (Am. Biog. and Hist. Dict., p. 571) says "he preached for some time at Agamenticus, but in 1641 was settled at Haverhill, then a new plantation."

We have directed our attention to the history of the church at York, Me., but without receiving any additional light upon the point. Greenleaf (Ecol. Hist. Maine) informs us that "the first preacher at York of whom any account is preserved, was one Burdett, who came hither from Exeter." And, in another place, he says, "no record can be found at this day of the first gathering and embodying of the church in this town, nor the proceedings of the church under the two first ministers. It is presumed, however, that it was organized in the year 1673. In that year, the Rev. Shubal Dummer was ordained at York; and as the uniform practice had been to gather and organize a church before settling a minister, it is highly probable that the church is to be dated from that year."

The first mention made of Mr. Ward, in the Town Records of Haverhill, is a note at the bottom of the page, under the year 1643, stating that on the 29th of Sept., 1642, he had "sixteen acres of land laid out to him for a home-lot, with all the accommodations thereunto belonging."

Aside from the almost certain fact that Mr. Ward preached at York as late as 1641, and the weight of written authority that his settlement in Haverhill was in that year, much stress, we think, may be placed on the strong improbability of a person in his circumstances and position accompanying a small pioneer company of persons to break ground for a new settlement. Such labor was, at least, not usual for a "minister." It

would seem more reasonable that he should have waited until the settlement had been made, before he took up his residence among them; and such, we believe was the fact. It is probable he came to the new plantation about the fall of 1641. So pleased were the settlers with their good fortune in securing his settlement among them, that they named the place "Haverhill," that being the name of his birth-place, in England.

JOHN WARD, the master-spirit of this hardy band of pioneers, was a son of Rev. Nathaniel Ward,^o and a grandson of Rev. John Ward, a worthy and distinguished minister of Haverhill, England. He was born in Haverhill, Essex Co., England, Nov. 5, 1606. He received the degree of A. B. in 1626, and that of A. M. in 1630, at the University of Cambridge, England. He came to this country in 1639.

Mather† speaks of him as "learned, ingenious and religious. He was a person of quick apprehension, a clear understanding, a strong memory, a facetious conversation, an exact grammarian, an expert physician, and, which was the top of all, a thorough divine; but, which rarely happens, these endowments of his mind were accompanied with a most healthy, hardy, and agile constitution of body, which enabled him to make nothing of walking on foot a journey as long as thirty miles together. Such was the blessing of God upon his religious education, that he was not only restrained from the vices of immorality in all his younger days, but also inclined unto all virtuous actions. Of young persons, he would himself give this advice: Whatever you do, be sure to maintain shame in them; for if that be once gone, there is no hope that they'll ever come to good. Accordingly, our Ward was always ashamed of doing any ill thing. He was of a modest and bashful disposition, and very sparing of speaking, especially before strangers, or such as he thought his betters. He was wonderfully temperate in meat, in drink, in sleep, and he was always expressed, I had almost said, affected, a peculiar sobriety of apparel. He was a son most exemplarily dutiful unto his parents; and having paid some considerable debts of his father, he would afterwards humbly ob-

^o Rev. Nathaniel Ward, a son of Rev. John Ward, was born in 1570, and educated at the University of Cambridge. He was, for some time, pastor of a church at Standon, in Hertfordshire, but being driven out of England for his non-conformity, he emigrated to New England in 1634, and settled as pastor of the church at Ipswich, then called Agawam. He was bred a lawyer, and, in 1638, was appointed by the General Court to draw up a code of laws for New England. Though a pious man, he was very eccentric in his conduct. He soon left his charge at Ipswich, was without employment for some time, and returned to England in 1647. He was afterwards a settled minister at Sheffield. He died in 1653. He wrote several books of humor, and some learned treatises, but none have come down to us but the one entitled "*The Simple Cobbler of Agawam*," which he wrote at Ipswich, and which has passed through many editions.

† Magnalia.

serve and confess, that God had abundantly recompensed this his dutifulness.

"Though he had great offers of rich matches in England, yet he chose to marry a meaner person,^o whom exemplary piety had recommended. He lived with her for more than forty years, in such an happy harmony, that when she died he professed that in all this time, he never had received one displeasing word or look from her. Although she would so faithfully tell him of everything that might seem amenable in him, that he would compare her to an accusing conscience, yet she ever pleased him wonderfully; and she would often put upon him the duties of secret fasts, and when she met with any thing in reading that she counted singularly agreeable, she would still impart it unto him. For which cause, when he lost this his mate, he caused these words to be fairly written on his table-board.—

In Legenda Compare, Vite Specimen Complect Orbis:

And there is this memorable passage to be added. While she was a maid there was ensured unto her, the revenue of a parsonage worth two hundred pounds per annum, in case that she married a minister. And all this had been given to our Ward, in case he had conformed unto the doubtful matters of the Church of England; but he left all the allurements and enjoyments of England, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God in a wilderness.

"Although he would say, there is no place for fishing like the sea, and the more hearers a minister has, the more hope there is that some of them will be caught in the nets of the Gospel; nevertheless, through his humility and reservation, it came to pass, that as he chose to begin his ministry in Old England at a very small place, thus when he came to New England he chose to settle with a new plantation, where he could expect none but small circumstances all his days. He did not love to appear upon the public stage himself, and there appeared few there, whom he did not prefer above himself: but when he was there, every one might see how conscientiously he sought the edification of the souls of the plainest auditors, before the ostentation of his own abilities. And from the like diffidence it was, that he would never manage any ecclesiastical affairs in his church, without previous and prudent consultations with the best advisors that he knew: he would say he had rather always follow advice though sometimes the advice might mislead him, than ever act without advice, though he might happen to do well by no advice but his own."

^o Alice Edmunds, by whom he had two children, Elizabeth and Mary. His wife died March 24, 1680.

Pleasant, indeed, is it to be able to point to so amiable and exemplary an individual as one of the founders of our town, and the spiritual and temporal adviser and master-spirit of its early settlers. Mr. Ward died December 27, 1693.

Of the previous history of the associates of Mr. Ward in his arduous enterprise, we have been able to glean but few particulars,—which may be found in another place. For the present, suffice it to say, that their descendants have ever been, and yet are, among our best and most prominent citizens.

At the succeeding October court, “ Mr. Edward Woodman, Mr. Paine, and Mr. Nelson, were appointed to view the bounds between Colchester (Salisbury) and Mr. Ward’s plantation,”^o from which it would seem that the work of settling had been begun in earnest. The first house was erected near the old burying ground,[†] and for some time the principal settlements were made in that vicinity, though land was cleared and broken, and houses built in other parts of the town. It was nearly two years, however, before a house was erected as far from the centre as Little River, about which time one was built near where Winter Street now crosses that stream.

The Indian name of the region included within the present bounds of the town, was *Pentuckett*, and it was at one time the home of quite a numerous tribe of that name, who were under the jurisdiction of Passaconaway, chief of the Pennacooks. Their principal village is supposed to have been on the banks of Little River, not far from its mouth; and the second house on Merrimack street, east from Emerson street, stands upon their ancient burial ground. When the cellar of the above house was excavated, a number of Indian skeletons were dug up, in a very good state of preservation.[‡] Heads of arrows, stone mortars, and other Indian relics, have frequently been found in that vicinity, thus confirming the tradition of a settlement thereabouts.

We have now no means of knowing how many of the aborigines still lived here at the time of Mr. Ward’s settlement, but circumstantial evidence indicates that they were few in number. In but few of the early accounts of the native inhabitants is any mention made of any tribe or tribes at this place; and where mentioned, it is as a remnant—the last few—of a once vigorous tribe. On the other hand, the wording of the deed,

^o Colonial Records—1.

[†] Now called Pentucket Cemetery.

[‡] One of the workmen upon the occasion drank a bumper of punch to the memory of the original inhabitants, from one of the skulls thus brought to light!

and the small sum paid for the large extent of territory, strongly favor the conclusion that but two families of the natives then remained.^o It is probable that the terrible pestilence of 1613, in its desolating march from the Kennebee to the Narragansett, included the Pentuckets among its victims, and left only a few to await the approach of civilization. The *ruin marks* upon this deed, are the only memorial we have left of the aboriginal inhabitants of Pentucket. *They have faded away.* As leaves before the chilling frosts, so have they fallen and withered before the breath of civilization, and silently sunk into the graves of their fathers.

Soon after the settlement of the place, it was named Haverhill, in compliment to Mr. Ward, who was born, as we have mentioned, in Haverhill, Essex County, England.

At the session of the General Court, in the succeeding June, (1641) "Mr. John Woodbridge, Matthew Bayse, John Crosse and George Giddings, they four, or any three of them, are appointed to set out the bounds of Salisbury and Pentucket, alias Haverhill; they are to determine the bounds which Mr. Ward and his company are to enjoy as a towne or village, if they have *six houses up* by the next General Courte in the 8th month," [October.] We must not suppose from this, that six houses had not as yet been erected, because, as we have seen, twelve persons (and probably most of them men of families) had already been here a year, and had, within that time, received considerable accession to their numbers. It would be strange indeed if they had not, by that time at least, double the required number of houses erected. We should interpret the act of the General Court as specifying the smallest number of dwellings that should be reckoned as a town or village, rather than as declaring that so

^o To show that Haverhill was not peculiar in this respect, we may refer to Newbury and Ipswich, once without doubt the home of a large tribe of Indians.

Newbury was settled in the spring of 1635, but the first intimation of any Indians, either by record or tradition, is in 1644, when a parcel of land was allotted to one "John Indian." The next mention is in 1650, when "Great Tom, Indian," sold to the selectmen of Newbury "all his right, title, and interest in all the woods, commons and lands in Newbury, together with his three acres of planting land as it is fenced in one entire fence in Newbury, lying near Indian Hill." There is no other notice of either of these Indians. The next intimation of any Indians in that town, is in 1661, when the family of "Old Will" is referred to, which was in 1663 the only Indian family in the town, and consisted of himself, wife, and three daughters.

From a report made to the General Court in 1676, it appears there were then, "at and about Ipswich, eight men and seventeen women and children, Indians, and at Dunstable, Wonalancet's company of about sixty persons."

Coffin, in his valuable *History of Newbury*, says:—"However large the population of this region might once have been, it is certain that from various causes the race had become nearly extinct, when the white population had determined to occupy the territory, thus providentially vacated; and it was with the "knowledge, licence and good liking" of the few that remained, that the first settlers took possession of this then howling wilderness."

many as six houses had not as yet been erected in this new plantation.^o At the time the town was first settled, it was covered with the thick, and in many places almost impenetrable woods of the primitive forests, excepting the lowlands, or meadows. There were no pleasant fields, nor gardens, nor public roads, nor cleared plats. Except where the timber had been destroyed, or its growth prevented, by frequent fires, the groves were thick and lofty. The Indians so often burned the country, to take deer and other wild game, that in many parts of it there was but little small timber. The meadows had been partially cleared by the Indians long before the arrival of the white settlers, and were covered with a heavy growth of grass, which grew remarkably thick and high. The Indians were accustomed to set this grass on fire each autumn, so that they might the more easily kill the deer which came to feed upon the young grass the succeeding spring. On account of the grass, these lands were prized very highly by the first settlers, as from them they procured hay for their flocks and herds. In the early settlement of this, and other New England towns, these meadow lands were divided into small lots and distributed among the settlers. In many cases the "meadow lot" was several miles distant from the house of the owner, and as roads and other conveniences of travel and transportation had not as yet been introduced, we can easily imagine that "haying" was then a much more laborious and expensive matter than now. After being cut and cured, the dried grass was piled in stacks on the meadows, and left until winter, when it was hauled home on sleds, by oxen.

The forests were filled with the various kinds of birds and small animals peculiar to New England. The worst enemy, of the beast kind, to the infant settlement, was the wolf. These gave a great deal of trouble, and at one time had become so bold and troublesome, that a large plat of ground was enclosed near the common, and used as a pasture for the sheep. Shepherds were appointed to watch over them, and at night they were closely folded, as a still greater security. Even after the town had become quite extensively settled, these voracious prowlers did much and frequent damage by their depredations, and the town at various times offered liberal bounties for their destruction.

Though only twelve persons composed the first party of settlers in the town, their numbers were soon increased by the arrival of others. Of those who arrived in 1640 and 1641, we are able to give the names of only

^o A newspaper story writer (1832) says, that in the autumn of 1641 there were only six houses in the town. We presume his statement is founded upon the above mentioned vote of the General Court.

Job Clements (son of Robert), John Favor, and Hugh Sherratt, though we are confident that several others came as early as the spring of 1641.

The winter of 1641-2 was unusually severe. Boston harbor was frozen over so deeply that it was passable for horses, carts, and oxen for six weeks.

The first recorded birth in the town was that of John Robinson, (son of John) who survived but three weeks. The second birth was also a son of the same, in 1642, who lived but one week. The third child born, was Deborah, daughter of Tristram Coffin, in 1642, who lived only six weeks.^o The simple record of these early deaths in that little community, considered in connection with the exceeding severity of the preceding winter, and the known cares, anxiety and labor that always attend a first settlement, even under the most favorable circumstances, clearly and most touchingly tells of denials, exposures, and life-destroying hardships.

Hardly had the little company commenced life in their new home, when intelligence was received by the Governor, from Connecticut, (September, 1642) that "the Indians all over the country had combined themselves to out off the English."[†]

The time appointed for the massacre, was soon after the harvest. The Indians were to divide themselves into small parties, and visit the houses of the principal men for the professed purpose of trading, while others concealed themselves in the vicinity. At a given signal, those in the houses were to fall upon the owners, slay them, and seize upon their weapons, while the concealed party were to rush in and assist in completing the bloody work.

Upon the reception of this intelligence, it was thought advisable, by the Governor and Council, to disarm all the Indians within our jurisdiction. A warrant was accordingly sent to Ipswich, Rowley and Newbury, "to disarm Pasaconnaway, who lived by Merrimack." The next day forty armed men were sent for that purpose, although it was the Sabbath, and a heavy rain was falling. On account of the rain, they could not reach his wig-

^o The following gives the number of births and deaths in the town each year, from 1641 to 1661, so far as given in the town records:

BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
1 in 1641	8 in 1648	10 in 1655	1 in 1641	1 in 1651	2 in 1638
2 " 1642	9 " 1649	9 " 1656	2 " 1642	2 " 1652	4 " 1659
1 " 1643	7 " 1650	12 " 1657	1 " 1646	1 " 1653	8 " 1660
1 " 1644	11 " 1651	11 " 1658	1 " 1647	6 " 1654	1 " 1661
8 " 1645	10 " 1652	8 " 1659	1 " 1648	5 " 1657	8 " 1662
6 " 1646	10 " 1653	11 " 1660	3 " 1650		
5 " 1647	10 " 1654	13 " 1661			

[†] Winthrop, 2—78-87

wam, but came to his son's, and took him and his squaw and child prisoners. On their return, they led the son with a line, for fear of his escape. He, however, eluded their vigilance and escaped into the woods.

Upon learning of this unwarrantable proceeding, the Governor and Council immediately sent a friendly messenger in search of Passaconnaway, to inform him that the capture of his son and his family was without their orders, and also to tell him the reasons why they had disarmed the Indians in their jurisdiction. The woman and child were also sent back. The mission proved successful, and in a few days the chief sent his oldest son to deliver up his guns to the English.

No massacre of the kind was, however, perpetrated; but it was afterward ascertained that such a plot had existed, headed by the chief of the Narragansetts.

Though the town was settled and houses erected in 1640, it was not until more than two years afterward that a title to the land was purchased of the Indian owners. As it was usual for the Massachusetts settlers to buy the land they wished to occupy, we are left in doubt as to the reason why the Haverhill men did not sooner make such a purchase. The most reasonable solution we can give is, that when the white settlers first came to Pentucket there were no Indians living here; and that afterward one or two families, descendants, perhaps, of the original owners, straying back to their old hunting and fishing-grounds, and finding them in possession of the "pale faces," had laid claim to the land; or else that the number of Indians living here was so small that they were not considered worth noticing at all, until the startling intelligence of the intended massacre suggested the purchase as a security against molestation from the Indians near them. At any rate, the fact that the purchase was made within the next month after the above-mentioned information first reached the Colony, would seem to indicate some such a condition of things. The following is a correct copy of the original deed,^o of which we also give a perfect facsimilie.

"Know all men by these presents, that wee Passaquo and SaggaHew with ye consent of Passaconnaway: have sold unto ye inhabitants of Pentuckett all ye lands wee have in Pentuckett; that is eyght myles in length from ye little Rivver in Pentuckett Westward: Six myles in length from ye aforesaid Rivver northward: And six myles in length from ye foresaid

^o The original document was for a long time in the possession of the descendants of William White, one of the witnesses to the deed, but at the suggestion of the writer, it has recently been presented to the Town of Haverhill, by E. A. Porter, Esq., administrator of the estate of the late Charles White, Esq. As it was originally given to "the inhabitants of Pentuckett," it seems appropriate and proper that it should be in the possession of the Town, and we are pleased to announce that it has been so disposed of.

MASS.

Knows all men by signs of bones left in the Passages: and says
 How. why for some part of Passages: says: the North is
 the inhabitants of North and all signs and no sign in
 North: that is: says: my box in house from the
 River in North and West: says: make a sign
 William says

Signs of a
 Signet
 Name

Says: Sign:



Entered & recorded in the County Records
 for Norfolk [lib: 2: pa: 209] the 29th day of
 April 1671 as attests Tho: Bradbury recd

Rivver Eastward, with ye Ileand and ye rivver that ye ileand stand in as far in length as ye land lyes by as formerly expressed: that is, fourteen myles in length: And wee ye said Passaquo and SaggaHew with ye consent of Passaconnaway, have sold unto ye said inhabitants all ye right that wee or any of us have in ye said ground and Ileand and Rivver: And wee warrant it against all or any other Indeans whatsoever unto ye said Inhabitants of Pentuckett, and to their heires and assignes forever Dated ye fifteenth day of november Ann Dom 1642.

Witnes our hands and seales to this bargayne of sale ye day and year above written (in ye presents of us,) wee ye said Passaquo & SaggaHew have received in hand, for & in consideration of ye same three pounds & ten shillings.

<i>John Ward</i>		ye marke of	
<i>Robert Clements</i>	PASSAQUO	(<i>A bow and arrow.</i>)	[SEAL.]
<i>Tristram Coffin</i>		Passaquo.	
<i>Hugh Sherratt</i>			
<i>William White</i>			
ye signe of (1)		ye marke of	
		(<i>A bow and arrow.</i>)	
<i>Thomas Davis</i>		Saggahew.	
	SAGGAHEW.		

[SEAL.]

On the side of it the following is written:—"Entered and recorded in ye County Records for Norfolk (lib. 2d, pa. 209) ye 29th day of April 1671 As attest Tho. Bradbury Recorder.

Recorded ye first of April 1681 among ye records of Lands for Essex at Ipswich: As attest Robert Lord Recorder."

On the outside it is endorsed, "The purchase from the Indians by Haverhill men, Recorded."

In 1680, the deed was copied into the Town Records, and the following testimony, taken by Nathaniel Saltonstall, is written on the succeeding page.

"The Rev. Teacher of ye church & towne of Haverhill, Mr. John Ward; & William White and Tho. Davis do testifie that Haverhill township or lands then by ye Indians called Pentuckett, was purchased of ye Indians as is mentioned in ye deed in this paper contained, which is entered upon record and that wee were then inhabitants at Haverhill and

present with ye Indians Passaquo and Saggahew (who were ye apparent owners of ye land & so accounted) did signe and confirme ye same; and that then, wee, (with others now dead) did signe our names to ye deed, which land wee have ever since enjoyed peaceably without any Indian molestation from the grantors or their heirs. Taken upon February ye 4th 1680 before Nath. Saltonstall. Assist."

"Lieut. Brown and Lieut. Ladd both affirm upon oath that what is entered in the records for Haverhill as the deed of purchase from the Indians of Haverhill Township or lands, of which the deed above written is a true copy, was, and is a true copy, extract, or transcript of the original deed given by the Indians. Taken upon oath, February the 4th, 1680. Before me, Nath'l Saltonstall. Assist."

The following brief biographical notices of the witnesses to this important instrument, will doubtless be read with interest.

Of *John Ward* we have already given an extended notice, and will only add, that he married Alice Edmunds, in 1646, by whom he had two children, Elizabeth and Mary (°). His wife died March 24, 1680.

Robert Clement came from England, in the early part of 1642, landing at Salisbury, from whence he came to Haverhill sometime in the following summer, with his wife and four children—John, Lydia, Robert and Sarah. Job, his son, came as early as 1640–1, doubtless to "spy out the land." His youngest daughter, Mary, remained in England (in the city of Coventry, in Warwickshire) until about 1652, when she also came over to Haverhill, and was soon after married by her father to John Osgood, of Andover, Mass.

Robert, senior, was the first Deputy of the town to the General Court, and until 1654; was associate Judge; County Commissioner; "appointed and empowered by the General Court to give the oath of fidelity to the inhabitants of Haverhill;" appointed to set off the public lands, fix their limits, &c. He was a man of rare integrity, and superior talent, as may readily be judged from the responsible stations he was repeatedly called to fill. He died on the spot where he first settled, in 1658, aged about

° Elizabeth, born April 1, 1647, and died April 19, 1714; Mary born June 24, 1649, died Oct. 11, 1683. Elizabeth married Nathaniel Saltonstall, Dec. 28, 1663, and had five children:—

Gurdon, born March 27, 1666, died in 1724.

Elizabeth, born September 17, 1668.

Richard, born April 25, 1672, died April 22, 1714.

Nathaniel, born September 5, 1674.

John, born August 14, 1676, died October 2, 1681.

68 (°). He owned, when he died, the first grist-mill built in town. His son Robert, whom Mirick confounds with Robert sen., was a cooper by trade, and the first one in town. In 1652 he married Elizabeth Fane, by whom he had eleven children. He held several town offices, was a large landholder, and lived near where the "Exchange Building" is now situated. We have not ascertained the time of his death, but he was living in 1684. His wife died in 1715.

Job was a tanner (probably the first in town), and married Margaret Dummer—the first marriage in town.

John, was a farmer, and married Sarah Osgood.

The Clements for a long time occupied a prominent position in the town and county, and their descendants have ever been considered as among our best citizens. Several generations of them have lived on the place now owned by Jesse Clement (in the North Parish), who is a lineal descendant from Robert sen.

Tristram Coffyn was born in 1609, in Brixham parish, town of Plymouth, in Devonshire, England. He was the son of Peter and Joanna Coffyn. Tristram married Dionis Stevens, and in 1642, after the death of his father, he came to New England, bringing with him his mother,† his two sisters, Eunice and Mary, his wife, and five children (Peter, Tristram, Elizabeth, James, and John).

° "The inventory of Mr. Robert Clements, his goods and estates in New England, excepting some small debts which cannot yet be accounted, he died ye 29th of Sept., 1658.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Iay his wearing apparell.....	16	18	00	It his dwelling house & accommodations..	55	00	00
It (°) his purse, money, silver, seal and ring.....	1	07	00	It 8 loads of hay & a pell linen cloth.....	05	00	00
It by one bill owing him.....	55	00	00	It his grist mill.....	80	00	00
It one payer of Steers.....	3	08	08	It one payer of oxen.....	13	00	00
It twenty bushell of rie.....	10	00	00	It a pell of boards & two stocks of bees..	02	18	00
It one cow and 30 lbs of rie.....	5	00	00	It wooden vessels and earthen vessels & one spade.....	01	18	00
It one bill.....	8	15	00	It cotton and linen yarn.....	08	10	00
It one bill.....	12	15	00	It one debt 3 tr.....	08	00	00
It one bill.....	56	00	00	It one debt of 10 tr.....	10	00	00
It one bill.....	5	00	00	It in wheat & Indian corn.....	08	10	00
It one bill.....	08	06	00	It for chests, Tunnes & cards Potts & kettles.....	4	17	00
It one bill.....	14	00	00	It several things, viz., fier shovel & tongs Andryons spitt, plough.....	05	17	16
It one bill.....	02	08	08	It chayns & such like Iron things.....			
It one bill.....	04	00	00	It in books fowling piece, table cloth and napkins.....	03	18	00
It one engagement of rent for land.....	07	12	00	These goods were appraised by us whose names are under written.			
It 4 cows, 3 steers, one heifer.....	22	00	00				
It 8 mares, 1 phill, 1 hose, 1 colt.....	59	00	00				
It 8 cows.....	10	00	00				
It in swine, calves and sheep.....	10	15	00				
It in bedding.....	23	18	00				
It a pell (†) of cotton wooll & cotton yarne, sheeps wooll, canvers & fethers.....	03	01	00				
It on carpet, warming pan, & cotton cloth.....	01	10	00				

TRIST. COFFYN,
WILLI WHITE.

° Item.
† Parcel.

† Who died in Boston in 1681, aged 77. Rev. John Wilson preached her funeral sermon, and "embalmed her memory."—*Swallow*.

He came to New England early in the Spring of 1642, in the same ship with Robert Clements, and landed at Salisbury, from whence he came to Haverhill sometime during the following summer. He seems to have settled near Mr. Clements, and tradition has it that he was the first person who plowed land in Haverhill.

Mirick says, that "in the following year he removed to the Rocks, where, in 1645, he was licensed to keep an 'ordinary,' or tavern—hence the name 'Coffin's Ordinary.'" If, by the "Rocks," he means the place then called by that name, and afterward designated as "Holt's Rocks," (just below the bridge at Rock's Village) he is evidently mistaken in the locality. Mr. Coffyn was licensed "to keep an ordinary at *Newberry*," and also to "keep a ferry on Newberry side over Merrimack, when the interest of George Carr shall be determined, and that George Carr shall have liberty to keepe his boate going on Salisbury side."

The place where Mr. Coffyn settled was in Newbury, opposite what has since been called Carr's Island—so called from the above-named George Carr. Mirick gives the date of the license as 1645, and Coffin (*Hist. Newbury*) 1644^o; but we cannot find it in the Colonial Records of either year. Coffyn was first licensed on the 26th of May, 1647, and, as we have above mentioned, to keep an ordinary "at Newberry†." He probably removed there about that time.

Although *Mr.* Coffyn was the person licensed, it seems that *Mrs.* C. did sometimes "help, aid, and assist," as we find that in 1645, she was "presented" for "selling beere at 3d a quarte," contrary to the law in such case made and provided, which required four bushels of malt to the hoghead, and that it should be sold at 2d per quart.‡ *Mrs.* Coffyn made it "appear to the Court" that *she* put in six bushels into a hoghead, whereupon the Court acquitted her!

° He also gives the same under the date of December 26, 1647.

† It would seem, however, that there was a place in the easterly part of this town, known as Coffin's Ordinary, about 1652. In that year, a second division of upland was made, in which James Davis received forty acres, one piece of which was bounded as follows: "By James Davis sen. on the west; the great river on the south; on the north side a swamp; on the east a brook; the other part bounded by a red oak at Coffin's ordinary running up that brook to a black oak, James Davis sen. on the east; the great river on the south.

‡ Some of the regulations concerning taverns, or ordinaries, are worth preserving; and as matters of curiosity and illustrations of the manners and customs of "ye olden time," we give some of them.

In 1634, it was ordered by the General Court, "that noe pson that keepe an ordinary shall take above vjd a meale for a pson, and not above jd for an ale quarte of beere, out of meale tyme, under the penalty of xs for eury offence, either of dyst or beere. Likewise, that victualars, or keepe of an ordinary, shall not suffer any tobacco to be taken into their houses, under the penalty of vs for eury offence, to be payde by the victualar, and xjd by the party that takes it."

Tobacco was evidently far from being the popular weed of these more modern times. Even its pri-

Mary, daughter of Tristram, married Nathaniel Starbuck, at Nantucket, and all accounts agree in representing her as an extraordinary woman. In the language of John Richardson, an early writer, "the Islanders esteemed her as a Judge among them, for little of moment was done without her." It was her custom to attend their town meetings, where she took an active part in the debates, usually commencing her address with "my husband thinks" so and so; but Richardson says, that "she so far exceeded him in soundness of judgment, clearness of understanding, and an elegant way of expressing herself, and that not in an affected strain, but very natural to her, that it tended to lessen the qualifications of her husband." In 1701 she became a Quakeress,^o took the spiritual concerns of the whole Island under her special superintendence, was speaker in their religious meetings, wrote the quarterly epistles, and was distinguished in every relation in life. Respecting her domestic economy, the same author observes: "the order of the house was such in all the parts thereof as I had not seen the like before; the large and bright-rubbed room was set with suitable seats or chairs, [for a meeting] so that I did not see any thing wanting according to place, but something to stand on, for I was not free to set my feet upon the fine cane chair, lest I should break it." Mary died in 1717. She had six children. The descendants of Tristram

vate use was "regulated," as will appear from the following: "Further, it is ordered, that noe peon shall take tobacco publicquely, under the penalty of 1/6 s vj d, nor privately, in his owne howse, or in the howse of another, before strangers, and that two or more shall not take it together, any where, under the aforesaid penalty for every offence." In 1637, "upon many sad complaints that much drunkenness, wast of the good creatures of God, mispence of precious time, and other disorders have frequently fallen out in the inns, and common victualling houses," the Court ordered that "It shall not bee lawfull for any persons that shall keepe any such inns, or common victualling house, to sell or have in their houses any wine, nor strong waters, nor any beere, or other drink other than such as may and shall be souled for 1d the quarte at the most." The Court also ordered that no beer should be brewed by any innholders or victualers, but only by licensed brewers, and that even they should not "sell nor utter any beere, or other drinks, of any stronger size than such as may and shall be afforded at the rate of 8s the barreil.

It does not appear, however, that these "Maine Laws" put a stop to the use of either tobacco or "strong water:" and the Court the next year relaxed the severity of the last named regulation, so as to allow innkeepers and victuallers to brew their own beer. Two years after, they repealed the "orders about restraint of beer," and permitted it to be sold at 2d a quart, which was the rule when Mrs. Coffyn was called to account in 1645.

^o Since writing the above, we have found the following interesting paragraph in a Boston Paper, (September, 1850): "Narcissa B. Coffin of Nantucket, a well known minister of the Society of Friends, was in Beverly for a short time on the 29d ult. She had just returned from Vermont and Upper New York, where she had been engaged in visiting prisons, houses of bad repute, and almshouses, preaching the Gospel to the inmates, sometimes with great hopefulness, many of the outcasts of society seeming glad to hear of a Saviour. Mrs. Coffin is a granddaughter of Joseph Hoag, niece of Lindley Murray Hoag, and daughter of Hannah Butrey, all of them well known and highly respected ministers in the Society of Friends. Joseph Hoag had a large family, all of whom, both sons and daughters, with their companions (except two) were preachers. Mrs. C. is the wife of Dr. Alex. G. Coffin, a worthy Friend, and a lineal descendant of Tristram Coffin, one of the first settlers of Nantucket, who moved thither from Haverhill about two hundred years ago.

Coffin are very numerous; among them was the distinguished Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin;^o more than twelve thousand of that name were supposed to be in the United States thirty years ago.

Hugh Sherratt came from Ipswich, in 1641, with Mr. Ward and John Favor. In 1650 a house lot was granted him "over the little river," from which we presume that he settled in that part of the town. As he was to leave open a highway, "both by that and the great river," it would seem that the location must have been in the vicinity of the westerly side of what is now Washington Square, near the site of the "South Church." At the time this lot was granted him, he, with several others, had laid down his lot in the (Pond) plain.

From the fact that his name frequently appears in the Court records as defendant in actions for debt, we judge that he must have been one of those whose talent for accumulating property was not large. In 1662, he was permitted to keep an ordinary, and to sell "strong water and wine at retail." From this we should infer that he was a man of sobriety and respectability, as in those days only such persons were permitted to occupy so responsible a position. But his hard luck seems to have followed him through life. In 1677, then in his ninety-ninth, year (his little remaining property having been illegally taken from him,) the poor old man was compelled to ask relief from the town. Then, as now, willing and prompt to support its poor and needy, the town agreed with Peter Brewer to keep him for five shillings per week, one half of which was to be paid in bread-stuff, and the other in meat. Upon a motion "to know who would lend corn, or meat, to the town, for the support of Hugh Sherratt; and they to be paid by the next town rates; several engaged as followeth; Robert Emerson, bacon; Joseph Emerson, beef, 6 lb.; Daniel Ela, beef, 12 lb.; Samuel Gile, beef, 6 lb.; Henry Kingsbury, Indian, 1; John Page Jr, 1 Ind. and meat 2 lb; Thomas Eaton, 18 lb meat or corn; Robert Ford Jr, 1-2 Ind; Bartholomew Heath, pork 4 lb; Thomas Davis, pork 4 lb, butter 1 lb; Michael Emerson, pork 4 lb; Thomas Whittier, turnips 1; Robert Ayer, pork 6 lb; Daniel Hendrick, meat 2 lb; Peter Ayer 3 lb meat or corn; Thomas Ayer Jr, 1 lb meat."

Considering that the town had now been settled nearly forty years, the very small amounts specified in this loan excite our surprise. We can hardly imagine that the time should ever have been when the loan of a single pound of beef, or butter would have been deemed a notable thing, and worthy of a place in the records of a town. Yet it was so.

^o Admiral Coffin lately established a school at Nantucket, for the children there who are descendants from his ancestor Tristram. The building was calculated for six hundred, but eight hundred young Coffins presented themselves! — *Boston Palladium*, July, 1839.

The town was not however, long called to bear the burden of supporting the aged patriarch. The next year he reached the uncommon age of one hundred years, and, ere its close, was laid to rest. He died September 5th, 1678, aged 100 years.

William White, whose name is attached to the deed, was one of the pioneer band of settlers in the town, and came here from Newbury. He was born in 1610, and came to New England in 1635, settling at Ipswich. He subsequently went to Newbury, and finally settled in this town, being as we have seen, one of the first company of settlers. He died September 28, 1690, aged 80. His widow soon after removed to Ipswich, where she died in 1693. Mr. White settled on the farm now owned by Mr. James D. White, and we find that he owned a farm in Newbury in 1650. Soon after the church was gathered, he became a member, and was one of its firmest pillars; he had the honor of the town very much at heart, and was esteemed by its citizens, and was frequently entrusted with its most important business. His descendants are exceedingly numerous, and are scattered in almost every direction over the United States. In his will, which is dated 2d January, 1683, he says: "I give to the Rev. Mr. Ward, my Teacher, in Haverhill, 10s. in silver; I give to the church of Haverhill, of which I am a member, the linen cloth which is on the communion table, and one of the pewter dishes which was mine, which was used at the sacrament, and to be kept for that use only so long as it may serve with decency for the common good of that society. My will is, that the girl which was given to me, by the girl's mother to breed up, if my wife will keep her untill John White [his son] marry, let her keep it, otherwise John White to put her out to sum one who will bring her up in good nurtour; if afterward she live with John till she is 18 years of age, or day of marriage, the said White is to cloth her well, and to give her five pounds. I give to Edward Brumidge a cloth jacket, and britches, and a shurt, all of mine own wearing." The amount of his property taken after his decease, was £508, 10s. *

* This *William White* had one son, *John*, who m. *Hannah French* at Salem, on Aug. 25, 1663 and d. Jan. 1, 1668-9, aged 29 leaving one son, *John*, b. March 8, 1664, m. *Lydia Giltman*, da'r of Hon. John Giltman of Exeter, Oct. 24, 1687, and had many sons and da's, "whose descendants are exceedingly numerous." He d. 1737. Said *John* and *Lydia* had sons *William*, *Samuel*, *Nicholas*, *Timothy*, (gradu. Harv. Col. 1790) *James* and *John*, and da's *Mary* (m. to *James Ayer* of Hav'll 1710) *Hannah* (m. to Rev. *Samuel Phillips* of Andover 1713) *Elizabeth*, (m. Rev. *Amos Maine* of Rochester) *Abigail*, (m. to *Moses Hazen* 1738) was mother of Gen. *Moses Hazen*, — *Lydia*, (m. to *Nath'l Peaslee*, Esq.,) and *Joanna*. The last named *William White* m. *Sarah Phillips*, sister of sd. *Samuel Phillips*, June 12, 1716, and had sons *William*, (merchant in Boston) *Samuel*, (Esq'r in Hav'll) *John*, (of Methuen, d. 1800 ag 80) *Timothy* (bookseller in Boston) *Phillips*, (of Southampton, N. H., Judge of Prob., — Member of Congress) and da's *Mary* (m. Rev. *John Chandler*, Billerica) and *Sarah* (m. Col. *Wm. Thompson*).

Thomas Davis, whose mark is affixed to the deed was a sawyer, from Marlborough, England, and, we believe, a brother of James, one of the first company of settlers. He married in England, before emigrating to America. He came to Newbury in 1641, and settled in Haverhill early in the spring of 1642. He died July 27, 1683.^o His wife died April 7, 1668. He had one son (Joseph) who died September 15, 1671.†

son of Billerica). *Samuel White*, (bro. of the Wm. who m. Sarah Phillips) m. Ruth Phillips, another sister of Rev. Samuel Phillips, and was father of John White, Harvard College, 1751, and gr'd father of Hon. Leonard White—H. O., 1787.

• Coffin and Mirick, speak of the descendants of Thomas Davis as very numerous, but we think they must be mistaken. The only child of his mentioned in the Town Records, is Joseph, who died in 1671. The numerous descendants referred to, are, we think, rather those of James, brother of Thomas; and of John, an early settler in Newbury. John died in 1675. He had seven children, and his descendants are "very numerous," as are also those of James. As early as 1730, there were no less than nineteen families of that name in town.

† Joseph, son of Thomas, was doubtless a wild boy, if we may judge from one of his capers. Under the date of 1662, the Portsmouth Court Record thus refers to him: "Whereas it doth appear that Joseph Davis of Haverhill was presented for putting on women's apparel and going from house to house in the night time, with a female, and whereas the said parties being removed from Haverhill into this jurisdiction, and being apprehended and brought into the Court at Strawberry Bank; the said Joseph Davis is judged to pay a fine of eight shillings, and also to make public acknowledgement of his fault on a lecture day, before the next Court, in default of which he shall forfeit forty shillings more." We may charitably presume that the unpleasant termination of his nocturnal adventure suspended his pursuit of pleasure in that direction, at least.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM 1643 to 1649.

MIRICK, in his history, says, "the first lawful town-meeting was holden this year" (1643). He doubtless based his decision upon the fact that no *record* is preserved of any previous meeting of the inhabitants, but from the fact that allusions are made to things done by them previous to that time, we think it is correct to say that meetings were held as early as the first year of the settlement. They were not, it is true, technically speaking, *town-meetings*,—because the plantation was not incorporated until 1645,—but were meetings of the inhabitants of the *plantation*, at which was transacted all business relating to the plantation, as such. The fact that a note to the minutes of the first meeting recorded, mentions the laying out of land to Mr. John Ward, fourteen months previously, seems to us conclusive, that the settlers held regular meetings from the first. While the inhabitants were few, there was but little general business necessary to be done by them, and that little could be so easily remembered, it was hardly necessary to make a record of it. But as the settlers multiplied, and their affairs became more complicated, they wisely made provision for a regular record to be kept of all their doings in their collective capacity. About this time, also, the General Court passed a law requiring a record of births, marriages, and deaths to be regularly kept in each town; and at the May term of the Court, (1643) the colony was divided into four counties, Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Haverhill was assigned to Norfolk, which was composed of Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover and Strawberry Bank, (Portsmouth).^o At the same Court, a tract of land containing six hundred acres was granted to Mr. Nathaniel Ward, father of John Ward, "near Pentuckett, or as near as conveniently may be." The Court also granted to Haverhill "a parcel of meadow-land about six score acres more or less, west of Haverhill about six miles."

Under these circumstances, Richard Littlehale was chosen "clerk of the Writs," and "town Recorder,"† and commenced a regular record of the births, marriages and deaths, in the town, and also the proceedings of the

^o The Courts were holden alternately at Salisbury and Hampton.

† He continued in office till 1664. The Court of Writs was a small Court established in town to try such causes as did not exceed forty shillings. It was sometimes called the Court for "small causes:" and frequently the Clerk of the Writs and Town Recorder were filled by one person.

inhabitants at their regular meetings. The date of the first meeting thus recorded, is November 6, 1643, and the first vote passed was to prevent an unnecessary destruction of timber.

The following is a correct copy of the vote:—“Voted that no man shall fall or cause to be fallen any timber upon the Comon but what he shall make use of within nine months next after it is fallen or otherwise it is and shall be forfeited.” At the same meeting they voted, “that there shall bee three hundred acres laid out for houseslots and no more; and that he that was worth two hundred pounds should have twenty acres to his houseslott, and none to exceed that number; and so every one under that sum, to have acres proportionable for his houseslott, to gether with meadow, and Common, and planting ground, proportionably.” This land was laid out east of Little River, where the village stands, and was called an “accommodation grant.”

An important movement of this year (1643) was the “Confederation of the New England Colonies.” The original movement toward a confederation proceeded from the western colonies, and the first proposal came from Connecticut. At first Massachusetts was indifferent to the measure, but at the General Court in May, commissioners presented themselves at Boston from each of the three colonies, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, and the Governor, with two magistrates and three deputies, were authorized to treat on the part of Massachusetts.^o At first the commission encountered some difficulties, but “after two or three meetings they lovingly accorded,” and agreed upon the terms of what, for important purposes, was for many years a Federal Government of the New England Colonies.

The year 1643 is also memorable from a great earthquake, which happened on Sunday, March 5th. “It came with a rumbling noise, but through the Lord’s mercy it did no harm.”† It was also a year of want and hunger. “Corn,” says Winthrop, “was very scarce all over the country, and many families in most towns had none to eat by the end of April, but were forced to live of clams, muscles, dry-fish, and so forth, but the merchants had great success in the sale of their pipe staves and fish.” The *Trial*, of Boston, “made a good voyage, which encouraged the merchants, and made wine, sugar and cotton very plentiful and cheap in the country. Our supplies from England failing much, men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof we had store from Barbadoes, and of hemp and flax, wherein Rowley to their great commendation exceeded all other towna.”‡

^o Winthrop, 2—99.

† Winthrop, 2—99.

‡ Winthrop—2: 94, 95.

On the fifth of July "there arose a sudden gust at northwest so violent for an hour as it blew down multitudes of trees. It lifted up their meeting house at Newbury, the people being in it. It darkened the air with dust, yet through God's great mercy it did no hurt, but only killed one Indian with the fall of a tree. It was straight (narrow) between Linne (Lynn) and Hampton."^o There was little rain this winter, and no snow till the third of march, the wind continuing west and northwest near six weeks."[†]

At a Town-meeting, holden the 6th of the following February, it was voted, "that all landholders shall pay all publique rates according to their number of acres that they hold to their houselots; and if any man shall buy one acre of meadow, one acre and halfe of planting ground, or one acre of commonage to his houselott, he shall pay proportionably for every acre or commonage with the houselott."

The former historian of the town, in referring to the above vote, says: "It will be perceived that the landholders only paid the public taxes, and that each man was rated according to the number of acres in his "house-lot," and not according to the property he possessed." We wonder that he should have been so careless in his statements. A reference to the vote of the November preceeding will show that the number of acres of each house-lot depended entirely upon the number of pounds the settler was worth. In other words, a man was granted land, and paid taxes, according to the amount of property he possessed.

At the meeting, of February 27th, it was "voted that Job Clement should have a parcell of ground, not exceeding one quarter of an acre at the Mill Brooke, being bounded forth by the Free-men to sett him up a *tann-house* and *tann-fatts* upon, to him and his heirs forever."

The Mill Brook referred to, is the small stream running from the outlet of Plug Pond to the River, and which has retained the same name to the present time. We have been unable to find any particular mention of a mill upon it at that early period, but its being thus called renders it quite certain that a mill (doubtless a corn-mill) had already been erected upon it. It is worthy of note, that from that time to the present, the stream has been occupied for the same purpose.

Job Clement, was a brother of Robert, one of the witnesses to the deed, and was the first tanner in town. His tannery was erected near the mouth of the brook. As we mentioned in regard to a mill, so may we say in regard to a tannery, that one has constantly existed upon the stream from that time to the present.

^o Winthrop—2: 124. [†] Winthrop—2: 155:

September 19th, "two churches were appointed to be gathered, the one at Haverhill, the other at Andover (both upon Merrimack river). They had given notice thereof to the magistrates and ministers of the neighboring churches, as is the manner with them in New England. The meeting of the Assembly was to be at that time at Rowley, (the forementioned plantations, being then but newly erected, were not capable to entertain them that were like to be gathered together on that occasion). But when they assembled most of those who were to join together in church fellowship at that time, refused to make the confession of their faith and repentance, because, as was said, they declared it openly before in other Churches, upon their admission into them. Whereupon the messengers of the Churches not being satisfied, the assembly brake, before they had accomplished what they intended. But in October, 1645, messengers of Churches met together again, on the same account, when such satisfaction was given, that Mr. John Ward was ordained pastor of the Church in Haverhill, on the North side of the said Merrimack, and Mr. John Woodbridge was ordained pastor of the Church at Andover, on the south side of the same.*

The first marriage in town was that of Job Clement and Margaret Dummer, who were married on the 25th December. The second marriage was that of George Corlis and Joanna Davis, on the 26th of Oct., 1645.†

Among cotemporary matters of interest at this period, we may mention the following: On the 5th of June, two ministers' sons, students in Harvard College—James Ward, son of Nathaniel Ward, (and brother of John Ward of Haverhill) and a son of Rev. Thomas Welde of Roxbury,—being found guilty of robbing two dwelling houses in the night time of eleven pounds in money, and thirty shillings worth of gunpowder, "were ordered by the governors of the college to be there whipped, which was performed by the President himself." This was the first punishment of the kind within the walls of old Harvard.

In those days fish were commonly made use of by farmers in the vicinity of rivers and fishing places, as manure for the corn, (a practice copied from the Indians), and from the following extracts, it would seem that "doggs" were not only very numerous, but troublesome. The Ipswich records contain the following:

* Hubbard, 416: Winthrop, 167.

† During the twenty years succeeding the first marriage, (that is from 1644 to 1664), there were thirty-seven marriages in town, viz:—1 in 1644, 1 in 1645, 2 in 1646, 2 in 1647, 2 in 1648, 2 in 1650, 2 in 1652, 1 in 1653, 2 in 1654, 1 in 1657, 2 in 1659, 1 in 1660, 3 in 1661, 5 in 1662, 10 in 1663.

It is probable the above includes also those inhabitants of the town who were married out of the town.

"May 11. It is ordered that all doggs for the space of three weeks after the publishing hereof, shall have one legg tyed up, and if such a dogg shall break loose, and be found doing any harm, the owner of the dogg shall pay damages; if a man refuse to tye up his dogg's legg, and hee be found scraping up fish in a corn field, the owner thereof shall pay twelve pence damages, beside whatever damage the dogg doth. But if any fish their house lotts and receive damage by doggs, the owners of those house lotts shall bear the damage themselves,"

The following is from the Exeter records:

"May 19, 1644. It is agreed that all dogs shall be clog'd and side-lined in ye day, and tied up in ye night, and if any dogs shall be found trespassing in the lots, they that shall find them shall showt them."

Wolves were also troublesome about this time, as we find in the records of Exeter, Hampton, and Newbury, large bounties were offered for every wolf killed.^o

"The winter of 1644-5 was very mild, and no snow lay, so as ploughs might go most part of the winter, but on February sixteenth there fell so great a snow in several days as the ways were unpassable for three weeks, so as the court of assistants held not." †

Jan. 13, 1645, the town "Voted, That every inhabitant that will, may make upon the common for every acre of house-lott which he hath, one hundred of pipe-staves and no more; provided he fall no timber for the same within two full miles of the house-lots."

The penalty for a violation of the above vote was five shillings.

At the town meeting of March 14, 1645, it was voted, "that every inhabitant may keep for every acre that he hath to his house lott, either an horse beast, ox, or cow, wth a foale or calfe, wth a year old, a two year old, and a three year old, until they shall be of the age of three years and an halfe, upon the commons appointed by the greater part of the freemen and no more."

What was then called the commons, were such lands as were not granted to any individual.

^o So serious had the matter become, that in June, 1645, the General Court declared that: "Whereas, great losse and damage doth befall this commonwealth by reason of wolves, which doe destroy so great numbers of our cattie, notwithstanding provision haith formerly beene made by this court for suppressing of them, and wee find little hath bin donne yt way for ye better encouraging of any to sett about a work of so great concernment, itt is therefore ordered, yt any person, either English or Indian, yt shall kill any wolf or wolves within tenne miles of any plantation in this jurisdiction, shall have for evry wolfe by him or them so killed, tenne shillings, to be paid out of the treasury of ye county."—*Col. Rec.* 3: 17.

† Winthrop 2: 210.

There were in town this year, as near as can be ascertained, thirty-two landholders, viz:—

John Ward,	Richard Littlehale, ^o	James Fiske,
Robert Clement,	William Butler,	Thomas Hale, ^o
Job Clement,	John Ayer, sen.,	James Davis, sen. ^o
John Clement,	John Ayer, jun.,	James Davis, jun. ^o
Joseph Merrie,	Joseph Peasley, ^o	John Eaton,
Abraham Tylor,	William White, ^o	Bartholomew Heath, ^o
Hugh Sherratt,	John Robinson, ^o	Tristram Coffyn,
Henry Savage,	Henry Palmer, ^o	Daniel Ladd,
Christopher Hussey, ^o	Thomas Davis, ^o	Samuel Gile, ^o
Daniel Hendrick, ^o	George Corliss,	John Davis. ^o
John Williams, ^o	Nathaniel Wier, ^o	

Those names which have a ^o attached to them were from Newbury.

George Corliss came from England to Newbury about the year 1639, being at the time about twenty-two years of age. He is believed to be the first one of the name who came to this country, and the ancestor of most if not all of that name in New England. He married Joanna Davis, Oct. 26, 1645, by whom he had one son and seven daughters.^o

Corliss was an enterprising and industrious man, and well qualified to take a prominent part in the settlement of a new town. He settled in the West Parish, on the farm of the late Ephraim Corliss,—now owned by his son Charles, who is of the seventh generation from the original grantee,—and at his death was possessed of a large landed property. He owned most of the land on both sides of the old "Spicket Path," as it was then called, for a distance of more than three miles.

John Robinson was a blacksmith, and came with the first settlers in 1640. In 1657 he bought a house-lot in Exeter, and soon after removed to that place.

The plantation of Haverhill was this year incorporated into a town, being the twenty-third town settled in the colony.

The first church was gathered in the summer of this year; it consisted of fourteen members, eight males and six females; and Mr. John Ward was ordained their pastor. Johnson, an early writer, says:—"The Town of Haverhill was built much about this time, lying higher up than Salisbury upon the fair and large River of Merrimack: the people are wholly bent to improve their labor in tilling the earth and keeping of cattel,

^o John, the son, married Mary Milford, Dec. 17, 1684, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. His son John was the father of thirteen children.



POPULAR LAWN, RESIDENCE OF CHARLES CORLISS.
First Settled by George Corliss, in 1660.

whose yearly increase encourages them to spend their days in those remote parts. The constant penetrating further into this Wilderness hath caused the wild and uncouth woods to be filled with frequented wayes, and the large rivers to be overlaid with Bridges passeable both for horse and foot; this Town is of a large extent, supposed to be ten miles in length, there being an overweening desire in most men after Meadow land, which hath caused many towns to grasp more into their hands than they could afterward possibly hold; the people are labourers in gaining the goods of this life, yet they are not unmindful also of the chiefend of their coming hither, namely, to be made partakers of the blessed Ordinances of Christ, that their souls might be refreshed by the continual income of his rich grace, to which end they gathered into a church-body and called to office the reverend Mr. Ward, son to the former named Mr. Ward, of Ipswich.

With mind resolved run out thy race at length,
 Young Ward, begin, whereas thy father left,
 Left hath he not, but breaths for further strength,
 Nor thou, nor he, are yet of hope bereft;
 Fruit of thy labours thou shalt see so much,
 The righteous shall hear of it, and rejoyce
 When Babel falls by Christ's almighty touch,
 All's folks shall praise him with a cheerful voice.
 They prosper shall that Zion's building mend,
 Then Ward cease not with toyle the stones to lay.
 For great is he thee to this work assigned,
 Whose pleasure is, heavens Crown shall be thy pay."*

At this early day, the houses of the settlers were all on or near the present site of the village, while their meadow, and upland (or ploughing land) lots, were located in various parts of the town. Each man received a number of acres in the village for a "house lot." The size of this, as we have seen, was dependent on the amount of property he possessed. In addition to the house-lot, each man received a portion of meadow, and planting land, the number of acres being regulated by the size of the house lot. The meadow and planting lands were often several miles distant from the house lot. In course of time, as the country became more thickly settled, and the land cleared up, many of the settlers removed from the village to their planting land. A natural desire to have all their land as nearly in one body as possible, led to the frequent buying, selling and exchanging of lots, and in course of time, the lots, or *farms*, of the settlers, became more compact; and, as their wealth increased, their number of acres also increased.

* This church was the 26th gathered in the colony.

As a specimen of the manner in which the land was first distributed, we copy the following from the records of the town:—

1659 "Daniel Ladd's^o accommodations. Six acres of accommodations: Four acres to his house lot; more or less; Robert Clement's bounding on the east, and Henry Savage on the west. Five acres in the plain: William White on the east and John Williams on the north. Nine acres up the great river, Thomas Ayers on the east and George Browne on the west. Four acres of meadow in the east meadow, more or less; Joseph Peasly on the south, and George Browne the north. One acre and a half of meadow in the pond meadow; James Davis sen on the south, and Robert Clement jun on the north. One acre of meadow at Hawkes meadow; John Davis on the south, and Thomas Whittier on the north."

"Daniel Ladd's 2d division, containing 27 acres of upland, be it more or less; with sixteen acres of ox-common and a half, bounded by George Corley and John Hutchins on the west; by a black oak, a white oak, a red oak, and a walnut on the south; by a walnut and a white oak on the east, by two white oaks and an ash on the north. Three acres of meadow lying on Spicket River, bounded by Thomas Davis on the south, and Robert Clements on the north: and one spot of meadow at Primrose swamp, and another spot at the east meadow, at the head of the meadow that was John Davis's adjoining to his own. For the land that was taken off Daniel Ladd's 3d division, we added a piece on the north side of the highway round the meadow that was Goodman Hale's bounded by the highway and Merrie's Creek. Third division of meadow containing 3 acres, be it more or less, bounded by John Page on the south, a pine on the east, his own uplands on the west, and uplands on the north of the said meadow, lying in mistake meadow."

Daniel Ladd doubtless found farming quite a different thing from what most farmers of the present day find it. His house lot was in the village; his planting ground in two places,—a part of it "in the plain" from one to two miles east of the village, and the other part "up the great river," at least as far, on the west of the village—while his meadow lands were in seven lots, and as many distinct meadows. East meadow was in the easterly part of the town, three miles from his home lot, while Spicket

^o Daniel Ladd, m. Ann ———. Children: Mary, b. Feb. 14 1646; Samuel, b. Nov. 1, 1649; Nath'l b. Mar. 10, 1652, d. (of wounds) Aug. 11, '91; Ezekiel, b. Sept. 16, 1654; Sarah, b. Nov. 4, 1657.

He died July 27, '93. She died Feb. 10, '94.

† The "more or less" refers to the rule adopted by the town of making up in quantity what might be lacking in the quality of any lot.

meadow was at least eight miles in the opposite direction. Pond meadow was two miles northeast; Hawkes' meadow some three miles west; Primrose swamp two miles northwest; and mistake meadow somewhere in the westerly part of the town.

When we reflect that in those days "highways" were at best but primitive cart paths, through the woods, with stumps still standing, hills ungraded, and streams unbridged; and that the land was new, rough, and worked only by great labor, we may have a faint idea of some of the hardships of our first settlers. Had they not been men of iron nerve, tireless muscle, and indomitable energy and perseverance, our now beautiful town, with its unsurpassed mosaic of cultivated fields, green hills, smiling lakes, its majestic river, and murmuring streams, would still be but a waste and howling wilderness, the home of wild beasts, and the hunting ground of the miserable aboriginee.

At a town meeting on the 13th of January, 1646, it was voted that the inhabitants should have liberty to make one hundred pipe staves, on the common, for every acre which his house-lot contained; and "that they should fall no timber within two miles of any of the house lotts." If a person felled a tree within the prescribed limits, he was to pay five shillings, which was to be appropriated for the benefit of the town; or, if he felled any more than was required to make his proportion of staves, he was to pay the same sum.

It is pleasant to observe the great respect, and even veneration, in which our fathers held their minister, or as they more frequently called him, their *Teacher*. It not only speaks well for the Christian virtues of the man, but for the sturdy moral character of his people. An early manifestation of their regard for Mr. Ward is found in the following vote of October 29, 1646:—

"Voted by all the freeholders then present at a lawful town meeting, that Mr Ward our Teacher's land shall be *rate free* for his ministry during his life, if he continue minister to the plantation, provided he use it himself, but if he sell, let, or set any of it to hire, it shall pay rates proportionable with our own: And that forty pounds p. an. shall be paid him by the remainder of the 300 acres^o for his ministry,"

At this meeting the first selectmen were chosen; they were Thomas Hale, Henry Palmer, Thomas Davis, James Davis and William White.

In looking over the records of this early date, we find that *Goodman* was a common appellation among the men, excepting when they addressed

^o That is, the three hundred acres previously laid out for house lots.

their minister, magistrate, or a militia officer above the grade of Lieutenant; to such they applied the title of *Mister*. *Goodwife*, or *Goody*, were terms applied to women, excepting when addressing the wives of those above mentioned, whom they called *Madam*. *Mrs.* was placed before names of both married and unmarried women, when it was written, — which was not so frequent as at present.

Hugh Sherratt was this year licensed by the General Court "to draw wyne by retaill at Haverhill, paying tenn shillings p ann rent therefore to ye countrye."^o

In order to avoid all cause of complaint on account of unequal rates of taxation in the several towns, the General Court, at the November session of this year (1646), adopted the following schedule of rates:—

"Cowes of four year ould and upward, 5£; heifers and steers betwixt 3 and 4 year old, 4£; heifers and steers betwixt 2 and 3 year ould, fifty shillings; and between 1 and 2 year old 30s; oxen 4 year old and upward, 6£; horses and mares 4 year old and upward, 7£; 3 year ould 5£; betwixt 2 and 3 year ould, 3£; yearlins 2£: sheepe above a year ould, 20s; asses above a year ould, 2£."

Houses, lands, and all other visible estate, real or personal, was to be valued according to what they were worth in the several places where they were, proportionable to the above prices for cattle, &c. Hay and corn growing were not to be rated. Towns were required to choose one of their freemen, who, with the selectmen, should yearly make a true valuation of all such ratable property in their several limits. This was the origin of "assessors" as town officers.†

Attending town meetings was evidently considered by our ancestors as a duty each voter owed to the community in which he lived, and for the neglect of which he deserved punishment. They even considered tardiness in attending as meriting rebuke, as we find by the record of February 13, 1647, that John Ayer, sen., and James Fiske were fined "for not attending the town meeting in season."

^o Col. Rec. 3—109.

† Choosing *Selectmen* is of earlier date. In 1636 the General Court enacted, that "every particular township should have power over its own affairs, and to settle mulcts upon any offender, upon any public order, not exceeding twenty shillings, and liberty to choose prudential men, not exceeding seven, to order the affairs of the town."

These men were at first called "the seven men," then "towne's men," then "towne's men select," and finally "select men." Says the Rev. Richard Brown, in his diary, "they were chosen from quarter to quarter by papers to discharge the business of the town, in taking in, or refusing any to come, into town, as also to dispose of lands and lots, to make lawful orders, to impose fines on the breakers of orders, and also to levy and distrain them, and were fully empowered of themselves to do what the town had power for to do. The reason whereof was, the town judged it inconvenient and burdensome to be all called together on every occasion."

From the following entry in the records of the General Court, May, 1647, it appears that the justices, or commissioners, of the Court of the Writs, or courts to try "small causes," were chosen by the several towns, subject to the approval of the General Court:

"The town of Haverell having chosen Robert Clements, Henry Palmer, and Thom: Hale to end small causes, they are allowed."

At the same court John Osgood (Andover) and Thom: Hale were appointed to "lay out the way from Andiver to Haverell; and James Davis, jun., and Antho: Staniell from Haverhill to Excetter." They also appointed "a committee to view ye ryver, and make returne to ye Courte of ye necessity and charge of a bridge."

The river above referred to was doubtless the Merrimack. Though the committee were instructed to report to the next session of the Court, we cannot find that they did so, or that any report was ever made upon the matter. A bridge was not built at Haverhill until nearly a century and a half afterward.^o

The inhabitants this year petitioned the General Court for a tract of land to enlarge the town. The following is the answer of the Court, which was holden at Boston, 27th October:—"In answer to the petition of Haverhill, ye Courte conceiving such vast grants to be greatly prejudicial to ye publick good, and little if at all advantageous to particular townships, apprehending 4 miles square, or such a proportion, will accommodate a sufficient tract of land; in such a case thinke meete a Committee be chosen to view the place and returne their apprehensions to ye next General Courte, to which end, with the petitioners consent, they have nominated Mr. Dummer, Mr. Carlton, John Osgood, and Ensign Howlet, or any two of them, provided Ensign Howlet be one to do it."[†]

At the same court it was ordered that every township in the jurisdiction numbering "fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and reade, whose wages shall be paid either by ye parents or masters of such children, or by ye inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as ye major part of those that order ye prudentials of ye towne shall appoint; provided those yt send their children be not oppressed by paying much more yn they can have ym taught for in other towns; and it is further ordered, yt where any towne shall increase to ye number of 100 families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, ye mr thereof being

^o 1704.

[†] Richard Dummer, of Newbury; Edward Carlton, of Rowley; John Osgood, of Andover; and Ensign Howlet, of Ipswich.

able to instruct youth so farr as they may be fitted for ye university, provided, yt if any towne neglect ye performance hereof above one yeare, yt every such towne shall pay 5*£* to ye next schooll till they shall perform this order."

This order of the General Court was the beginning of our now world-renowned system of common schools. Haverhill did not at that time contain the specified number of householders, and was consequently exempt from the requirement. We do not find that a school was commenced here until fourteen years afterward, and for many years subsequent to that time a teacher was not regularly employed, according to law.

At the same court town marks were assigned to each town, for marking cattle, &c. That of Haverhill was the letter H, which was to be put upon the near quarter.

The following order was also passed: "Ye court being informed that the soldiers of Haverhill are destitute of any officer to exercise them, it is therefore ordered by this court, that all ye inhabitants, who have a right to vote in ye election of officers, to meet and choose some meet person for the place of Sergeant to exercise them."

This is the first notice we find of a military company in this town, though a company, or "train band," was doubtless organized soon after the first settlement of the town, — the laws of the Colony requiring such a company in every town. As early as 1631, such companies were obliged to train every Saturday. Not only were the able-bodied men required to take part in this duty and exercise, but, by a law of 1645, all youth from ten to sixteen years of age, were ordered to be "instructed upon ye usual training days, in ye exercise of armes, as small guns, halfe pikes, bowes and arrowes, &c." Soldiers were obliged to furnish their own arms, for which they were allowed to exchange produce in lieu of money. If any under thirty years of age were destitute of means to purchase, they could be bound to service to earn and pay for the same. The constant danger of attacks and surprises from the Indians, compelled the Colony to adopt these vigorous measures, and provide every possible means for their defence. Every town had its train-band, and its arrangements and signals for alarms, rendezvous, and organization in case of sudden attack; watches and scouts, were almost constantly employed; and so imminent was the danger, that the inhabitants never ventured to church without their arms. The men were the last to enter the church, and the first to come out after service, and always occupied seats nearest the door or aisles, that they might the more readily repulse an attack. This was the origin of the present almost universal New England custom of allowing the wives and daughters that part of the

pew farthest from the entrance, and their remaining after service until the fathers and sons have first retired. The custom is, however, slowly becoming obsolete.

At this early period there was no bell in town to call the people together, and, as a substitute, the town voted that "Richard Littlehale should beat the drum on the Lord's day morning and evening, and on lecture days, for which, and also for writing public orders, he is to have 30 shillings; he is also to beat the drum for town meetings."

This year the settlement began to extend northward. Grants of land were made to Henry Palmer and others, in the plain north of the Pond-meadow. A few houses had been built near the spot where Stevens' factory now stands; and George Corliss had erected a log house on his farm farther west.

Thomas Whittier, of Newbury, came into town about this time, and brought a swarm of bees, which were probably the first in the place. They were willed to him by Henry Rolfe, of Newbury, who calls them "his best swarm of bees." At that time they were no mean legacy, and their arrival was doubtless the "town talk."

Job Clement was this year (January 30, 1647) made a freeman at the Ipswich Court, and sworn constable for Haverhill. He seems to have been the first constable in the town.

Up to this time the town had no house for public worship. Tradition says that on pleasant Sabbaths they assembled beneath the branches of a large tree that stood near the burial ground, and at other times they doubtless assembled in private houses. The population had now become so numerous that it was decided to build a house for worship, and at the March meeting, 1648, it was "voted that the Meeting House shall stand on the lower knolle at the lower end of the Mill Lot."

What was then called the Mill Lot, was the ground now occupied by Pentucket and Linwood cemeteries. The house was erected and finished in the following autumn. It was twenty-six feet in length, twenty feet



wide, and one story in height. It had neither gallery nor cupola. It stood facing the river, upon the slight elevation or knoll, about midway between the south and the north bounds of Pentucket Cemetery. It was underpinned with rough stones, and several persons now living can remember of seeing the ruins of the foundation. Mr. Robert Willis informs us, that, in his early years, he could distinctly trace the size and position of the building by these foundation stones.

At the September Court, 1647, the town was presented for not having a ferry, and at the next March term it was "enjoynd to provide a boat for the convenience of passengers" within a reasonable time, "under a penalty of 40s and fees." The town immediately appointed Thomas Hale to keep the ferry. The price for ferrying was fixed at "one penny for a passenger, two pence for cattel under two years old, and four pence for such as were over that age." The ferry was established at the place still called the "old ferry-way," a little east of the foot of Kent Street. The inhabitants had from the first passed over the river at this place, but no regular ferryman was appointed until this year.

At the town meeting March 3d, 1648, it was "voted that all men shall have liberty to fell, or to let stand, any tree or trees which standeth at the end of his lot, next the street or great river: and if any man shall fell any such tree unto whom it doth not belong, he shall pay for every tree five shillings, to be paid unto him at the end of whose lot it did grow."

What is now Water Street, was the first highway laid out. It was laid out on the bank of the river, and the lots were bounded on the south by the highway. The above vote allowed the owners of lots to fell any trees that stood at the end of their lots; i. e., any trees in this highway opposite to their lots. Some years subsequently, the owners of these lots were permitted, during the pleasure of the town, to make use of the river as a fence to the end of their several lots. In the original grants, these lots were bounded "on the highway and the great river," or to the river, "the highway excepted." We find no grants of land on the south side of this street until long after this time, and therefore believe that our ancestors did not intend it should be built upon. Robert Clement was this year chosen Deputy to the General Court at Boston, and was the first one sent from the town.

From the records of Jan. 7, 1649, we learn that there had been complaint made by some that had had land out in the plain (between the village and chain ferry), that it was "not fit for improvement." The town therefore gave them liberty to "lay it down," and take up in some other place.

At the meeting of February 18, "Thomas Hale was chosen Constable by the Freemen." This is the first constable mentioned in the town records, though, as we have seen, Job Clement was sworn into that office in 1647, at the Ipswich Court. Hale was probably the first one chosen by the town.

At the meeting of April 16, "it was acknowledged by John Robinson that Daniel Lad had bought six acres of accommodations of him, which

the town granted him. Approved on by the Selectmen." From this vote we learn, that at that time a settler could not sell the land which the town had granted him, without its consent.

The town was this year ordered by the General Court to erect a watch-house, a pound, and *stocks*, immediately. We can find no vote in the Town Records relating to the stocks, or whipping post; but that such means of punishment were erected, and often made use of, is a fact, as persons now living can testify. They stood at the east end of the old meeting house on the common, about ten rods north of the present southern entrance to the park, on the easterly side. The whipping post is described to us as being from twelve to fifteen inches in diameter, and set in the ground at an angle of about forty-five degrees. Upon the upper side of this post the culprit was tied, and the lashes applied with a "cat," of stout leather thongs. Mrs. Stebbins, now 82 years old, distinctly remembers witnessing the whipping of a man who broke into the store of Mr. Duncan, about the year 1784. His groans and cries made a deep impression upon her mind. She thinks it must have been about the last case of public whipping in the town. Moses Wingate, Esq., now 91 years old, but hale and lively, remembers the whipping of a man, by Sheriff David Bradley. After it was over, the culprit coolly offered to "take as many more for a half-pint of rum." We do not learn that the offer was accepted.

The stocks stood near the whipping post, the latter forming one end of the former.

This year, that part of Rowley called Merrimack, was settled by John and Robert Haseltine, and William Wild. It was incorporated by the name of Bradford, in 1673. What is now Boxford, was then called "Rowley village."^o

An effort was made this year to induce Job Clement to remove to Newbury. The town of Newbury granted him a freehold "conditionally yt he live with us heere in Newbury exercising his trade four years, or as long as he shall live within that tearme, and also let the shoemakers of this town have the first proffer on the forsaking of his leather, making him as good pay as others." Job concluded to stay in Haverhill, notwithstanding the liberal offer.

^o A few years since Bradford was divided, the easterly portion taking the name of Groveland.

CHAPTER VII.

1650 to 1659.

THE year 1650, the tenth after the first blow had been struck in the wilds of Pentucket, found the settlers well established in their new home. Their numbers had increased more than five-fold, and included men of character, wealth, and influence. They had their cattle, and horses, their meadows and cultivated fields, their mills and mechanics, their houses, their church, their minister, their town organization, and, in brief, were now fairly settled and prosperous.

About this time two orchards were planted, one by John Clement, and the other by Stephen Kent. As near as can be ascertained, the former was situated a little north of the Cemetery, probably under the shelter of the adjacent hill; and the latter near the house where the late Samuel W. Ayer lived.

The necessity of definite bounds between the town and its neighbor, Salisbury, induced the inhabitants to prefer a request to the General Court, at Boston, to that effect, and the Court appointed a commission for the settlement of the same.^o

At the same session, Henry Palmer, Thomas Davis, and Job Clements, were appointed to "end small causes" in the town, and at the next session (May 22) Robert Clements was appointed and empowered to give the oath of fidelity in the town. Both these appointments were made at the request of the town.[†] A petition was also presented to the Court by the inhabitants, for "the graunt of an iland lying in the Rieur Merimacke agaynst some parte of theire towne, contayning about 20 or 30 acoers." In answer to the petition, the Court ordered "that theire request be graunted for the said iland, vnless Mr Ward or any other shall make any cleare title from this Court, to appear vnto this Court within three years, to the sayd iland."

Among the votes of the town this year is one requiring that the name of every freeholder should be kept in the town's book, and that he be compelled to attend town meetings, when lawfully warned:—"and having lawful warning he is to come within half an hour after the meeting is begun, and continue till sunset if the meeting hold so long, under the penalty of halfe a bushel of Indian corn or the value of it."

^o Col. Rec., 3,—196—4, 6, 12.

[†] Ibid.

Considerable land was this year granted to individuals west of Little River, on the Merrimack; and Hugh Sherratt, Bartholomew Heath, James Fiske, and John Chenarie, had liberty to lay down their land in the plain, "and have it laid out over Little River, westward." We are unable to account for the frequent taking up and laying down of land about this time, except upon the ground of mere fancy, or notion; as, about the same time that the above named persons made the change referred to, Joseph Peasley had leave to lay down his land over Little River, and take up in the plain, and Samuel Gild also made choice of land at that place.

John Hoitt, a brick maker, removed from Ipswich to Haverhill some time during this year, the town granting him three fourths of an acre of land, and the "clay pits," on condition that he become an inhabitant of the town. The clay pits alluded to, are situated in the West Parish, near the late Ephraim Corliss's, and are still known by that name. It would seem that the pits were already dug, and perhaps bricks made, when Hoitt came, but by whom cannot now be ascertained. Many of the bricks used in building the first houses in Massachusetts, were brought from Holland, and we need not wonder that the town should consider the settlement of a brick-maker worth a strong effort.

In one of the land grants of this year we find mention of a "wigwam" in the town. It is also mentioned in 1660 and 1685. These are the only mentions or hints of the Indians, or of anything belonging to or done by them, that we can find in the early records of the town, save an "Indian wire" in Fishing River (1664) and the "Indian Bridge" over Spicket River.^o The wigwam was an old and dilapidated affair, as in one of the places stated, it is spoken of as the "old wigwam that is, or was," in or near a certain swamp. It was located in the west part of the town, "at the lower end of the far west meadow."

The first mention we find of an ox-common, is in a vote of January 13, of this year, which declares that "the ox-common already appointed shall for the present be continued." About this time a dispute arose between the inhabitants of Haverhill and Salisbury, in relation to the bounds between the two towns. The latter (which then included what is now Amesbury) claimed more land than the former were willing to allow; and, at a meeting in December, 1650, a committee was chosen to meet a similar committee on the part of Salisbury, and endeavor to agree upon the matter in dispute. The following is the vote:—"Voted, That Thomas Hale, John Clement, and John Davis, should meet with Salisbury men to

^o There is an allusion in the records of the General Court, of 1663, to "Old Wills planting ground," which must have been near the mouth of Spicket River, and on the east side of it. Old Will was probably one of the Wamomet Indians, whose principal settlement was then near the mouth of the Concord River.

consult with them concerning the bounds between them and us: and the town doth hereby give them power to agree with them if they can, and to lay out the bounds between us."

This year there were forty-three freemen in town, nineteen of whom had taken the oath of fidelity. The following table contains the names found in the records of 1650 and previously, with the year in which the name first appears: and also the valuation of each man's property, according to the vote of November 6, 1643. Neither the date or valuation should, however, be considered as more than an approximation to the truth:—

1641 John Favor, ^o		1646 Thomas Davis,	100
" John Robinson,		" Thomas Davis,	100
1642 John Ward,†	£ 80	" James Fisk,	
" Tristram Coffin,		" William Butler,	
" Hugh Sherratt,	50	" Bartholomew Heath.	140
" William White,	50	1647 Samuel Gile,	40
" Thomas Davis,		1648 Thomas Linforth,	
" John Williams,	80	" John Eaton,	80
1643 Abraham Tyler,	60	" Thomas Whittier,	80
" Richard Littlehale,	40	1649 George Goldwin	
1644 Henry Savage,		" Goodman Moice & 3 Sons,	
" Job Clement,		" Abraham Morrill,	
1645 Christopher Hussie,		" Christopher Lawson,	
" Daniel Hendrick,	120	" Richard Ormsby,	70
" Henry Palmer,	60	" Wm. Holdridge,	
" George Corliass,		1650 Robert Ayer,	40
1646 Thomas Hale,		" John Ayer jun,	80
" James Davis,	200	" Thomas Ayer,	
" John Ayer,	160	" John Chenarie,	
" Daniel Lad,	£ 40	" George Browne,	80
" Joseph Pensley,		" John Hoit,	
" John Davis,		" Goodman Hale.	

The following table contains the valuation of those to whom house lots were laid out at various times, but whose names do not appear previous to 1650:—

Robert Clement, Sen,	£ 50	Thomas Eaton,	£ 40
John Clement,	35	Edward Clarke,	40
Matthias Button,	60	Robert Swan,	30
Steven Kent,	200	John Haseltine,	40
James Davis Jr,	130	John Johnson,	90
Peter Ayer,	60	John Carleton,	90
Richard Singletary,	60	Joseph Johnson,	50
John Huckins,	480	John Page jun,	40

^o Names against which no amount is placed, are those of persons for whom we can find no record of a house lot being laid out. Some of them, if not all, probably purchased the right of others to lands.

† We do not know whether these pounds were the English pounds sterling (sixteen ounces of silver) or the pound of Troy weight, (sixty-two shillings) but presume they were the latter. If so, each pound was equivalent to \$5.33.

Among the early settlers, were four brothers by the name of Ayer, John, Robert, Thomas, and Peter. The former settled near the house of the late Capt. John Ayer, 2d, who was the sixth generation who lived on the same spot. The latter settled in the northwesterly part of the town, in the West Parish. Their descendants are very numerous, and are scattered throughout nearly every State in the Union. In 1700, it was supposed that nearly one third of the inhabitants of the town were of that name. They were mostly farmers.^o

At a meeting of the town January 1, 1651, "It was agreed upon that such as have land in the plain or below the plain, butting upon the great river, should have liberty to make use of the bank next the river for a fence for the space of four years: and also such as have land over the little river, west, shall have the same liberty so far as Thomas Hale's lot.

The *plain* here alluded to, was the one east of the village. Under date of January 12, 1651, we find the following:—"It was this day ordered that the ox-common which was formerly an ox-common, shall be for the use of them who live upon the east side of the mill brook, and for as many as will join with them."

"Ordered that they that live upon the west side of the mill brook, shall have liberty to have an ox-common westward for them, and as many as will join with them, which common is to be laid out in a convenient place, as shall be judged meet by the major part of the town.

That the town were anxious to have their numbers increased may be judged from the following vote of the same year:—"It was this day agreed that James Pecker should be an inhabitant with us, and that he shall have a four acre lot with accommodations proportionable to it, which lot is to be bought of Bartholomew Heath for eight pounds. James Pecker doth promise to come and be an inhabitant with us by June 1653." We

^o The following notes, taken from the Essex County Records and papers, will doubtless be of interest to the many persons of that name in the town:—1636. John Ayer, or Eyer, of Haverhill, made a will March 12, 1656-7. He died March 31, 1657, and his will was proved October 6th of the same year. His children were John, Nathaniel, Hannah, Rebecca, Mary, Robert, Thomas, Obadiah and Peter. He left a wife, named Hannah. 1668. Mary Ayers, aged 84; and Samuel Ayers, aged 43. 1671. Inventory taken of the estate of Benjamin Ayers. 1672. John Ayer, late of Ipswich, was now of Quabog. (There was a John Ayres in Ipswich as early as 1648.) 1679. John Ayer, or Eyer, late of Haverhill, now of Ipswich. Had a wife Mary. 1693. Samuel Ayers, aged 43 years. 1704. Jonathan Ayer, aged 65 years. 1711. Robert Ayres, of Haverhill, aged 86 years.

In 1764, Major Ebenezer Ayer, of Haverhill, married Hannah, widow of James Scammon, of Saco, Me., where he continued to reside. He had several children.—*Vide Hist. Saco and Biddeford*, p. 298.

For the names of many others of this numerous family, see the Appendix to this volume.

presume that Pecker accepted the town's offer, as he came here soon after and continued to reside here until his death, in 1696.*

At the May session of the General Court, on petition of the inhabitants of Haverhill, a new committee was appointed to lay out the bounds of the town. Joseph Jewett was chairman of the committee. At a meeting of May 30th, the town voted "that Mr Clement, Jno Davis, Tho Whittier, and John Robinson shall go with Joseph Jewett about the laying out of the bounds of the plantation."

It seems that the town committees chosen the previous year, had been unable to agree upon the bounds, and the commissioners appointed by the General Court at that time had done nothing; therefore, that body appointed a new committee, who attended to the duty, and reported at the next October Court. Their report was approved.

The only clue we have to the bounds thus confirmed, is contained in the following record of the General Court: — "This Courte haveinge formerly graunted fower miles square for the boundes of Haverill, or such a tract of land, and did appoynt Joseph Jewett, John Haseltine, Robert Haseltine, and William Wilder, or any two of them, to lay out theire said boundes, which Joseph Jewett and William Wilder haveinge done accordinge to the Courtes graunt, this Court (at the request of the inhabitants of Haverill) doth confirme theire said boundes, as they are now layd out by the persons above mentioned."†

We regret that a more definite account of this first laying out of our town cannot now be found. It will be seen, however, (unless we emphasize the phrase "or such a tract of land") that it allowed a much less area than was covered by the Indian deed; and we wonder that the inhabitants should so readily request the General Court to confirm the bounds reported.

It was voted this year by the town, "that all the meadows shall be laid out by the 12th of June next, to each man his proportion according to his house lot." At the same meeting it was "Ordered that Hugh Sherratt, Theophilus Satchwell, Bart Heath, James Fiske, and Daniel Ladd, shall view the upland that is fit to plough, by the last of March or the tenth of April

* The only children of his recorded, are Mary, b. Sept. 5, 1632; Susanna, b. Dec. 17, 1654; A Daughter, b. Jan. 25, 1664, and d. Feb. 10, 1664. Some of their descendants are still to be found in the town, though their number is small.

One John Pecker kept tavern in this town for many years, and was succeeded at his death, in 1757, by his widow. About 1760, the same tavern was kept by Matthew Soley for a short time, when it fell into the hands of Jeremiah Pecker. Bartholomew Pecker, a native of Haverhill, was one of Washington's "Life Guards." "Pecker's Hill," and "Pecker Street," will long perpetuate this name in the town.

† Col. Rec., 3—246.

next, and that they bring in their intelligence to the town by that time." It was also ordered "that all the undivided land, after all the meadows and second division of plough land is laid out, shall remain to the same inhabitants the proprietors of the three hundred and six acres, to every one according to honest and true meaning, all commons remaining in general to them."

This last vote, it will be seen, plainly and unequivocally declares who were the *proprietors* of the common or undivided lands in the town, "according to honest and true meaning." They were the original purchasers, or grantees, of the township. Years afterward, when the number of inhabitants had greatly increased, the question of proprietorship in the undivided lands became a troublesome one, and for a long period was a prominent "apple of discord" in the town. Frequent disputes occurred between the "commoners" and the "non-commoners," which sometimes led to bloody noses and shaded eyes. The commoners held meetings by themselves for many years, and there are three large books of about two hundred and sixty pages each, nearly filled with their proceedings.

In the fall of this year, George Brown and Daniel Hendrick were appointed to lay out the highway between this town and Salisbury; and Theophilus Shatswell was appointed to join the men from Rowley, and lay out a road between that town and this. This road was approved of by the Court at Ipswich, in 1686.

Up to this time, the town were destitute of a saw mill, and were compelled to hew all the boards and planks used for building; unless, as is quite probable, these were brought from Newbury. In either case, the expense and inconvenience was very great, and attention was early directed to the establishment of a saw mill in this town, where both timber and water-power were abundant.

The following votes fully reveal how important this matter was considered by the inhabitants, and how anxious they were to have a mill of the kind erected: Dec. 1, 1651. "Voted and agreed upon by the inhabitants, that there should be a saw-mill set up by Isaac Cousins, and such others of this town as shall join with him: The town and they agreeing upon terms, viz.: That they shall not make use of any timber within three miles of the meeting house: *Item.* That all timber without the compass of three miles from the meeting house should be free for the use of the sawmill: they paying the twelfth hundred to the use of the town in general. *Item.* That the town for their use shall have boards and planks at three shillings per hundred for such pay as is merchantable. The town also reserving to themselves a liberty to make use of what timber they stand in need of, though it be without the three miles compass from the Meeting House."

HISTORY OF HAVERHILL.

Dec. 15, 1651. "Granted by the major part of the inhabitants, that Isaac Cousins shall have a sixth part of a saw mill or mills: and that Mr. Clement,^o Job Clement, Stephen Kent, William White, and Theophilus Satchwell shall join with him, together with any others that they shall agree with, Provided that Mr. Coffin † have liberty to have a sixth part of it, if he come to be an inhabitant in this town. This mill is to be set up upon the river, called Thomas Hale's river: "‡ "They are to make use of no timber that is within three miles of the meeting house; except it be pines or hemlock: They are to pay to the use of the town every twelfth hundred: The inhabitants are to have what boards and planks they stand in need of, for their use for building and flooring at three shillings per hundred, in merchantable pay: This mill is to be set up by April fifty and three: They have liberty also if they see fit, to set up a second mill by April, fifty and four: If they set them not up by these times above mentioned, then this grant is to be disannulled: They have liberty to make use of any timber that is without the three miles compass from the meeting house: Also the town hath liberty to make use of any timber that is without the three miles compass for building or fencing, or what else soever: The proprietors have power, if they see cause, to remove one or both of these mills up, or down the river."

Dec. 16, 1651. "Voted and Granted by the inhabitants that there shall no saw mill be set up whilst these forementioned sawmills are going." At the same meeting a committee was chosen to lay out ground for the use of the saw mill, "for a Pen," which was to be "returned to the town when the saw mills are done." "A six acre house lot, with all accommodations proportionable," was granted to the above mentioned Isaac Cousins, "provided he live in the town five years following his trade of a Smith."

Cousins did not, however, fulfil the conditions of the grant, and in 1653, the town voted to give the land to John Webster, upon similar conditions. Cousins was the first blacksmith in the town. About this time the road now known as *Mill Street* was laid out; and for more than a century it was "the great road" which led into the village.

The second division of plough-land was laid out on the 7th of June, 1652. The proportion was four acres to one acre of house lot. This division commenced at the head of Pond Meadow, and extended north, east, and west. Forty-one persons received a share in the division. The lot-layers who laid it out, received the sum of two pence an acre for their services, or ten shillings each. Not a very extravagant sum, surely.

^o Robert Clement.

† Peter Coffin, of Exeter.

‡ Little River.

Following are the names of those who received a share in this division:
 "The lots or draughts for the second division of plough-land, with the number of each man's accommodation:—

	Acres.		Acres.
1—John Davis,	6	22—Daniel Hendrick,	
2—James Fiske,	4	23—Thomas Davis,	8
3—Matthias Button,	6	24—Richard Ormsbie,	5
4—Bartholomew Heath,		25—Robert Ayer,	5
5—Abraham Tyler,	4	26—Henry Savage,	4
6—John Ayer, sen.,	8	27—George Browne,	10
7—Henry Palmer,	9	28—William Holdridge,	5
8—Edward Clarke,	4	29—Mr John Ward,	8
9—Robert Clement,	6	30—George Corlis,	7
10—Hugh Sherratt,	12	31—Theophilus Satchwell,	6½
11—John Woodin,	4	32—John Williams,	8
12—Thomas Perry,	5	33—John Chenarie,	4
13—Thomas Whittier,	7½	34—James Pecker,	4
14—Stephen Kent,	22½	35—Thomas Ayers,	9
15—Joseph Peasley,	12	36—Samuel Gild,	10
16—John Ayer, jun.,	8	37—Daniel Ladd,	6
17—Thomas Linforth,	6	38—James Davis, jun.,	10
18—Richard Littlehale,	4	39—Job Clement,	6
19—Isaac Cousins,	8½	40—John Clement,	8
20—William White,	7	41—James Davis, sen.,	10
21—John Eaton,	10		

In the above division each man had "his proportion either in the quality or quantity of his lot, according to the discretion of the lot layers."

At the September meeting of the same year, the town voted Mr. Ward, their "Teacher," a salary of fifty pounds. This sum, though a mere pittance, when compared with modern salaries, was really a very liberal salary for those times, and shows the strong attachment of the inhabitants to their pastor, and their readiness to give him an adequate support.

The following liberal vote was also passed at the same meeting:—

"Voted that if any one or more shall be disenabled from paying his proportion, that then the rest of the inhabitants shall pay it for him or them to Mr. Ward." The town evidently intended that fifty pounds should *mean* fifty pounds.

Whether the town had become dissatisfied with the drum or the drummer, does not appear, but it seems that instead of having Richard Littlehale

beat his drum to call the people together, it was voted "that Abraham Tyler shall *blow his horn* in the most convenient place every lord's day about half an hour before the meeting begins, and also on lecture days; for which he is to have one peck of corn of every family for the year ensuing."

The tooting of Abraham's horn did not, however, come up to their expectations, for the next year the town fell back upon first principles, and ordered Edward Clark to beat the drum on the "Lord's days and lecture days." Perhaps the tone of Abraham's horn was not sufficiently musical, or, more likely, Abraham was not a skilful player upon that ancient instrument. But as to whichever it might have been, we are left entirely free to conjecture, as the records maintain the most dignified silence upon the subject.

The General Court this year changed the time for town elections from November to March of each year, and the latter month has, with the exception of a single period, continued to be the month of the annual town meetings down to the present time.

The County Court at Hampton, this year, fined Stephen Kent, of Haverhill, £10 "for suffering five Indians to be druncke in his house, and one of them wounded." He was also to pay for the cure of the wounded Indian. Stephen evidently considered the penalty too severe, and declined to pay it; and the town petitioned the General Court upon the subject. The Court thereupon ordered "that Stephen Kent within one month shall pay the said tenne pounds to the selectmen of Haverhill, who shall therewith satisfy for the cure of the Indian." Even this did not satisfy Stephen, and he petitioned to have his fine reduced, but the Court was inexorable. Doubtless Stephen was careful afterward not to have any drunken "red skins" about his premises.

Among the list of donations this year to Harvard College is £4 7s from this town.

A prison was this year built at Ipswich. It was the second in the colony.

A mint was about the same time established at Boston, for coining silver; the pieces had the word Massachusetts, with a pine tree on one side, and the letters N. E. 1652, and III, VI, or XII, denoting the number of pence, on the other. The same date (1652) was continued upon all the coin struck for thirty years afterward. Massachusetts was the only colony that ever presumed to coin metal into money. A very large sum was coined, and the mint-master made a large fortune out of the commission allowed him for coining.

At a town meeting July 4, 1653, it was voted that "John Webster should enjoy that six acres of accommodation which was formerly granted unto Isaac Cousins, and is now returned into the Town's hands; provided, that the said John Webster live here five years from the last of March next, following the trade of a blacksmith in doing the town's work, when they have occasion." Mr. Webster was the second blacksmith in town; he followed the trade, however, but four years, when he returned to Newbury. His brother, Stephen, a tailor, came into town soon after, from Newbury; and is probably the ancestor of the Websters in this place. He was born in Ipswich, and moved with his mother, who married John Emery, sen., to Newbury. He had three brothers and four sisters. His brothers, John and Israel, remained in Newbury, and Nathan settled in Bradford. His mother, Mary, was a sister of Theophilus Shatswell; John, his father, died in Ipswich, about 1642.^o The descendants of Stephen are very numerous; they are found in almost every city and village in the Union.

This year, the second division of meadow land was ordered to be laid out. There were forty-eight lots drawn. The names are the same as those given under date of 1652, except the following:—John Webster, Isaac Cousins, John Wooddin,

The Island just below the village was also divided about the same time. The number of persons who drew lots in the division, was forty-five. The names, and the bounds of each man's lot, are given in the Commoners' book of Records, under date of 1727, which speaks of the plan as begun in 1653, and finished in the above year.

A third division of upland, or ploughland, was also ordered to be laid out; it was situated west and north of west meadow, in the West Parish.

The wife of John Hutchins of this town was presented to the Court this year, for wearing a silk hood; but, "upon testimony of her being brought up above the ordinary way was discharged." The wife of Joseph Swett was also presented at the same time and for the same offence, and was fined 10s.†

It was a general custom of the inhabitants at this early period, to turn their flocks together into one pasture; and we find that James George was, in 1652, appointed herdsman of the town. His salary was twelve shillings and six pence per week, to be paid in Indian corn and butter. He was

^o Coffin, Hist. Newbury.

† Among the laws passed by the General Court in 1650, was one against "intolerable excess and bravery in dress." No person whose estate did not exceed £200 was permitted to wear any gold or silver lace or buttons, great boots, silk hoods, ribbons or scarfs, under a penalty of ten shillings. Swett was not, it seems, worth the £200; and his wife could not, therefore, be allowed the extravagance of a silk hood.

"to keep ye heard faithfully as a heard ought to be kept; if any be left on the Sabbath when ye towne worship, they who keepe are to goe ye next day, doing their best indeavore to find them." He was not permitted to turn his flock into the pasture on the Sabbath, until the "second beating of ye drum."

A lot of land not exceeding four-score acres, was the same year granted to the proprietors of the saw-mill, so long as they kept it in use.

It was voted that hereafter the selectmen should "give in their account what they have received, and what they have disbursed." The voters evidently wished to know where their money went, in which laudable curiosity they have a very few imitators at the present day.

Among the note-worthy incidents of this year, may be mentioned the case of Robert Pike, of Salisbury. The Court had prohibited Joseph Peasley and Thomas Macy, of Salisbury, from exhorting the people on the Sabbath, in the absence of a minister. Pike declared that "such persons as did act in making that law, did break their oath to the country, for it is against the liberty of the country, both civil and ecclesiastical." For expressing himself in this manner, he was disfranchised by the General Court, and heavily fined. At the next May Court, a petition was presented from a large number of the inhabitants of Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Haverhill, and Andover, praying that Pike's sentence might be revoked.*

The Court was highly indignant that "so many persons should combine together to present such an unjust and unreasonable request," and appointed a commission to call the petitioners together "and require a reason of their very unjust request." At the next November Court, orders were issued to summon sixteen of the petitioners to give bonds in the sum of ten pounds each to appear and answer for their offence before the County Court. None of the Haverhill signers were however included in the order. *They had acknowledged their offence.* Three years afterward, Pike "humbly desired the Court, his fine being paid, to release him from the other part of his sentence," which it was pleased to do. The whole case is an

* The following are the names of the Haverhill signers, as copied from the original petition in the State Archives:—

Haverhill.
James Davis
Joseph Peasley
Tristram Coffin
Peter Coffin
John Davis
John Eaton
Thomas Eaton
Robert Clements
Thomas Belfore
John Webster
George Brown
Ephraim Davis

Richard Littlehale
John Heth
Job Clements
Abraham Tylar
John Williams
John Williams
Thomas Davis
Joh: Eyeres
James Blake
Dan: Hendrick
Stephen Kent
Richard Singitery
Henry Palmer

Robert Eres
George Corlis
Bartholomew Heth
Edw. Clarke
James Davis Jr
Theophilus Sackwell
Tho: Whittier
Tho: Dow
Joseph Davis
Peter Ayre
Samuel Gild
Robert Swan

instructive one, and throws much light on the public religious opinions of the times.

At a town meeting, held February 9, 1654, liberty was granted to Stephen Kent to place a *weir* in Little River, to catch alewives, or any other fish, if he would sell to the inhabitants of the town "what alewives they stood in need of." This is the first notice we have of these fisheries, which were afterward carried on to a considerable extent.

At the May session of the General Court, a new petition was received from Haverhill, touching the bounds between that town and Salisbury, as a "great mistake" was made in the previous running of the line. The Court, after hearing both parties, appointed a committee to look into the matter thoroughly. At the next Court the committee made their return, which, as a matter of curiosity as well as interest, we copy entire: —

"September: 23: 1654.

In obedense to the generall cortes order we haue vewed the line concluded by Salesberry and Hauerill to devid the land betwene them: and we find that as it is expressed in the petission there was a gret mistake in the first Ruing of the line this we find aconolaged by both partes: for he that carred the compas at the first from the plase concluded one from merremack Reuer a but one mile and a quarter tow a stompe of a pipestave tree: he said he had Bine nor west: which moued the men chose by Hauerill to yeld vnto Sallsberry one point more: but we haue gone nor west from the place one merremack Reuer formerly concluded one; and we find that nor west Cometh a boue a quarter of a mile in going a mile a quarter nerrer to hauerrell then the line first Runc so we find that nor west as according to the true vnderstanding of ther first agreement doth yeld vnto Salsberre: and if the line nor west and by west shold stand a gret part of the meddowes lying one that quarter: wold be cut of from hauerrell to ther gret preiudes and the not onioing of that mistak mad them yeld one point more we thinke if the plesuer of the Cort bee so: that it may bee well for this honerred cort to order that a nor west line may part the land be twext them (onely this) if any of the meddowes laid out to any of Hauerrell shall be out of from Hauerrell: by this line. that those meddows shall Remane to hauerrell (or those men to home it is laid: fore euer———

youers in all dutefoll obedense

further we thinke meeete that
Salsbury shall haue liberty ouer
hauerill commons if the swamp
stop the way the ad way to be
forty Rod broade

Hen: Short
Joseph Jowett
John Stevens

The Deputyes accept. of the Returne of those Comissioners appoynted to lay out the bounds herein exprest and desire the Consent of the honord magists herevnto.

Consented to by ye magista. Edw: Rawson Secret. 24 Octob. 54."

It seems, however, that even this did not permanently settle the vexed dispute. Both parties again became dissatisfied, and the matter continued to trouble the General Court until 1667, when the Court finally disposed of it as follows: —

"As a final issue of all differences between the two towns of Haverhill and Salisbury Newtown,^o in reference to their bounds, the Court having heard what all parties could say therein, judge meet to confirm the line which was run by the committee and the agreement of both towns, beginning at a tree near Holt's Rocks, near Merrimack river's side, and running up on the N W line, as they apprehended, to Brandy Brow, and from thence to Darby Hill, and so to a white pine about a mile further, marked H. S. and this is to be the dividing line between them."

On the 31st of May, 1654, Thomas Dow died. He was the first adult that had died in the town since its settlement. Thirteen children had died previously, but no grown person.†

Some additions were made to the ox-common this year, and the whole was ordered to be fenced. The town also voted "that all those that will join in the fencing of it, shall have a proportion in it according to the fence they make and maintain, provided that none shall keep more than four oxen in it." Thirty-four persons assisted to build the fence, and were entitled to keep ninety-two oxen within the enclosure. It was then voted that "the cattel that shall goe in the ox-common this day granted, shall be only oxen, steers, and horses, and no other cattel."

This ox-common was located on the south side of Kenoza Lake, and a part of it is still known by that name. Several other ox-commons were subsequently laid out in different parts of the town, but they were much smaller than the first. Some of them were only a few acres in extent being laid out for a single person, while others were intended for several persons. The one above mentioned, however, was the most extensive ox-common ever laid out in the town.

At the December meeting of the town, a parcel of land, not exceeding four-score acres, was laid out to the saw-mill owners "to plant and im.

^o Salisbury Newtown (now Amesbury) was settled in 1642, by order of the freemen of Salisbury, that "there shall thirty families remove to the west of Pow-wow River, to form a settlement." It was called *Salisbury New Town* until some time after it was set off as a separate town, in 1654.

† Previous to March 30, 1663, there were forty-seven deaths in town, forty of which were children,

prove, so long as the sawmill shall go." The lot was on the west side of saw-mill river. The next June, eight acres were laid out on the further side of Fishing River, "toward the sawmill," from which, and one or two other allusions, we conclude there was also a saw-mill on that stream at that time, or one about to be erected.

In February, 1656, the town voted to cancel all grants and privileges, if the present saw-mill or some other, did not cut boards enough for the town by the next midsummer. But it seems that the saw-mill was not to be hurried, and the town in 1658 lost all their patience, and declared all former grants and privileges forfeited. At the same time Thomas Davis, (who was one of the principal owners of the old mill) John Hutchins, and Daniel Hendricks, were granted the privileges formerly allowed to the old saw-mill, if they put up a mill and supplied the town within twelve months. But even this did not prove sufficiently stimulating to those interested. No mill was erected, and the next year the town declared the privilege forfeited.

Among the acts of the General Court this year, 1654, was one providing that ministers should be respectably maintained in the several towns; and in case the latter neglected to do it, the county courts were empowered and directed to cause a regular tax to be assessed on the offending towns, for that purpose.

A law was passed at the November Court, prohibiting all persons, except those specially licensed, from selling "any Indian or Indians, either wine or strong liquors of any sort," under a penalty of 20s per pint, and in that proportion for all quantities, more or less. Henry Palmer of this town, and Roger Shaw of Hampton, were the only ones thus licensed in the County of Norfolk.

During the year 1655, some repairs were made on the meeting-house, as it appears by a town vote of March 3d, that "Thomas Davis shall have three pounds allowed him by the town, for to ground-pin and dawb it; provided that Thomas Davis provide the stones and clay for the underpinings; the town being at their own expense to bring ye clay into place for ye plastering of ye walls up to the beams." Lime mortar had not yet come into common use. It was not until more than fifty years afterward that limestone was discovered in the Colony. It was first found in Newbury, in 1697, by ensign James Noyes, and occasioned a great excitement. For nearly a century after its discovery, large quantities were annually made in that town for export as well as for home use. Prior to that time, what little lime was used was manufactured from oyster and clam-shells.

In 1648, Thomas Hale was appointed ferryman, probably for that year

only; and it does not appear that any was afterward appointed; for, at the September term, 1655, "Ye Court being informed yt there is no fery over Merrimack river, at Haverill, the court orders Robert Haseltine to keepe a fery over the said river; and to have of strangers 4d a person, if they pay presently; and 6d if boekt; and to keepe entertaynement for horse and man, for one yeare, unless the General Court take further orders." Haseltine lived on the Bradford shore of the river.

About this time considerable difficulty arose between Mr. Ward and a part of his people concerning his salary, which was thought by the latter to be exorbitant. It seems that the difficulty had become so great, it was deemed necessary to call a council of the neighboring clergymen. The following is the order of the council of the Commonwealth, touching the matter:—

"Att a Council held at Boston the 14th of August 1656."

The Council being Informed by the Honnored Govnr and Deput Govnr of the vncomfortable differences that of late haue fallen out in the churches of christ at Hauerill and Salisbury notwithstanding seuerall Indeavors to Compose the same, which yett haue binn fruitelesse, out of theire tender care to preserve & procure peace & vnitie amongst them lately wrote to the said church in an Amicable way to Advise & Counsell them forthwith to call in to theire help such counsell from theire Neighboring churches as the Rule prescribes; from whose labors thro the blessing of God a blessing might haue bin expected wch too great a part of those churches as they vnderstand is farr from Inclyning vnto The Council Judging it to be theire duty to take an effectuall Course for the healing of theire breaches Doe Order and Desire that the Churches of Christ in Boston Cambridg and Ipswich doe each of them respectively send two messengers to meete at Hauerell & Salisbury as hereafter is exprest i e. to meete at Hauerill on the twenty seventh day of this Instant August by eight of the clock in the morning to consider & Advise in the primisses viz to endeavor to compose & sitle the distractions at Hauerill to give theire Judgments in the Cases of differences there And: at Salisbury the day after theire Issuing or Rising from Hauerill for ye ends aboue exprst And It is expected & desired that the churches of Hauerell & Salisbury and all persons concerned therein in either of the sajd places. give this Council at the time & place aforesajd the opportunity of meeting wth them to declare what shall Concerne themselves or the Council see cawse to Enquire of them in reference to this buisnes. And It is Ordered that mr Robert Cleaments for Hauerill mr Samuell Hall for Salisbury shall take Care for the en-

tertajnement of the sajd Council & all persons concerned therein wch shall be satisfied by the Tresurer. And It is ordered the sajd Council haue liberty to Adjourne to some other place if they shall see cawse making theire retourne to the Council of this Jurisdiction what succeesse theire endeavors through the blessing of God haue procured and where the fault hath binn or is that so if necessity Require such further Course may be taken therein as may most conduce to ye Glory of God the vniting of theire harts to vnity in truth & peace accordingto the Rule of the Gospell

By ye Council Edward Rawson Secret

The difficulties were not, however, wholly confined to the matter of salary, as may be seen from the following extract from the minutes of the above ordered Council: —

Haverill August 28 1656

QUEST. 1. Whether Henry Palmer a member of the Church of Haverill, being by publike arbitration censured as a delinquent in point of Defamation of Rob. Swan a member also of Rowley church, it be ye duty of ye Church of Haverill to take church-notice thereof, & if thereupon it shall appear also to the church that He is an offender, then to proceed with him in a church-way?

ANS. 1. The sentence of ye Arbitration being publicke there was Just cause why ye church should orderly inquire into ye matter; whose duty it is to see to ye inoffensiveness of their members.

2. 1. The Censure of ye Arbitratours as such was not a sufficient Ground why the church should censure Henry Palmer, 1. because the Church Judicature is distinct from & not depending upon the Ciuill Judicature: Those two polities are coordinate not subordinate. 2. The church is to Act 1. her owne faith, & not to be led by example further then shee finds it conformable to rule. 2. Henry Palmers satisfaction to civil order was not as such satisfaction to the church: As satisfaction to the church in case of offence is no satisfaction to ye Court. Because their Institution, meanes & ends are Divers.

3. 1. Goodman Palmer did well in presenting the case unto the reverend Teacher, & in desireing that by him it might be brought unto the Church. 2. We also conceive that there was too great appearance of much iniquity on Goodman Swans part in this matter. 3. Yet in regard the witnesses are detected of such falsehood in point of Testimony concerning this Business as renders them incompetent to establish a matter before the church; Therefore Goodm. Palmer his charging of Goodm Swan with Sin (especially of such nature) thereupon, was not without Sin because without sufficient ground before the church. The acknowledgement whereof

as we commend to & hope it will not be grievous unto our Broth. palmer ; so we desire it may be accepted of the Church, & that in such manner as his Infirmary herein (too common unto ye Best) being forgiven all regular zeale against sin both in Him and others may yet receive due incouragement.

QUEST. 2. Whether Robert Hazleton did in the case between Henry Palmer & Robert Swan give Testimony upon oath, yea or no ?

ANS. The scope of this Question being whether as to man the oath was Taken yea or not ; to pronounce positively concerning the taking or not taking thereof the Case requireth not. But that it was taken is not a Truth as to the Church, Before which a matter is not to stand without two or three witnesses. There beeing therefore as concerning this Question, so much for ye negative & no positive Testimony save only that of of Thomas Aires for the affirmative ; the Church cannot receive it as a Truth nor may admit any further debate about it, without the Hazard of her peace & prejudice to edification

Hence wee conceive the Act of Thomas Aires in Charging & urging the prosecution of those Brethren in a church way who said it was not Taken, & that to the Hindrance of the celebration of ye Lords Supper then intended to be irregular & in the nature of it of much ill consequence.

The Council subsequently reported that "through the blessing of God, the differences were in a good measure composed, and their ministers settled amongst them."^o They decided that Mr. Ward should be paid fifty pounds per annum ; which were to be paid in wheat, rye, and Indian corn. They also specified how Mr. Ward's rate should be made, and collected. Men were to be appointed yearly "to cut, make, and bring home his hay and wood," who were to be paid out of his salary.

The next Court ordered the Constable of Haverhill to levy, by way of Rate, on the inhabitants of Haverhill, the sum of £12. 19s. "for the satisfying of Mr. John Clements for the charges expended in Haverhill" by the Council.

This year Michael Emerson moved into town, and settled near the White house, on Mill Street. The grantees offered that if he would "go back into the woods," they would give him a tract of land. He accepted the offer, and settled not far from the corner of Primrose and Winter Streets. The "Emerson Estate," on the south side of the latter street, is a part of the original tract granted to Michael Emerson.

^o The Council's return to the General Court was "only a verbal return."—C. R. 4—210.

In July of this year, the first Quakers arrived in the colony, and soon was commenced what is generally called the persecution of the Quakers. Their books were burned, and a sentence of banishment passed upon them. Severe penalties were prescribed, even to maiming and death, for all such as should return into the jurisdiction after their banishment. Under this law, four persons were executed. In 1661, the King issued an order requiring that this punishment of his subjects, called Quakers, should cease. The order was obeyed, and all disturbances by degrees subsided.

Early in the year 1657, "Goodman Simons" was appointed to keep the ferry on the "Great River." If he had only a canoe, he was to ferry single persons for two-pence, and cattle for four-pence each; but if he provided a suitable boat, his price was to be six-pence a head for cattle two-pence for sheep and hogs, and three-pence for strangers.

At the town meeting of March 6th, John Hutchins, of Newbury, was granted liberty to set a *weir* in the Merrimack, "at the little island above the town by the falls." He was to have the use of the island and the flats to dry his fish. For these privileges, he was to "sell fish to the inhabitants of the town for such pay as the town can make;" (that is, exchange for such produce, &c., as they could spare). He was also "to sell them dry fish at merchants prices, for their own spending, before any other." The town also granted him a houselot and other land. Hutchins agreed to have his works finished within two years, and doubtless did so.

Previous to this time, no one was required to pay public rates, or taxes, unless he was a freeholder. From the first, there were some in town who did not own any real estate, and as their number increased with the general increase of the inhabitants, it was at length obvious that as they "partook of the benefits of the church and commonwealth," they ought also to share in the labor of maintaining them. Accordingly the town voted that if any person moved into town who was not a freeholder, he should be taxed for these purposes according to his "visible estate," or by estimation of the selectmen.

In January, 1658, a third division of meadow was granted, and ordered to be laid out before the 15th of May next, at the rate of half an acre to an acre of accommodation. Forty-one persons drew lots in this division. The only new name we find among them, is that of William Simmons.

At the same meeting it was voted that, if any person had no convenient road to his upland, or meadow, upon his complaint to the town, two men were to be chosen to lay one out, whose charges should be defrayed by the town.

There seems to have been a great deal of *laying down* and *taking up* land this year, by the inhabitants. At one time it appears as if "the plain"

was the favorite spot for locating ; and, anon, the owners in the plain are suddenly laying down their land, and rushing "over the Little River westward." No sooner have they done this, than the Little River people make haste to take up the land in the plain. A study of these cross-out movements among the early settlers, leads us to the sage conclusion that "human nature is human nature," the world over.

It appears that the inhabitants suffered considerably for the want of a blacksmith. To obviate this difficulty, a contract was signed by Mr. Ward and nineteen others, in which each agree to pay Mr. Jewett his proportion of twenty pounds, to purchase his house and land, which the contractors gave to John Johnson, "provided he live here seven years, following the trade of a blacksmith in doing the town's work ; also, the said John Johnson doth promise to refuse to work for any that refuse to pay towards this purchase, untill they bring under the Selectmen's hands that they will pay." This house stood on the ground now occupied by the Exchange building, Water Street. Until recently, this land has been owned by the heirs of Hon. Bailey Bartlett, a lineal descendant from the above John Johnson. He was also the ancestor of most of the Johnsons in the town.

Johnson came from Charlestown, where he married, October 15, 1656, Elisabeth, daughter of Elias Maverick, and had one child, John (born August 3, 1657) previous to his removal to Haverhill. It is worthy of note, that the same trade has been almost or quite constantly carried on in this town, since that time, by his lineal descendants. Washington Johnson, son of John, (who was also a blacksmith,) still exercises the trade, and his shop stands on land once belonging to the original John Johnson.

The following are the names of those who entered into the above agreement with Johnson : —

— " Mr. John Ward,	John Heath, for himself & Thomas
Joseph Jewett,	Lilford,
John Eaton,	James Davis, jun,
James Davis sen,	Thomas Whittier,
Henry Palmer,	William Simons,
William White,	Hugh Sherratt,
Thomas Davis,	Samuel Guile,
Robert Swan,	Daniel Ella promised to give five
Theophilus Satchwell,	shillings towards this purchase.
George Browne,	Steven Kent 12 shillings."
Bartholomew Heath,	

The first regular deed of Real Estate in the town, that we can find recorded, is that of Thomas Sleeper and wife, to Wm. White, under date of October 11, 1659. The form is very nearly that in present use.

The same year, a fourth division of upland was laid out, beyond *Spigot River*, (in what is now Salem, N. H.) It was ordered to be bounded south by the Merrimack, north by Shatswell's Pond, west by the town's bounds, and to run eastward until the lots were all drawn. It was divided into forty-nine lots, all but three of which were drawn. They were laid out one mile in length, and at the rate of twenty acres to one acre of accommodation land.

At the meeting of November 23d, it was voted that if a town meeting was publicly warned on a *Lecture day*, it should be considered a sufficient notice. It was also voted that no man should be taken into town as an inhabitant, or "town dweller," without the consent of the town. As the inhabitants were proprietors of the soil, and had a flourishing settlement well established, we surely cannot blame them for exercising their undoubted right to say who should be their associates, and share in their important advantages and privileges. It was also voted that none should be allowed to vote in town affairs, without consent from the town, except as the law gave them that privilege.

The population of the town now began to increase more rapidly. The beauty of the location, the sober industry and thrift of the inhabitants, and their liberality toward new comers generally, were inducements that ere this were widely known, and many were eager to become an inhabitant of the town.

Under such circumstances, we need not wonder that the meeting-house had already been found too small to accommodate the worshippers. To remedy the inconvenience, the town appointed a committee to enlarge and repair the house, according to their best discretion; and "to finish it, and make seats in it, and also to sell land for to pay the workmen, not exceeding twenty acres in the cow-common."^o

Daniel Ladd and Theophilus Shatswell, having received liberty from the town, erected a saw-mill on Spigot (Spicket) River. It was built

^o This is the first notice we find of a cow-common, though it appears one had previously been laid out. Like many other matters, no record had been made of it. The common alluded to, was that situated nearly due north from the bridge, on the south and west of Round Pond. A part of it is still known as the "Commons."

X within the present limits of Salem, N. H., and was the first one erected upon that stream. The proprietors were required to pay the town five pounds per annum for the privilege.

Sometime this year, John Clement sailed for England, and on his outward voyage was cast away and drowned. At the September term, Robert, his brother, applied to the Court to be appointed administrator of his estate. This is the first notice we have of an administratorship in the town. The following is a copy of the Record : —

"John Clements late of Haverhill, being by God's providence cast away and dying intestate, the worshipful Mr. Samuel Symonds, and Major General Denizen the Clarke, being present, granted administration unto Robert Clements of the estate of John Clements deceased, he to bring an inventory to Ipswich Court next, and then the Court to take further orders."

In the following year, Robert Clement "brought in an accompt to this court of his charges expended in his voiage to England and Ireland, his brother John, his wife and children ; and upon the request of his brother Job and Sisters, the court confirmed the administration unto Robert Clements of the estate of his brother John Clements."^o

A petition was presented to the General Court in October, 1659, asking for the grant of "a tract of land twelve miles square, in a place called Pennacooke." The petitioners were from Newbury, Mass., and Dover, N. H. The court granted them eight miles square, on certain conditions, which were not, however, complied with. Pennacook, now Concord, N. H., was not settled till 1726.

In these days of rapid movements, it seems almost incredible that nearly a century should intervene between the settlement of this town and the rich and extensive intervalles of Penacook, only forty miles distant. But so it was. Haverhill was a frontier town for more than seventy years.

^o John Clements was the son of Robert, senior. He married Sarah, daughter of John Osgood, of Andover, by whom he had four daughters.

CHAPTER VIII.

1660 to 1669.

The early inhabitants of Haverhill seem to have had a strong desire for a large town. We have seen that as early as 1644, they petitioned for more land; and again in 1648; and for a long series of years they were disputing with Salisbury about a few acres of meadow; and when the General Court granted Major Dennison a tract of land "on the other side of Merrimack, about six miles above Andover," in 1660, it was found that Haverhill claimed the land as within the bounds of their town! The Court evidently thought that this was claiming altogether too much, and they accordingly ordered "that the townsmen of Haverhill be required by warrant from the secretary to appear at the next sessions of this Court, to show a reason why they have marked bound trees at so great a distance from their town up Merremacke River and also to give an account of the bounds of their town, and upon what right they lay claim to so long a tract of land.

The town chose James Davis and Theophilus Shatswell "to answer the warrant of the General Court concerning the bounds." They were voted to be paid "ten groats per day" each, for their services.

At the November meeting, it was ordered that the land "behind the meeting house should be reserved for a burial ground." This is the first mention we find in relation to a burial ground, but as the old English custom was to appropriate a spot near the church for that purpose, which they called "God's acre," we presume that from the first settlement, the dead had been buried near the meeting house, and that this vote was merely the formal setting apart of the place for that purpose. The spot referred to, was the central part of the old burial ground, now called "Pentucket Cemetery."

At the same meeting, ten acres of meadow, and two hundred acres of upland, were granted for a parsonage to Mr. Ward and his successors.

A second ox-common was also granted, on the petition of six persons. It was situated between Merric's Creek and a small brook which issues from West-meadow. Eighteen oxen were kept upon it.

The first public school in the town was established about this time; the instructor was Thomas Wasse, whose salary was ten pounds per year.

He also taught school in Ipswich, (Chebaco Parish) and at Newbury. He died at Newbury May 18, 1691. Wasse kept the school in Haverhill from 1660 to 1673, and perhaps later.

It seems that the inhabitants were still troubled about their mills. At the above meeting, a committee was chosen to request the executors of Mr. (John) Clements to repair the mill, or "desert the place." If they refused, the committee were to "force them by law."

Up to this time there had been recorded nineteen marriages, one hundred and thirty-five births, and thirty deaths.

At the town meeting of February 28, 1661, a fourth division of meadow was ordered to be laid out. Fifty-three lots were drawn.^o

The road near "hucklebary hill" was laid out this year; and the ox-common was divided into two parts;—the division line running north and south. Those who lived east of Mill Brook were to occupy the eastern part of the ox-common, and those who lived west of the brook, the western part.

At the same meeting, the following vote was passed:—"Voted and granted that there shall be laid out to every one that will, either now, or hereafter, to every four acres of commonage, two ox-pastures, proportionable to the first ox-common, provided they make their title appear to the town."

These two votes indicate the change already taking place in the town. The settlers were fast approaching the present individuality in property. Each man desired to be lord over his own domains,—king in his own castle. The latter vote allowed each man to have his ox-pasture by himself, if he so desired, and at the next annual meeting the large ox-common laid out in 1654, was divided, and parceled out to the persons entitled to shares in it; and various persons had private ox-commons, or pastures, laid out for them.

The settlers had already begun to form their lands into farms, by "laying down," "taking up," buying, selling, and exchanging lots; many had built themselves houses, and removed their families on to their farms; and the best part of the town's territory was fast becoming dotted with the cottages of the settlers.

At the same meeting of the town, the following vote was passed:—"Voted and granted that all such grants of land which the inhabitants of Haverhill are already legally possessed of or may hereafter be legally

^o Among the names, we notice the following, not before mentioned in the divisions of land:—John Johnson, Ephraim Davis, John Carleton, James Pecker, John Remington, William Deale, Michael Emerson, Daniel Eia, Joseph Johnson, John Eaton.

possessed of in the town of Haverhill, shall remain to them, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever, excepting such grants as are or shall be made to some men during the towns pleasure, or for a set time."

This vote was but another step in the direction already indicated, and shows us still more plainly the prevailing desire for independent land ownership. The laying out of highways now became nearly as frequent as the laying out of lots had been previously ;^o the land rapidly increased in value and productiveness, and the town in population and wealth.

The following extracts from the town records, though they do not give a list of all the houses built in the years mentioned, yet show that the town was increasing with great rapidity† :—

" *Cottages.* Whereas the law provides for the prevention of the great inconvenience and damage that otherways would accrue by those persons that have built houses or cottages upon the common, or their own land, since 1660, that have not lawful right thereunto, to the great prejudice of the house proprietors. Thereof we whose names are hereunto subscribed, do judge it meet for the prevention as abovesaid, and do here set down the names of those that have built houses upon the Common of Haverhill, or their own land, since the year above-said.

Samuel Davis,	Thomas Whittier,	Stephen Webster,
James Davis jun,	Abraham Whiticker,	James Peacker,
John Swaddock,	Samuell Coulby,	Daniel Ladd jun,
Samuel Gilde sen,	Samuell Currier,	Mathias Button,
Bartholomew Heath,	Benjamin Page,	Stephen Dow,
Nathaniel Smith	John Page jun,	John Eyer,
Will: Neff,		Joshua Woodman.

(Signed) George Browne, Daniel Lad sen, John Haseltine, Joseph Davis, Selectmen of Haverhill, in the year 1668."

• The highway between this town and Newbury was formally laid out this year.

† On the 15th of March, 1660, the town of Ipswich adopted the following order :—

" For as much as it is found by experience, that the common lands of this town are overburdened by the multiplying of dwelling-houses, contrary to the interest and meaning of the first inhabitants in their granting of house lots and other lands to such as came among them : to the end such inconveniences may be prevented for the future, it is ordered that no house, henceforth erected, shall have any right to the common lands of this town, nor any person, inhabiting such house, make use of any pasture, timber, or wood, growing upon any of said common lands, on pretext of any right or title belonging to any such house hereafter built, without express leave of the town. It is further ordered, that the Seven men, in behalf of the town, petition the next General Court for the confirmation of this order."

In accordance with the above petition, the General Court passed a law, May 30, 1660, that "no cottage or dwelling shall have commonage, except those now built, or which may be by consent of the commoners or towns." It was this law which occasioned a record of the erection of these cottages to be made.

"A list of more houses that are and fall under the law made in '60, prohibiting them from privileges in Common lands.

Joseph Davis,	Robert Ford,	John Kingsbury,
Daniel Lad sen,	Isaac Colbie,	Thomas Ayers,
	Joseph Johnson,	

As attest, Henry Palmer, George Brown, James Pecker, Robert Swan, Steven Webster, Selectmen in 1669."

"A list of more houses built which fall under the law made 1660 which prohibits them from privileges in Common lands.

James Kingsbery	Gilbert Wilford,	Phillip Eastman,
Thomas Duston, ^o	Math. Harriman,	Josiah Gage,
Dan Lad jun. 2d,	Rob. Emerson,	Jno. Hartshorn,
Thomas Davis,	Joseph Peasly,	Tho. Hartshorn,
Peter Green,	Joseph Page,	Widdow Ayers,
Joseph Hutchins,	Josiah Heath,	James Sanders,
Samll. Hutchins,	Nicholas Browne,	Jno. Heath jun,
Steph. Webster 2nd,	Samll. Ladd,	Samll. Bilknap,
Thomas Eastman,	Nath. Singleterry,	Peter Brewer.

"This account was entered Jan 25: 75, by the Selectmen.

William White, George Brown, Daniel Hendricks, Thomas Eatton, Selectmen in 1675."

"Feb the 1st 1677. An account of more Cottages erected since January 25, 75.

Thomas Duston,	Rob. Hastings,	James Saunders 2d
Jno. Robie,		Ezra Rolf.

As attest Henry Palmer, Andrew Guile, George Brown."

"More cottages erected since Feb 1. 77.

Sam: Ayers,	Thomas Duston 2nd, [†]	John Whittier,
Joseph Kingsbery,	John Williams,	John Haseltine jun
Amos Singletery,		Benj Singletery.

This account was entered January 13th 1679, by order of Henry Palmer, George Browne, Daniel Hendricks, Robert Emerson, Selectmen."

"More cottages erected, entered Feb. 27. 81.

Nath. Haseltine,	Jno Stockbridge,	Samll Dalton,
Jno Johnson jun,		Jno Clement."

^o This was probably the house Duston sold to Peter Green, in 1676.

[†] As Duston was married December, 1677, it is probable this house was built in the summer of that year, and was the one in which he resided at the time his wife was taken prisoner, in 1697.

The better sort of houses one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five years ago, were two stories high, with upper story jutting out a foot or so over the lower. The roofs were generally high and steep, and hipped, or gambreed. The frames were of white oak, and much larger than used in our day, and the beams of each finished room were left considerably in sight. The windows were from two and a half to three feet long, one and a half to two wide, with squares like the figure of a diamond, set in lead lines, and from three to four inches long. These windows were sometimes entire and sometimes in halves, and opened outwardly on hinges. They were fashionable until after about 1734. Those with four by six glass succeeded; then five by seven; then six by eight; then seven by nine, set in wooden frames, — which began to be used about 1750.

Lime-stone was little known, and less manufactured, for more than a century after the first settlement of the town, and the walls of houses were daubed with clay, mixed with straw, or plastered with a sort of lime made in great part of clam-shells. Paper was not put on walls until about a hundred years ago, and very little until 1783, — whitewash being used in its stead.

Each side of a dwelling had bricks laid against the inner partition, being then covered with clay, and then with clay-boards, (since corrupted to clap-boards), thus making them comfortable in cold weather, as well as durable. While the better kind of buildings were shingled on the top, others, such as cottages of one story, had thatched roofs, until after about 1690. The latter was an imitation of a custom in England, where it still exists in country villages.

Previous to 1700, very few if any houses had more than one chimney. This was in the middle, and of very large dimensions; and, besides other fire-places, had a mammoth one for the kitchen, where a whole family could sit conveniently on the two forms, or "settles," placed in the corners. The writer distinctly remembers sitting in such a fire-place, gazing at the sky above, and watching the upward curling smoke from the huge logs before him. Thirty cords of fire-wood annually was not then thought extravagant for a family.

Paint was but little used for houses, either inside or outside, before about 1734, and even fifty years later it was not common for even the "best room" to be thus ornamented, much less the whole house. Very few houses were painted outside as late as 1800.

Mirick says, that the first militia company was organized in town this year (1662). We think he is mistaken, as a military organization most certainly existed in town as early as 1648, and the laws of the colony re-

quired such an organization to be kept up in every town.^o It is true that the town records make no mention of a company previous to this year, but we must remember that but a small part of the transactions of the inhabitants, even in their collective capacity, are recorded. This is especially the case with matters regulated by the General Court, of which this under consideration was one.

This year, William White was chosen Captain, and Daniel Ladd Lieutenant, and we presume their successors were regularly chosen for many years afterward.

The settlers were much troubled about these times with wolves, which destroyed large numbers of sheep. The colony and the county had offered large premiums for every wolf's head, but so serious were their depredations that the town offered, as an addition to the State and County premium, a bounty of forty shillings for every wolf killed. The following is the vote: "If any Indian shall kill a wolf in Haverhill bounds, he, or they shall have for every wolf so killed, forty shillings."

This reference to Indians does not prove us wrong in our previous speculations as to Indians in the town, or weaken our position. They were undoubtedly "converted" Indians, of whom there were at this time hundreds in the colony, scattered among the several towns and plantations, as well as collected in Indian villages. We well know that one of these "praying" Indians, made his home in this town for some time, and was the author of several cold-blooded murders during the wars that followed.

One of the most distinguished persons engaged in the work of converting the aborigines of Massachusetts to the Christian faith, was Rev. John Elliott, of Roxbury. He commenced his active labors in 1646, visiting the different tribes, and persuading them to imitate the manners and habits of their civilized neighbors. In 1651, his converts united and built a town, which they called Natick. In 1664, Mr. Elliot completed the translation of the Bible into the Indian language, and the work of conversion increased, until, in 1695, it was estimated that in Martha's Vineyard alone there were over three thousand Indian converts. In 1674, there were fourteen "praying towns" of Indians in Massachusetts alone. One of these was Wamesit, (a part of Tewksbury, or Lowell) containing seventy-five souls.

Many of these praying Indians lived in the families of the settlers, and labored for them; and were allowed many privileges previously denied

^o In 1636 the militia were divided into three regiments. The Court appointed the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel; the regiments elected their field officers, and "the several towns" were to make choice of some suitable persons to present to the General Court for "Captains and Lieutenants."—Col. Rec. 1, 167.

them, as, for instance, the possession and use of fire-arms. It was these Indians that the vote of the town evidently referred to, and not the original inhabitants of the town.

By a vote of the town the same year, William Simmons received "the overplus in the Constable's hands of the Country rate, to satisfy him for his curing of Matthias Button."^o This is the first hint we can find of any physician being in town. Simmons was at this time, and for the five years previous, the town's ferryman, as well as physician.

We mentioned, under date of 1660, that the town laid claim to land some distance west of Spicket River, and were summoned to the General Court to prove their claim to such extensive bounds. The following which we copy from the Records of the Court, for 1664, throws light upon the result of that investigation:—

"This Court having in October, 1660, graunted Major Generll Dennison sixe hundred acres of land, (formerly graunted) to be layed out beyond Merrymack Riuer, a litle above Old Wills planting ground, which land was then clajmed by the towne of Hauerill, as within their bound, for which they, by their atturnays, sumoned to appeare at that Court, did alleadg seuerall pleas, which the Court then judged invalid, & notwithstanding the same, they then graunted the six hundred acres, provided it were not within seaven miles of Hauerill meeting house, which sajd sixe hundred acres being since laid out, as above exprest, by George Abbot & Thomas Chandler, & returned to this Court is allowed and confirmed."

This does not seem to have settled the matter of the western bounds of the town, as we find the following in the Records for October, (1664):—

"For an issue in the case in difference between Major Generall Dennison & the towne of Haverill, relating to their bounds, the Court judgeth it meete to confirme the bounds of Haverill, not extending vpon the river above eight miles from their meeting house, & doe confirm unto Major Generall Dennison his farme as it is now lajd out."

Though, in 1662, the Court would only allow the town to extend *seven* miles westward, in 1664, it seems, they consented to add another mile. Reckoning by the river, this would make the western bound of the town at least *four miles west of its present bounds*, and not far from the mouth of Spicket River in the city of Lawrence.

The town had, however, already laid out land to some of its inhabitants

^o *Matthias Button* came over with the first Governor of Massachusetts (Endicott) in 1628. He was living in a thatched house in Haverhill as late as 1670, and gave the Rev. Thomas Cobbett (of Ipswich) some of the facts communicated to Dr. Increase Mather, of the early troubles with the Indians. He died in 1672.

still further west, and when the Major's farm was finally laid out, it was obliged to lay out new lots instead of them, in another place.

From the Roxbury church records, we learn that there was a severe drought in the early part of 1662; and from the Hampton Court records, that the following winter was very moderate, the ground not freezing until the twentieth of December.

In 1663, the town voted that there should be a general Town-Meeting holden on the first Tuesday in March, annually, "for the granting and selling & exchanging of lands or commonages, if the town see cause, & therefore it is hereby ordered, that all the other town or other meetings whatever, after this day is ended, shall be, & are hereby prohibited from acting upon those grants of lands or commonages."^o

Previous to this, there was no regular time for holding town meetings, or acting upon land matters. The day above designated continued to be the time for the annual meetings until 1675, when it was changed to the last Tuesday in February.

Previous to this time, grants of land were seldom recorded in the town books at the time they were laid out; — thus, Samuel Gild's grant of 1663, was not entered until 1690. The evil tendency of this loose practice was too glaring to escape notice, and, in 1664, a step was taken in the right direction, by requiring all future grants to be recorded when laid out. This was followed two years after, by an order requiring that all who claimed to own land in town, should bring in their title to the same, that it might be duly examined and approved.

At a meeting in December 1663, it was voted to lay out the way "formerly called Goodman Ayers cartway," and leading "from Coffin's Ordinary to the country highway," as a public highway, and twelve rods wide. This "twelve rod way" afterward caused the town considerable trouble as will be seen. It commenced at the foot of "Sander's Hill" (near the present residence of Richard Stuart) and run in a direct line to the Merrimack, striking the latter about one fourth of a mile above the Rocks Bridge.

At the annual meeting, in 1664, the selectmen were authorized to sell a quantity of land, to pay the expense of building a pound. This was the first building of the kind erected; it was built of wood and stood near the meeting house.

The town still continued to be troubled with wolves, and so great was the damage done by them, that the town again offered a bounty of forty

^o The word *form* is found in the town records of this year for the first time.

shillings for each one killed, in addition to the large bounty offered by the County.

Mr. John Carleton was this year chosen Town Recorder and Clerk of the Writs, in which offices he continued until 1668.

An old manuscript states that there were sixty-four freemen in town this year. The list begins with "Mr. Ward our preacher."

Another cow-common was ordered to be laid out; it extended from Little River to a place then called North-meadow, and from thence to East-meadow.

The owners of the saw-mill were this year allowed the use of one hundred acres to pasture their oxen, by paying an annual rent of "100 boards."

The General Court, in 1664, remitted to John Hutchins, late constable of Haverhill, several pounds, for corn which he had collected for taxes, but which was consumed by fire, while yet on his hands. The Court also granted him twenty shillings "for his pains in executing a warrant for the apprehending of an Indian for killing his squaw."

At the annual meeting of 1665, a road was ordered to be laid out from "Holt's Rocks,"^o just below the present Rocks Bridge, to the Country bridge, in the East-meadow.

It was also voted that Mr. Ward, with three others, "should plan and seat the inhabitants of Haverhill in the seats built in the meeting house."

Nathaniel Saltonstall was chosen Captain of the Militia company, and George Browne, Ensign. The flag of this company was a ground field green, with a red cross, "with a white field in ye angle according to ye antient custom of our own English Nation, and the English plantations in America, & our own practice in our ships & other vessels, by order of ye Major General." The military forces of the town, and, in fact, of the whole colony, seem to have been well organized at this period.

The inhabitants about this time seem to have been much troubled for want of sufficient mill accommodations, as we find "that taking into consideration that the corn mill now in Haverhill is not sufficient to answer the town's end for to grind the town's corn," a committee was chosen to treat with John Osgood and Andrew Grealey, the owners of the mill, "to know whether they will maintain a sufficient mill or mills for to answer the end of the town." In case the owners should neglect or refuse to do it, the committee were empowered "to agree with any other men that will build & maintain a sufficient mill or mills, that may answer the end of the town for to grind the town's corn sufficiently."

^o Holt's Rocks were so called from one Nicholas Holt, one of the first settlers of Newbury, and who afterward settled in Andover. He kept the first ferry near the Rocks.

This vigorous action on the part of the town had the desired effect. An agreement was entered into with the committee, by Bartholomew Heath and Andrew Grealey, to the following effect: —

“First, to repair the mill that now is, by Sept next: & if this mill proves insufficient to answer the town's end, then to build another by September following; & so to keep & maintain from time to time a sufficient corn mill or mills, suitable for all sorts of grain that the inhabitants of Haverhill shall have occasion to grind: and also to keep a sufficient skilful miller, or millers, such as the town shall approve of from time to time; & further do engage to provide good millstones; and convenient room for the laying of the bags, with sufficient housing with lock and key: & also we do engage not to grind for any other town or towns to the hindrance of any of the inhabitants of Haverhill.”

In consideration of the above, the town agreed that Heath and Grealey should “have so much privilege of the land in the street on both sides of the brook at the end of Michael Emerson's lot as may be convenient to set another mill on, or any other place on the town's land. And also we do engage that no other man shall set up a mill or mills upon any land that is the town's with any order from the town.” The agreement is dated November 4, 1665.

Among the names met with in the records of this year, we find the following new ones: — William Compton, Roger Lanceton.

With the increase of population came the necessity of more extensive meeting house accommodations, and after due deliberation it was voted at the annual meeting of 1666, “yt John Hutchins shall have libertie to beuild a gallerey at ye westend of ye meeting house, and to take any of ye inhabitants of ye town to joyne with him, provided yt he give nottise to ye towne whether he will or noe ye next training day, soe yt any of ye inhabitants of ye towne yt hath a minde to joyne with him, may give in their naimes; and yt there is none but ye inhabitants of ye towne is to have any interest in ye said gallery.”

At the same meeting, it was voted, that the “Selectmen, chosen for the year ensuing, shall have power to act in any prudential affairs according to the laws of the country, excepting in the disposing of lands.” For years afterward this vote was renewed annually.

From the records of the County Court, we learn, that John Carleton of this town was fined three pounds for striking Robert Swan several blows, & Robert Swan 30s for striking John Carleton several blows.” We commend the wisdom of the Court in punishing both parties.

The bounds of the town were not, it seems, yet fully settled, but continued to occupy the attention both of the town and the General Court, until the latter evidently considered it high time the matter was finally disposed of.

Accordingly, at the May session of 1666, "Left Thomas Noyes, of Sudbury, John Parker of Billirrikey, & Left Challice, of Salisbury New-towne," were "appointed a committee to run the bounds of the town of Haverill, & make returne thereof to the next session of the Court."

At the session of the succeeding May, the following report was submitted to the court:—

"In obedience to an order of the honored Generall Court, dated the 23d of May, 1666, Thomas Noyes, of Sudbury, Lieftenant Challice, of Salisbury, New towne, John Parker, of Billirrikey, did meete at Haverill, the 31st day of October 1666, to runn the bounds of Haverill, according to order committed unto us. Wee began at the meeting house, and runne a due west lne just eight miles; there wee reared up a heape of stones, & from thence runn a due south lne to Merrymacke River, & stated^c a due north lne from the sajd heape of stones to meet with & close the lne northwest from the bound at Merrimack River that divides between Haverill & Salisbury, which bound is just two miles & fowerteen score poles from Haverill meeting house, which lyeth about east north east, & there we cease our worke at that time for want of the order wherein that lne was prefixt betwene Salisbury & Haverill from the sajd bounds at Holts Rocks; then the sajd committee did appointe to meete again to finish the work about the bounds vpon the first second day of May next following. This worke was donne by Thomas Noyse, deceased, & refused to be subscribed vnto by Lieftennant Challice, being left alone to make his returne to the honord Court by him, who is your servant wherein you shall command,

JOHN PARKER."

The Court approved of this report in the following words:—

"The Court doe approue of this returne of the bounds of Haverill, so farr as the same was stated[†] by Ensign Noyse & the rest of the committee appointed therevnto before the death of Ensigne Noyse; but as for the bounds between Haverill & Salisbury New towne, it is settled as this Court hath determined this session."[‡]

This being the first regular survey and marking of the west line of the town, and, as we shall see, the fixing of its whole boundary line, by the

^c Started. [†] Ibid.

[‡] We have already copied the order of the Court here referred to, under date of 1654.

General Court, it is worthy of more than a passing notice. The bounds established at this time remained unchanged until the setting off, or laying out, of Methuen, in 1725, — a period of nearly sixty years.

We have taken special pains to collect a complete history of our town bounds, and have, fortunately, been successful. We have made thorough search in the archives of this State, and also of New Hampshire, and brought to light much interesting and important information upon the subject. We have found, and taken copies of, every plan and map of the town, taken by Colonial and State authority, from its first survey, in 1667, to 1832.

Among them is the first plan of the town ever drawn — that of Ensign Noyes, as finished by Jonathan Danforth, in 1667, — and which we have had engraved for this work.

As early as October, 1640, (within a few months of the first settlement of the town) a committee was chosen by the General Court to "view the bounds between Colchester (Salisbury) & Mr. Ward's plantation;" which we presume was done. At the next June Court, commissioners were appointed "to set out the bounds of Salisbury & Pentucket, alias Haverhill," and "to determine the bounds which Mr Ward & his company are to enjoy as a town or village." We can find no report of the doings of either of these committees, and have come to the conclusion that their doings extended no further than a "viewing," or indefinite location, of the line between these two towns. We are confident that they did not *determine the bounds which Mr. Ward and his company were to enjoy as a town or village.*

In 1647, the town petitioned for a large tract of land somewhere to the northwest of the present town limits, to which the General Court made answer that they thought *four miles square* was enough for them. Whether this four miles square referred to the whole area they should have as a town, or to the tract of land then granted them, does not clearly appear from the record, but we are confident that it referred to the latter.^o

In 1650, another committee was appointed to "lay out the bounds between Haverhill and Salisbury," which fact strengthens the opinion that the previous committees merely "viewed" the bounds, and did not regularly survey and mark the line. This last committee, however, did make such a survey, and we hear nothing more about the matter until 1654, when the town petitioned the General Court for a new survey, on the

^o The Indian deed conveyed fourteen miles on the River, and six miles back from the River, and it does not seem to us consistent with the usages of the times, that the Court should cut them down to a mere four miles square.

ground that a "great mistake was made in the former. The request was granted, and the result proved that a mistake had been made." The decision of the last appointed surveyors was not, it seems, satisfactory to either party, (clearly showing that it was about right) and the subject continued to occupy and trouble the minds of the inhabitants of both towns, until the General Court approved the survey of 1667, and firmly decided that the line agreed upon in 1654, "should be the dividing line between them."

When the General Court ordered its grant to Major General Daniel Dennison to be laid out, in 1660, it was found that the Haverhill men claimed some of the land, and objected to its being laid out to the Major.^o Upon this, the Court summoned the town "to shew a reason why they have marked bounds trees at so great a distance from their towne vp Meremacke River, & also to give an account of the bounds of theire towne, & vpon what right they lay clajme to so long a tract of land." It would seem from this, that the western line of the town had been previously run, and marked, though we can find no record of its being ordered, or done, except those already mentioned. It is probable, however, that it was done by the town, a few years previously, when the lands in that section were laid out by them to the inhabitants of the town. Their Indian deed gave them "eight miles from ye Little River westward;" but the General Court declared it should be eight miles upon the river westward from their *meeting house*. This made a difference of three-fourths of a mile.

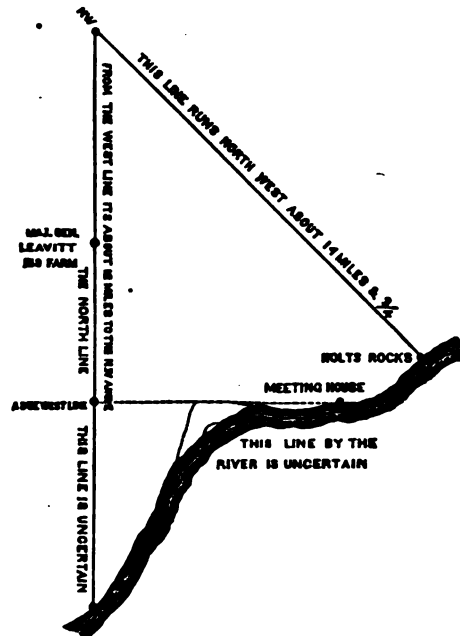
The easterly bound of the town was now (1666) a due northwest line from Holt's Rocks, (the present bound), and when the commissioners came on to lay out the western bounds, they commenced at the meeting house, and run a line due west, eight miles, according to their interpretation of the order of the General Court. That order, however, says "not extending *upon the river* above eight miles from their meeting house." By running *due west* from the latter point, instead of following the river, it gave the town a much larger area than it would have given them by following the crooked, or general southwesterly course of the river. This difference was not less than four miles, upon the river; thus giving the town a tract of land, equal to about four miles by twelve, more than a strict interpretation of the order of the General Court would have allowed them.

^o Since the above was written, we have found, under date of 1741, a petition from John Denison, a descendant of the Major above mentioned, to the proprietors of the common and undivided lands in Haverhill, in which it is made to appear that thirty acres of the land laid out to the Major in 1660, actually fell within Haverhill bounds when the west line of the town was run in 1667; and that, in 1740, one Lyndty petitioned the Haverhill proprietors to purchase this thirty acres of them. To such a sale the petitioner (J. D.) objected, and to avoid all future trouble, requested the proprietors to give him their quit claim to the land,—which they did.

We do not learn that the Haverhill people made any objection to this course, and as it more than made up the difference between their bounds as given in the original deed, and that in the order of the Court, we presume they were quite willing to keep quiet.

From the point eight miles west of the meeting house, a line was run due north and south, extending to the Merrimack on the south, and to the intersection of the northwest line from Holt's Rocks on the north. This gave the township nearly the form of a triangle. The length of the northeast angle was about fifteen miles; of the west line rather more; and an air line from Holt's Rocks, to the southwest corner, would have been also about fifteen miles.

The following engraving is made from the original plan, as drawn by Jonathan Danforth, from this survey by Ensign Noyes.



"this platform of the town of haverhill began by ensign Noyes of Sudbury and finished by Jonathan Danforth 16. 3d m. 1667."

The General Court approved of the report of the commissioners, and, for the first time, the bounds of the town were apparently well defined and understood.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that the original area of the town was much greater than the present. This difference is not, however, gen-

erally known by its present inhabitants; and even those who do know something of former changes in its bounds, have but a vague idea of their extent. The following map shows, not only its past and present bounds, but also those portions that have been from time to time taken off, in forming new towns, and in running the present State line. There are several inaccuracies in the map, which were not noticed in season for their correction. The most important, is, the representing of the west line of Methuen and the old west line of Haverhill, as touching the Merrimack at the same point, whereas the distance between them should have been about one and a half miles. With this exception, the map is sufficiently correct for the purpose for which it is here introduced.



MAP OF HAVERHILL, AND ADJACENT TOWNS.

If we start from the site of the first meeting house, (in the old burying ground,) and run a line due west, eight miles, it will bring us to a point about four miles northwest of Methuen village. A line due south from this point, will pass a little over two miles to the west of the above village,

and strike the Merrimack River about three and a half miles above the upper bridge at Lawrence, and within about one and a half miles of the present southwest corner of Methuen. This last named line, was the old western bound of Haverhill, as confirmed in 1667, and continued until 1725.

A glance at the foregoing map, will show, that the town then included the largest part of Methuen; a large part of Salem and Plaistow; all of Atkinson; and a good share of Hampstead.

In 1667, the highway "down the vally to Holt's Rocks" was ordered to be laid out; but, with the impression that it would not be much used, the town considerably accompanied the order with a proviso that those who used the highway should keep it in repair.

At the same time a vote was passed declaring that the inhabitants should keep the places assigned them by the committee in the meeting house, under a penalty of two shillings six-pence. The selectmen were ordered to see that the rule was attended to. John Hutchins was, however, excepted; — probably on account of his large interest in the house, for building the gallery.

Another lot of "accommodation" land was laid out in July of the same year. The following are the names and the number of acres laid out to each man:—

"Mr Ward six & twenty acres,		Job Clements ^o	5
James Davis sen & jun	20	Hugh Sherratt	8
George Browne	14	John Robinson	4
John Eaton sen	10	Goodman Butler	4
Henry Palmer	9	Henry Savage	4
Robert Eyre	4	Joseph Merrie	5
Oldgood Eyre	8	George Corley	5
John Ayres	8	Mill Lot†	6
Wm White	5	James Pecker	2
Goodman Peasley	12	Richard Littlehale	4
Goodman Guile	4	Mr Coffin	10
Goodman Tiler	4	John Remington	4
Mr Clements, John, & Job	40	Robt Swan	2
Old Goldwine	8	John Hutchings	6
Goodman Heath	10	Daniel Ella	2
Andrew Grealey	6	Joseph Johnson	2
Goodman Noise	4	John Davis	6
Thos Haile	20	Job Clements ^o	3
Thos Davis	18	Daniel Hendricks	3
Goodman Ladd	6	John Robinson	6
Goodman Williams	6		

^o It will be noticed there were three of this name.

† In all the drafts and divisions of land, the "Mill Lot" is mentioned as receiving a portion, or lot.

At the annual town meeting of 1668, "John Johnson was chosen Moderator for the present meeting." This is the first mention we find of such an officer, in the records, though one was regularly chosen afterward.

At the same time, a committee was chosen, to whom the inhabitants were to "make known by what title they lay any claim to any land in the town."

Several absentees from town meeting were fined for the offence. This illustrates one of the marked characteristics of the early settlers of the colony. Not to do that which ought to be done, was considered as worthy of punishment, as to do that which ought not to be done. It was necessary that there should be town meetings, to transact the business of the town; therefore every voter ought to attend, and do his part of the labor; and, hence, if he did not, he neglected his duty; and a neglect of duty was considered deserving of punishment; and being so considered, they never failed to administer it when occasion called for it. This is the key to much in their history that at first seems strange and inconsistent. They believed that extravagance in dress was not only foolish, but wrong; — and they punished the offender. They believed the Sabbath to be a day set apart for a rest from secular labors; — and they punished him who would not so observe it. They considered worship a duty, and religious meetings a part of worship; therefore, every man was obliged to attend religious services, and help pay for their support. They were stern men, — those old Puritans, — and did some hard things; but they were men of inflexible fidelity to their convictions of right and duty; and though we may dissent from their judgment, we cannot but honor them for their good intentions, and their uncompromising hostility to what they believed to be wrong.

The town continued to be exceedingly jealous for the timber; almost every year, a vote was passed for its preservation, and this year, a fine of ten shillings was imposed upon any person, who should fall a white, red, or black-oak tree, within the town's limits, "for staves, heading, logs for boards, or any thing else for transportation, without leave from the Select men from year to year."

At the same meeting, Nathaniel Saltonstall was chosen Town Recorder and Clerk of the Writs; in which offices he continued until 1700, — a period of thirty-two years. At the May session of the General Court, "Capt Nathaniel Saltonstall" was (in answer to a petition) authorized to join persons in marriage.^o

^o Mr. James Savage, who has made extensive historical and genealogical researches, stated at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society some time since, that he had discovered no record of a marriage performed by a clergyman in New England prior to 1686, except in George's Province by a

Nathaniel Saltonstall was descended from an ancient and highly respectable family in Yorkshire, England. His grandfather, Sir Richard Saltonstall, was the first named associate of the six original patentees of Massachusetts, and one of the first Assistants, and was present at their court, August 23, 1630. He came over in the same ship with Governor Winthrop, in 1630, and was the leader among the first settlers of Watertown. He brought over with him three sons and two daughters. He returned to England in the spring of 1631, taking with him his two daughters and his youngest son. He did not return to America. His father, *Richard*, was born in 1610, and came to America with *his* father, in 1630. He was admitted a freeman in 1631. In November of the same year, he returned to England, where he remained about four years and a half, and married Meriell Gurdon, daughter of Brampton Gurdon, of Suffolk, with whom he again embarked for America, in 1635. Upon his arrival, he settled in Ipswich, and was elected Deputy to the General Court in the same year. He was elected Assistant in 1637, and continued to be elected annually, until 1649, when he again returned to England. He was in America twice afterward, and returned to England finally in 1683, and died at Hulme, April 29, 1694, aged 84.

Nathaniel, was born in Ipswich, and graduated at Harvard, in 1669. He married Elizabeth Ward, daughter of Rev. John Ward, of Haverhill, December 28, 1663, and settled in this town about the same time, upon that beautiful estate half a mile east of the village, which was conveyed to him by his father-in-law, on the occasion of his marriage. In 1664, his father also deeded him eight hundred acres of land "on his marriage." In 1665, he was chosen Captain of the military company in town; was afterward appointed Colonel; and, still later, was elevated to the important post of Major. He was regularly chosen Assistant from 1679 to 1686, when the charter of Massachusetts Bay was taken away, and he was named in the commission as one of "the council of the Governor of Massachusetts Bay." As he had a few days before taken the oath of Assistant

clergyman of the Church of England. The statement elicited some discussion. It was accounted for by the fact that marriage was considered by the Puritans to be a civil contract and not a religious rite. In abjuring the forms and ceremonies of the Established Church as offshoots of Popery, the marriage sacrament was also abandoned. Winthrop's History of New England contains the following:—

"1647, 4, 4th day, 6th month. There was a great marriage to be solemnized at Boston. The bridegroom being of Hingham, Mr. Hubbard's church, he was procured to preach, and came to Boston to that end. But the magistrates, hearing of it, sent to him to forbear. The reasons were: 1. For that his spirit had been discovered to be averse to our ecclesiastical and civil government: and he was a bold man and would speak his mind. 2. We were not willing to bring in the English custom of ministers performing the solemnities of marriage, which sermons at such times might induce; but if any ministers were present, and would bestow a word of exhortation, &c., it was permitted."

under the old charter, he refused the latter appointment, and, upon the deposition of Sir Edmund, he became one of the Council which took the government of the Colony into their hands. He continued in this office until the arrival of the Charter of William and Mary, wherein he was appointed one of their Majesty's Council.

In 1680, he went with the Deputy Governor and others, "with 60 soldiers, in a ship and sloop from Boston, to still the people at Casco Bay, & prevent Gov Andros's usurpation." In 1683, he was appointed by the Crown one of the Commissioners "to examine & enquire into the claims & titles, as well of his Majesty as others, to the Narraganset country," to which important mission he attended.

He was a man of superior powers of mind, and rare talent. In 1692, he was appointed one of the judges in a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, for the trial of persons accused of witchcraft, at Salem. With a high-minded liberality, and freedom from the bigotry and superstition of the time, worthy of his immediate ancestry, he refused to serve in that commission, from conscientious scruples. Brattle, in his account of the witchcraft, says: "Maj N Saltonstall Esq, who was one of the judges, has left the court, & is very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of it." His bold stand was powerful for good. It opened the eyes of the masses to the enormity and fearful tendency of the delusion; — *the charm was broken*, and the excitement soon subsided. It is no small honor to his memory, and satisfaction to his descendants, that he was not carried away by this dreadful fanaticism.

Mr. Saltonstall lived to a good old age, and died May 21st, 1707. He left three sons, Gurdon, Richard, and Nathaniel. His only daughter married (1st) Rev. John Dennison, and (2d) Rev. Rolland Cotton, of Sandwich.

The town voted, in 1668, that one of the former Selectmen should be re-elected each year; but the very next year it was "set aside for this year," and in the year following, it was repealed altogether. Why this obviously sensible and important rule should have been so soon abolished, seems somewhat surprising. Perhaps it should be referred to their well known opposition to succession in office, or, most probable, to the fact, that the office of Selectman in those days, included "hard work and poor pay," and it was not easy to find men willing, or even able, to accept the onerous position two years in succession.

The Selectmen of this year were directed "to provide a herdsman or herdsmen, and bulls, for the use of the town." Those who lived without

the compass of Pond River and the Great Plain^o fence," were to "pay 6d a head for privileges of herdsmen & bull."

It was also ordered "that what papers shall be brought to the Recorder, to be entered in the town book of Records, it shall be in his power to record them, provided, that Ensign Browne, James Davis Jun, & Robert Clements Jr, give their assent." The Recorder was sometimes troubled, it seems, by persons wanting papers recorded on the town books, which properly belonged elsewhere, or were not worth recording, and he frequently drops a hint to that effect in his record. Thus, he introduces his record of several deeds with the following note:—"The copy of several Deeds, which to satisfy the grantees, are entered, who they are told that it is no legal County Record of Deeds,"

The only new names met with this year in the records, are Henry Kingsbery, and John Remington.

The highway from Haverhill Ferry to Topsfield was accepted in the spring of 1669, as we learn from the Ipswich Court Records.

That town offices were not much sought for in those times, may be judged from the fact that the town, having chosen Thos. Whittier constable, voted, that he should be excused, provided he presented some one to take his place whom the Selectmen should declare satisfactory.

Upon a complaint made by Mr. Ward for want of wood, it was voted to add ten pounds to his salary (which was fifty pounds), and that the Selectmen should annually expend it in procuring him cord-wood, at six shillings per cord.

Among the votes passed at the same meeting, we find the following curious one:—"The town, by a major vote, did make choice of Andrew Greely, sen., to keep the ferry at Haverhill; provided that he agree and will carry over the Inhabitants of the town, and the inhabitants of the town of Merrimack, [Bradford] over against us, for three pence an horse, and a penny a man; and that he will carry all Ministers over free that come upon visitation to us, and in particular Mr Symes;† & that, if the inhabitants of the town over against us do come over to meet with us on the sabbath days, they shall have the free use of the ferry boat, or boats, for the occasion, without paying anything." They also stipulated that he should pay the widow of the former ferryman‡ forty shillings.

^o *Pond River*, was the outlet to Great Pond; and the *Great Plain*, was the plain east of the village.

† The person here referred to, was Rev. Zachariah Symmes, of Bradford, a man of considerable note and learning, and much beloved by his own people, as well as esteemed by his neighbors across the river. Mr. Symmes was educated at Cambridge, and graduated in 1637. He came to Bradford sometime previous to 1668, at which date he was their minister, though he was not ordained until 1682. He remained with them until his death, in 1707.

‡ Mr. Simons.

This year a new bridge was built over Little River, where the present Winter Street Bridge stands. The old bridge had become much out of repair, and though it was considered that the "prosent sawmill owners were engaged to do it," yet when the question was put to Thos. Davis, in town meeting, he plainly answered, "I will not." Upon this, the meeting voted to prosecute him, but the next vote declared this vote to be "nulled and void." Finally, a committee was chosen to "compound the matter with Davis, & to build a new bridge." The inhabitants were each obliged to contribute a portion of labor toward constructing it.

From a vote passed this year, we learn that the first half of Mr. Ward's yearly salary was paid by a "collection of estates," in August, and all other charges and debts were paid by "a collection of estates, in November, or December, annually." Upon notice by the Selectmen, every man was obliged to bring in to them an account of his estates. If any man neglected or refused to do this, or brought in a false account, it was "in the power of the Selectmen to rate such persons by will, and doom as they please upon account of their defect."

The town still continued to be troubled about a corn-mill, as will be seen by the following record of a special town meeting, held September 17, 1669:—

"This meeting being warned to take some order about a corn-mill, the town being wholly destitute of any; Andrew Greeley,^o in whose hands the mill was, being about to carry on a mill at the East meadow river, upon the motion & desire of the town, did promise to take the frame down at the little river, & bring it up & raise it at the place where the former mill was; † many of the inhabitants at the same time promising to allow him freely some help towards the taking the frame down & raising it again."

The powers of the Selectmen, as defined by the town the same year, were as follows:—

"That the Selectmen shall carefully endeavour the strict observation of all orders made by the town, and shall take all fines, if not peaceably paid, by distress, which shall be due upon the breach of said order, unless they shall see good ground to the contrary, & shall make return to the town, at the general yearly march meeting, of what they have done in this matter, & how they have disposed of the fines.

"That the Selectmen shall see to, & pay all debts due from the town in their year, or just ‡ arrears according to their discretion the fines that are due to the town, or by rates in general upon the inhabitants.

^o Andrew Greeley was by trade a shoe-maker. He was in Haverhill in 1646 and in 1672. At the latter date, he was 63 years of age. He died previous to 1712.

† The former mill stood on Mill Brook. ‡ Adjust.

"That the Selectmen shall timely make all rates that shall be necessary for the defraying of the town's debts, upon the estates of the inhabitants.

"That the Selectmen have power to call town meetings as they shall see necessary, they giving timely and sufficient notice to the inhabitants, according to law.

"That the Selectmen shall take special care that all those laws of the country are observed & kept by the neglect whereof the town may any way be liable to be fined by authority; and also that the town be kept from all charges."

The General Court for October, ordered, "that George Broune be left, and James Parker ensigne, to Haverill military company, vnder the conduct of Nathaniel Saltonstall, capt." °

On the seventeenth of November, there was a "thanksgiving for relief from droutht & lengthening out the harvest." †

The only new name we find in the Town Records of this year, is that of Samuel Colbie.

° Col. Rec.

† IMd.

CHAPTER IX.

1670 to 1675.

IN examining the records of our town for the past two hundred years, one cannot fail to note the great changes that have taken place in that time. Habits, customs, laws, and language, have all yielded, in a greater or less degree, to the ever active and never tiring power of—*progress*. A striking illustration of this fact is seen in the history of our common schools.

For several years previous to 1670, (viz.: from 1661) a school-master had been employed to keep a school in the town, but the records, up to this time, give us no hints in addition to that simple fact, except that he was paid ten pounds per annum by the town for such service. But in the records of the annual meeting of 1670, we find the following, which throws much additional light upon the matter: — “It is ordered by a major or free vote of the inhabitants, that the Selectmen shall agree with a School Master for the keeping of a school in the town of Haverhill, who shall allow him Ten pounds annually, to be rated upon the inhabitants proportionable to their estates according to the way of making Mr Ward’s rates; & what children do come to him to be taught, the selectmen being to provide a convenient place to keep the school in, shall pay to the schoolmaster according as he & the parents or masters of such as come to be taught, can agree for, provided that he do not ask for a child or person more than is usually given in other towns by the year.”

From the above, we learn that the ten pounds paid by the town, was in addition to the amount received by the school-master from the parents of his pupils. As to the latter sum, we can find no definite account, or even hint, in the records. Previous to this time, the school had been kept in some private house, but the number of the scholars had now become so large, it was considered necessary that a building should be erected expressly for the purpose, and at the same meeting the following vote was passed: —

“Voted that forthwith there shall be a house erected & built as near the meeting house that now is, as may be, which may be convenient for the keeping of a public school in, & for the service of a watch-house, & for the entertainment of such persons on the sabbath days at noon as shall desire to repair thither, & shall not repair between the forenoon &

afternoon exercises to their own dwellings: which house is to be erected upon that which is now the town's common land or reserved for public use."

The town also voted that in case the contributions voluntarily offered were not sufficient to erect the school-house, that they should be laid aside, and the whole charge be paid by a public rate (tax) upon the inhabitants. The charge of the work was left to William White, Peter Ayers and Nathaniel Saltonstall. Thomas Wasse was chosen to keep the school the ensuing year. A striking illustration of the financial condition of the town at this period, is found in the fact that Wasse's salary for 1668 was not paid until more than three years afterward.

At the same meeting, the "powers of the selectmen" were defined. The following is the substance. They had power: 1. To order and appoint when Mr. Ward's salary should be paid, levy rates for the same, and to take them by distress if not paid otherwise. 2. To observe all orders of the town, and collect all fines. 3. To pay all debts of the town, by fines due, or by rates in general. 4. To make all rates necessary to defray the town's debts. 5. To call town meetings at discretion. 6. To see that all laws of the County were observed and kept. 7. To act in all prudential affairs of the town according to law. 8. To observe all orders of the town as near as they can.

The same record informs us that Henry Palmer refused to serve as Constable after being chosen, and "was fined according to law!"

Our ancestors must have been early risers, as we notice that the town meetings often commenced at seven o'clock, A. M., and were never adjourned to a later hour than eight, A. M.

If any suppose that "talking in town meeting" has increased in these latter days, we would remind them that as early as the time of which we now write, it frequently took three days to transact the business at the annual meetings, notwithstanding they commenced at such an early hour as above mentioned. The time occupied, and the small number of votes usually passed, clearly indicate that our early townsmen were not at all deficient in the "gift of gab."

One of the noticable peculiarities of the Town Records about this time, is, that the Recorder gives the *names* of those who "dissented" from any vote passed by the town. It is somewhat remarkable that but very few names are thus recorded: especially when we consider that so much time was spent in discussions, and that nearly all town matters, large and small, were acted upon directly by the inhabitants, in Town Meeting assembled.

About this time the town resolved that no vote should be valid that was passed after sunset — an excellent regulation.

From the Court Records we learn, that, in 1671, a thatched house, belonging to one Matthias Button, and situated somewhere near the present house of Mr. Thomas West, (one mile northeasterly from the village) was burnt. The incident is worthy of mention, principally, from the fact that it was a "thatched" house, and we find but few intimations in the records of the time, as to the style of houses in the town.

Button was a Dutchman and seems to have been an unusually *moveable* one. He first lived in the village, then in the western part of the town, then in the eastern, and finally settled where his house was burned. Rev. Thomas Cobbett says that Button came to this country in 1628, with the first governor of Massachusetts. He was of Ipswich in 1639, and came to Haverhill in 1646, from that place. He died in 1672, at a great age.*

From the fact that a Committee was chosen to find *if they could*, one of the highways which had been previously laid out by the town, we judge that such laying out was not as thoroughly done as it is at present. It may also be mentioned in this place, as a suggestive fact, that no record is made of any work whatever done to highways, (unless we except two or three *bridges*,) until long after the period of which we write. Their best and only highways were merely paths, or tracks, ungraded, and bridgeless, except here and there a rude bridge across the larger streams.

From the record of the same meeting, we make the following extract: —

"Robert Emerson, Ephraim Davis, & John Heath Jun, desiring to take the oath of fidelity to this Colony, it was administered to them by N Saltonstal, Commissioner."

At this time, no one was allowed to vote in the nomination of magistrates, and choice of deputies, (Representatives) unless he had taken the "freeman's oath," or "oath of fidelity." A man might be a freeholder and not a freeman, and vice versa. He might be a voter in town affairs, and yet neither be a freeholder nor a freeman. A *freeman* was one who had taken the freeman's oath.† A *freeholder* was one who, either by grant, purchase, or inheritance, was entitled to a share in all the common and undivided lands. When any town officers were to be chosen, or money

* By his wife Lettice, he had Mary, baptised February 23, 1634; and Daniel, February 22, 1635. By his wife Teagie, he had six children (see appendix). He married Elizabeth Duston in 1663. Daniel, probably a son of Matthias, was in Lothrop's company, and was killed at Bloody Brook battle, September 18, 1675.

† At first, (1631) only members of the church were admitted freemen: — "For time to come noe man shalbe admitted to the freedome of this body politticks, but such as are members of some of the churches within the lymits of the same," — Col. Rec. 1—67.

raised by way of rate, all the inhabitants could vote; but when a magistrate was to be nominated, or Deputy to General Court chosen, only free-men were allowed that privilege.

The town was yet in want of more corn mill accommodations, and as those to whom had been granted the exclusive privilege of erecting such mills in town, seemed, for some reason, to be unable, or disinclined, to supply them, it was voted (March 7, 1671,) that "John Haseltine or any other man, have free liberty to build a mill to grind corn in the town of Haverhill, either upon the west river^o called the sawmill river, or upon east meadow river.†"

At the annual meeting in 1672, the selectmen were ordered "to provide, at the town's cost, a place in the Meeting House, according to law, to secure the town's stock of powder, & other ammunition." At this meeting Robert Emerson and wife brought to the town meeting the orphan child of Richard and Hannah Mercer, and desired the town to take care of it, and also to pay them for nursing it above a year past. The town ordered the selectmen to provide for it, and to pay Robert Emerson what they should find due him, and also to "address the County Court next at Salisbury to have order from them, & counsel how to dispose of the said child, and maintain the same." Providing for their poor, as a town, was evidently a new business for them at this time. This, we believe, was the first case where application was made to them to support a pauper. The next, was the case of Hugh Sherratt, in 1677, which we have already noticed.

At the same meeting it was voted, "that the Selectmen shall hire Thomas Wasse for a school master to learn such as shall resort to him, to write & read as formerly, who shall be the settled schoolmaster for the town, until the Town take further order: provided that they do not allow the said Thomas Wasse more than Ten pounds by the year; he having the like liberty to agree with the parents or masters of those that come to him as formerly."

At the very next annual meeting, this yearly salary was, by vote, "taken off, & no more to be allowed or rated for." Probably the amount received from the parents of the pupils had now, in the opinion of the town, become sufficient for the teacher's support, without this annual appropriation.

From the Court Records of this year, we learn that two Indians, named Simon and Samuel, were fined five pounds, "for stealing Englishmen's horse."

• Little River.

† "East Meadow river," was the stream running from Peasee's mill, nearly south, and emptying into the Merrimack, at Ootile's Ferry; passing about one-fourth of a mile east of the East Parish Meeting House.

This Simon, or Symon, was one of the "Christian," or "converted" Indians, many of whom lived among the settlers, worked for them, and partially adopted civilized habits. Some of these demi-savages subsequently became exceedingly troublesome to the settlers, and one of the worst, was this very Symon, who for several years made his home in this town, and Amesbury. He is described by one of the writers of the time, as "the arch villain and incendiary of all the eastward Indians"; and he seems to have been an active spirit in several of the principal attacks upon the English in this vicinity.

Upon the Files of the Hampton Court for this year, (1672) we find the following curious order of Court:—

"At a Courte holden at Hampton, 8th of 8th mo. This Court being informed that John Littlehale of Haverhill, liveth in an house by himself contrary to the law of the Country whereby hee is subject to much sin; and having had information of some of his accounts which are in no way to be allow'd of but disproved and discountenanced, doe therefore order that the said John doe forthwith, at farthest, within the time of six weeks next after the date hereof remove himself from the said place and solitary life and settle himself in some orderly family in the said towne and bee subject to the orderly rules of family government in said family (unless hee remove out of the said towne within the time) and if he doe not perform this order as abovesaid then this Courte doth order that the Selectmen doe forthwith order and place the said John to bee in some orderly family as abovesaid, which if he shall refuse to submit unto, then these are in his majesties name to require the Constable of said town upon his knowledge of it, or information, to apprehend the person of said John and carry him to the house of correction in Hampton, there to bee kept and sett to work untill hee shall be freed by order of authority; and this order shall bee a discharge and security."

This order had the desired effect. John immediately removed to "some orderly family."^o If, however, the order was intended as a hint that he ought to take to himself a wife, John was not over hasty in taking the hint, as he did not give up a "jolly bachelor's life" until *forty-four years afterward*, when he had attained the respectable age of sixty-six years. He then married and became the father of two children.

At the annual meeting for 1673, the Clerk was ordered to enter "in the book" all the previous orders and grants of the town "which stand in loose papers & sheets." This vote accounts for the promiscuous manner

^o John Littlehale, son of Richard, one of the pioneer settlers of the town, was born November 27, 1650. He was the third of a family of twelve children. His mother's maiden name was Mary Lantou.

in which the votes and grants of the town are recorded in the old book of Records. They were many of them first written on "loose papers & sheets," and when finally recorded, no regard was paid to their dates. Indeed, many of them are without date, making it difficult, and in some cases impossible, to assign them correctly.

At the same meeting, "John Hutchins, having built galleries" in the meeting-house, was "allowed to sell seats or privileges in the same to any one"; Robert Swan was ordered to "*pull down*" a ditch he had made across one of the town's highways, or be prosecuted; and Abraham Whitticker, having failed to pay his rent of "sixpence a year," for a certain piece of land belonging to the town, the latter took it into their own hands again. Abraham had occupied the land thirteen years, and had paid nothing. He must have been poor indeed, as he candidly told the town he was, when called on to know if he would pay his rent.

From the Hampton records, we learn, that on the 24th of September of this year, "There was a storme of raine and snow so that the ground was covered with snow, & some of it continued until the 26th."

When the older towns on the Merrimack were first settled, large quantities of sturgeon were taken from the river, which were not only used and highly valued as an article of diet, but pickled and packed in kegs for transportation. Frequent allusions to this subject are made in the State and County records, and in old account books. Wood, who visited America in 1633, says: "Much sturgeon is taken on the banks of the Merrimack, twelve, fourteen, eighteen feet long, pickled and sent to England." We think that either his fish or the story must have been somewhat stretched, to come up to the number of feet given! The Massachusetts Indians named the river *Monomack*, signifying sturgeon, of which they are said to have taken large quantities annually.

We do not learn that many of these fish were ever put up in this town for exportation, but in the towns below, (Newbury and Salisbury) it was at one time quite an extensive business. In 1656, "a keg of sturgeon, ten shillings," was among the charges for entertaining an ecclesiastical council at Salisbury. In 1667, Israel Webster testified "that he carried twenty two firkins & kegs of sturgeon from William Thomas' cellar to send to Boston." In 1670, Joseph Coker was licensed by the County Court "to make sturgeon in order to transport." In 1680, the Court licensed Thomas Rogers "to make sturgeon, provided he shall present the court with a bowl of good sturgeon every Michaelmas court."^o As late

^o Hist. Newbury.

as 1733, and probably later, the business was carried on quite largely in Newbury.

While the towns below seem to have nearly monopolized the sturgeon fishery, Haverhill was for a long time largely engaged in the curing and exportation of salmon and alewives. Previous to the building of dams and bridges across the Merrimack, its falls were noted for their salmon and its tributary streams for their alewife fisheries.

The falls of *Pentuckett*, (Haverhill) *Pawtucket*, (Lowell) *Namoskeag*, (Manchester) and *Pennycook*, (Concord) were favorite places of resort for the Indians, during the fishing season, and, in consequence, became in time the seat of extensive Indian settlements, the different communities, or tribes, being known and distinguished by their place of settlement.

Haverhill, from its favorable situation at the head of sloop navigation, and tide water, and at the first falls of the river, was not only one of the earliest and latest engaged in these fisheries, but also the largest. From the year 1654, when Stephen Kent was granted liberty "to place a *wear* in Little River, to catch alewives," and 1657, when Thomas Hutchins was permitted "to set a *wear* in the Merrimack near the falls," until within the last twenty years, its fisheries have been no small item in the trade and commerce of the town. Persons are still living who remember when nice dried salmon was so plenty in town, as to be a "drug" in trade, and well nigh unsaleable at the low price of four or five cents per pound; and, in the fishing season, fine fresh salmon sold for even less than the price stated. It is well authenticated, that at one time it was nowise uncommon to stipulate in the indentures of apprentices, that they should not be obliged to eat salmon oftener than six times a week! As the streams and outlets of the ponds became obstructed, and their waters defiled, by dams, mills, and bridges, the supply of salmon rapidly diminished, and at the present time but few are annually taken in the Merrimack, while the quality of these is much inferior to those of former times.

The same causes which prevented the salmon from continuing their annual visits to the ponds and streams of the interior, to deposit their spawn, also diminished the number of alewives. The latter, however, being less nice in their tastes, continued to "run" somewhat later than the former. It is but a few years since alewives were caught in considerable numbers in Little River, near the factory on Winter Street.

Next to salmon and alewives, *shad* should be noticed in an account of our fisheries. We regret, however, that we have been unable to obtain much definite information in regard to this branch of business. At one

time it was carried on extensively, and, during the fishing season, gave profitable employment to hundreds of persons on the Merrimack. Shad were from time immemorial used by the Indians of New England to manure their corn, and from them the first settlers learned to use it for the same purpose. Whether they also used them as an article of diet, we have no means of knowing; but from the fact that salmon, every way richer and superior, were so plentiful, and easily obtained, we are confident that shad were not at first considered of much account as food. Even within the memory of persons now living, they have at times been caught in such large numbers as to be unsaleable, except for manure. It was no unusual occurrence to catch several hundreds at a single haul, even in the small seines used in the last century. In the *New Hampshire Gazette*, for May 13, 1760, we find the following item, illustrative of our point:—

“SHAD. — One day last week was drawn by a net at one draft Two Thousand Five Hundred and odd Shad Fish out of the River Merrimack near Bedford in this Province. Thought remarkable by some people.”

In these days, when *fifty* is reckoned a remarkably large “haul,” even with our double seines, of twenty rods in length, the above number seems almost incredible.

The causes we have already enumerated, also diminished the number of shad in the river, and since the erection of dams at Lowell, Lawrence, and other places, this branch of our fisheries has ceased to be profitable, and will doubtless soon be abandoned altogether. Bass are still caught here, in their season, but not in sufficient numbers to offer much inducement to engage in the business, or to have it reckoned as a branch of our industry.

The town seems to have been ever watchful and jealous of its timber. The very first vote of the first recorded meeting of the town, was to prevent its unnecessary destruction. When we remember that the town was then covered with a thick and heavy growth of wood; that an untrodden, and seemingly inexhaustable wilderness stretched itself between here and Canada, in which no smoke curled from the home of a white man; it seems almost unaccountably strange that they should have been so careful of their timber. But so it was. No man was allowed to cut down more trees than he needed to supply his house fire for the season, or to furnish lumber for his own use. As “pipe staves” became an article of trade and export, and a convenient means to supply a few shillings of hard money to the settlers, the town voted that no one should have liberty to make more than “one hundred for every acre his house-lot contained,” under the severe penalty of five shillings for every tree he felled more than

was required to make his proportion. The exportation of lumber was also forbidden. It seems, however, that notwithstanding the severe penalties attached, these regulations were sometimes violated, and finally, the thing was done so openly, and extensively, that a town meeting was called (Jan. 1, 1674), to consider the matter. The whole time of the meeting was occupied in a consideration of this one subject, and it was finally voted unanimously, that timber for staves, heading, ship timber, or frames of houses, should not be transported out of town, or even "brought to water side." At the ensuing March meeting, a surveyor of boards, and a culler of staves, were chosen for the first time. James Pecker was chosen to the first, and Robert Clement to the latter office.

We have before noticed that the town seemed particularly desirous of securing the settlement of *mechanics* among them. That the cases mentioned were not merely instances of strong personal friendship or influence, is evident from the general tenor of the record. Mechanics were needed to assist in developing the natural resources of the town, and as their presence and labor would add to the general comfort and prosperity, the town did not hesitate to offer to all such as seemed worthy, every possible inducement to settle among them.

At the meeting last mentioned, (March, 1674,) John Keyzar of Salem, was granted a piece of land, with privileges on the common, &c., if he would come "and set up his trade of tanner." He did so, and in 1682 the town confirmed the grant to him and his heirs forever.

That the duties of the Selectmen were not only manifold, but their pay not at all extravagant, may be judged from the fact that, among other things, they were "to have some one to sweep the meeting house duly, decently and orderly," and that their annual pay for all their services, was the sum of fifty shillings, which was to be distributed among them, "to each man according to his services."

The subject of the town bounds, which had been permitted to rest quietly for a few years following the running of the line in 1667, as we have already noted, was again brought up in 1674, by a request from the Selectmen of Haverhill, that the bounds might be "perfected."

A reference to the report of John Parker to the General Court, under date of 1667, will show that at that time the line north from the point due west of the meeting house was *started*, but left unfinished. After waiting nearly seven years, and finding that the work was not likely to be "perfected" without an effort on their part, the town directed the Selectmen to attend to the matter at once. The Selectmen thereupon employed

Jonathan Danforth, a somewhat distinguished surveyor, to finish the work begun in 1667. He did so, and at the May session of the General Court in 1675, presented the following report:

"Att the request of the Selectmen of Haverill, the bounds of the said town were perfected as followeth: From Hoult's Rocks wee ran due north west, according to the compasse, not allowing any variations, allowing Amesbury their full and just bounds, as hath binn determined by the honoured Generall Court; all the other lynes on the west side of the plantation wee ran from Merremacke Riuer due north, vntill it cut with the first lye, where wee erected a great pillar of stones; this last lye was sett out and begun to run, by Ensigne Noyes and Sarjant Jno. Parker, at eight miles distance from Haverill meeting house, vpon a due west lye, which is according to the grant of the Generall Court; the running lynes on both sides of the plantation were well bounded by markt trees, & heapes of stones. Lajed out

By Jonathan Danforth, Survejer."

The Court approved of the return, and thus, to use the language of the selectmen, "perfected" the bounds of the town, according to its order of 1667.

As proof that the early inhabitants of the town were "subject to frailty and error," we cite the following, from the records of the County Court:—

"Nathaniel Emerson was admonished by the Court for being in company with Peter Cross, and others, at Jonas Gregory's, and drinking of stolen wine."^o

"Robert Swan was fined 20s for being drunk and cursing."[†]

"Michael Emerson was fined 5s for his cruel and excessive beating of his daughter with a flayle swingel, and kicking of her."[‡] We think Michael had reason to congratulate himself on getting off so easily for his brutal conduct.

Two daughters of Hanniel Bosworth were fined ten shillings each for wearing silk.[§] This was contrary to the law, for persons in their station of life. "Bravery in dress" was strictly forbidden.

Hannah Button was sentenced by the Court to be whipped, or pay a fine of forty shillings, for misdemeanors.

Daniel Ela was made an example of, for swearing, in the amount of ten shillings; and two shillings were added for his "reviling speeches." We may charitably suppose that Daniel was by this not only convinced of the wickedness, but of the expensiveness of such conduct, and became a wiser and better man.

^o 1673. [†] 1674. [‡] *Ibid.* [§] 1675.

CHAPTER X.

INDIAN TROUBLES.—FROM 1675 TO 1678.

In the preceding chapters, we have followed the early settlers of our town, year by year, through their first third of a century, —the lifetime of a generation,— and, except the privations and hardships incident to all new settlements at that early period, we find their history one of continued peace and prosperity. They had increased in population and wealth from a small pioneer company of twelve men, until their town ranked as the twenty-fifth of the forty-nine towns in the Colony. They were, as far as we can judge, a happy, prosperous, and peaceful community. Their religious teacher was a man distinguished for his upright Christian character, and, influenced by his example, his people prided themselves on the purity of their moral conduct, and the extreme exactness of their religious devotions. We have no hesitation in saying that there was no settlement in the Colony, containing a less number of idle and vicious persons, in proportion to the population, than Haverhill. The small number of prosecutions for immoral conduct, to be found on the Court Files, attest the truth of our declaration. Would that the record of the succeeding third of a century were equally pleasant to contemplate; that the peaceful, happy homes of Pentucket, were, for another generation, to rest undisturbed and prosperous. But it is otherwise.

The year 1675, is memorable for a war with the Indians, called *King Phillip's War*, which was the most general and destructive ever sustained by the infant colonies. Phillip, king of the Wampanoags, resided at Mount Hope, in Rhode Island, and was the grandson and successor of Massasoit, with whom the Plymouth colonists had made a treaty fifty years before. For a long time he had been jealous of the whites, and had used every effort to induce all the Indian tribes to unite and exterminate them, and thus preserve their hunting grounds and their independence. The immediate cause of the war, was the execution of three Indians by the English for the murder of one *Sausaman*, a Christian Indian, who had informed the whites of the plot Phillip was forming against them. Having incited them to the murder, Phillip determined to avenge their deaths, and commenced hostilities, and by his influence drew into the war most of the tribes of New England. Through their intercourse with the whites, the Indians had acquired the use of fire-arms, and notwithstanding the strin-

gent laws against selling or giving them guns or ammunition, they had by various means obtained possession of enough to do terrible execution in the war which now burst upon the colonists.

Early in the year 1675, the inhabitants of Haverhill began to think seriously of taking measures to defend themselves from the Indians. Some years previous, a fortification was built around the meeting-house, but the peaceable appearance of the Indians, and the free intercourse that existed between them and the whites, had lulled all suspicion of danger, and the works were suffered to fall into decay. But now the Indians began to show symptoms of hostility, and the whole town became alarmed. A meeting was called, February 19th, to concert measures to prevent the threatened danger, and it was voted that "the Selectmen shall forthwith cause the fortifications (around the Meeting-house) to be finished, to make port holes in the walls, to right up those places that are defective and likely to fall, and to make a flanker at the east corner, that the work, in case of need, may be made use of against the common enemy." At the same time, Daniel Ladd, Peter Ayer, and Thomas Whittier, were appointed to designate what houses should be garrisoned; and the "old brush and top wood" on the common, was ordered to be burnt.

In view of the impending peril, the General Court took active measures to protect the frontier settlements, by furnishing the troopers and militia with fire-arms and ammunition, and ordering the several towns to provide fortifications and garrisons, without delay.

These precautions were scarcely completed when the storm burst upon them with remorseless fury. Early in the following spring, (March 19, 1676,) the town was startled by the intelligence that the Indians were crossing the Merrimack from Wamesit (Lowell). Couriers were at once dispatched from Haverhill and Andover, to Ipswich, for aid. Major Denison, of Ipswich, from whose letter of the above date we gather these particulars, writes to the Governor, that there was a great alarm in those towns, and he was sending up sixty men.^o The rumor proved unfounded, but the hostile intentions of the Indians were not to be mistaken, and fear seized upon the people of the exposed settlements.

The town of Andover was the first to suffer. In a letter to the Governor,† (April 7,) imploring for help, they inform him that their town had been twice attacked, and the inhabitants had begun to move away.

Haverhill was not long permitted to escape the murderous tomahawk. On the 2d of May, one of its own people, Ephraim Kingsbury, was killed by the Indians. He is believed to have been the first person slain in this

^o State Archives. † Ibid.

town by the savages, but the incidents connected with his death have been lost. The next day, (May 3d,) the house of Thomas Kimball, of Bradford, was attacked, and he was killed; and his wife and five children,—Joanna, Thomas, Joseph, Priscilla, and John,—taken captive^o. Phillip Eastman,† of Haverhill, was captured at the same time.‡

This outrage was committed by three well known "converted Indians," named *Symon*,§ *Andrew*, and *Peter*.|| There is a tradition, that they set out with the intention of killing some one in Rowley, whom they supposed had injured them, but finding the night too far spent, they did not dare proceed further, and so avenged themselves on Mr. Kimball. It is quite probable that Symon intended to wreak his vengeance on some one who was concerned in securing his punishment for the theft before mentioned. He was a cruel and blood-thirsty villain, as the following facts will abundantly show.

Soon after her return from captivity, Mrs. Kimball addressed the following petition to the Governor and Council:

"To the Hon. Governor and Council.

The humble petition of Mary Kimball sheweth that Simon, the Indian who killed my husband, Thomas Kimball, hath threatened to kill me and my children if ever I goe to my own house, so that I dare not goe to looke after what little I have there left, for fear of my life being taken away by him; and therefore, doe humbly entreate the Hon. Governor and Councell that some course may be taken, as God shall direct, and your wisdoms shall think best, to secure him; for I am in continual fear of my life by him; and if any course may be taken for the recovery of what is yet left in their hands of my goods that they have not destroyed, (as there was two kittells and two or three baggs of linnen when I came from them) that I might have it restored, leaving myself and my concernes under God, to your wisdoms. Remaine your humble suppliant. Mary Kimball."

^o The house in which Mr. Kimball lived, stood on the road leading to Boxford. The cellar was plainly to be seen a few years ago. Through, as it is said, the influence of Wannalancet, the chief of the Pennacooks, who was ever the friend of the English, Mrs. Kimball and her children were afterward set at liberty, "though she and her sucking child were twice condemned by the Indians, and the fires ready made to burn them." (1)

† Phillip Eastman married Widow Mary Morse, August 23, 1678. Children, Hannah, born November 5, 1679; Ebenezer, born February 17, 1681; Phillip, born August 18, 1684; Abigail, born May 23, 1689.

‡ Rev. Mr. Cobbett.

§ This Symon, or Simon, was the Indian whose horse-stealing exploit we mentioned in the preceding chapter.

|| John Littlehale, of this town, was killed by the Indians September 18, 1675. The particulars of his death are now lost.

(1) Rev. T. Cobbett's Ma., (Ipswich).

Symon, and his two associates, soon after concluded to make peace with the English, who, instead of improving the opportunity to secure their friendship, seized Symon and Andrew, and confined them in the jail at Dover. They soon, however, found means to escape, joined their friends, and entered upon the work of vengeance in earnest.

About the first depredation which followed their flight from Dover, was committed at Greenland, where they killed one John Kenniston, and burned his house. Symon was with the celebrated *Mogg*, in his assault upon Scarborough, October 12th, 1676; was the leader of the party which made prisoners of Anthony Brackett, and his family, at Back Cove (near Portland), August 9th, of the same year; and was the alledged leader of the party which killed several persons in Amosbury, July 7, 1677. A woman named Quimby, who was wounded at the time, recognized him, and begged him to spare her life. He replied, "why, goodwife Quimby, do you think that I will kill you?" She said she was afraid he would, because he killed all the English. Symon then said, "I will give quarter to never an English dog of you all," and immediately gave her a blow on the head, which not happening to hurt her much, she threw a stone at him, upon which he turned upon her, and "struck her two more blows," at which she fell, and he left her for dead. Before he gave her the last blow, she called to the garrison for help. He told her she need not do that, for, said he, "I will have that too, by and by." Symon was well known to many of the inhabitants, and especially to Mrs. Quimby, as he had formerly lived with her father, William Osgood.*

In April, of the same year, Symon and his companions burnt the house of Edward Weymouth, at Sturgeon Creek, and plundered the house of one Crawley, but did not kill him, because he had shown kindness to Symon's grandmother.† *Hubbard*, (History New England) relates the incident as follows:—"Symon and Andrew, the two brethren in iniquity, with a few more, adventured to come over Piscataquo River, on Portsmouth side, when they burnt one house within four or five miles of the town, and took a maid and a young woman captive; one of them having a young child in her arms, with which not willing to be troubled, they gave leave to her that held it, to leave it with an old woman, whom the Indian Symon spared because he said she had been kind to his grandmother." The captives subsequently escaped, and revealed the names of their captors, who, for the reasons before given, had not been "so narrowly looked to as they used to do others."

* Ms. Documents. † Belknap.

The war soon became general. The first considerable attack made by the Indians, was upon the people of Swansea, June 24th, as they were returning from public worship;^o eight or nine persons were killed. Brookfield was next attacked, and every house burnt but one. During the month of September, Hadley, Deerfield, and Northfield, were attacked; many persons were killed, and many buildings consumed. Encouraged by this success, they soon after burnt thirty-two houses at Springfield, and the inhabitants narrowly escaped a general massacre. They also laid the town of Mendon in ashes; and, on the 10th of the following February, plundered the town of Lancaster, burnt several houses, and killed and captured forty-two persons. Soon after, they did great mischief in Marlborough, Sudbury and Ohelmsford; and, on the 21st of February, two or three hundred Indians surprised Medfield, burnt half the town, and killed twenty of the inhabitants. Four days after, they burnt seven or eight houses in Weymouth. Early in March, they burnt the whole settlement of Groton; and in the same month, they burnt five houses, and killed five persons in Northampton, surprised part of Plymouth, and murdered two families, laid the town of Warwick in ashes, and burnt forty houses in Rehoboth, and thirty in Providence.

On the other hand, large numbers of Indians were destroyed by the colonists. In 1675, when Phillip and his army retreated into the Narraganset country, the English pursued, attacked and destroyed their fort, and killed seven hundred of their warriors. Besides these, there were three hundred who died of their wounds, and a large number of old men, women, and children, who had repaired to the fort for refuge.

In 1676, the affairs of the colonists wore a less gloomy aspect. In May and June, the Indians appeared in various parts of the country, but their energy had abated. About the same time, a war broke out between Phillip and the Mohawks, (whom the former had vainly endeavored to enlist against the English) which deranged all his measures. On the 12th of August, 1676, the finishing blow was given to the Indian power, by the death of King Phillip. The subsequent winter, the severity of the season, and the scarcity of their provisions, reduced them to the necessity of suing for peace. By the mediation of Major Waldron, of Dover, to whom they applied, a peace was concluded with the whole body of eastern Indians, which continued till the next August. In this war, the English lost six hundred men, twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed, and six hundred dwelling houses consumed.

^o The day had been set apart by the Plymouth colonists as a day of fasting and prayer, on account of the impending danger. The 29th of the same month was also so observed in the Massachusetts Bay colony.

From the Journal of Captain John Hull, Treasurer of the Colony, under date of August 24, 1676, we copy the following list of soldiers from this town, and the sum paid to each.

" Haverell Towne Cr By Sundry Accepta. Viz.	24.16.08
Samuel Huchins pd as p Assignment No 4315.....	00.15.06
Nathaniel Haseltine ditto No.....	01.00.06
Samuel Aires dit.....	00.08.06
John Keisar dit.....	00.08.06
John Clements dit.....	00.08.06
Amos Singletens dit.....	00.05.00
Nathaniel Lad dit.....	00.05.00
Daniel Lad.....	00.05.00
George Brown dit.....	00.13.00
John Johnson dit.....	00.02.06
Phillip Esman dit.....	00.15.04
Benjamin Singleterry dit.....	00.15.04
Thomas Durston dit.....	00.17.10
Thomas Eastman dit.....	01.04.00
Thomas Hartshorn dit.....	00.12.00
Richard Allin dit.....	01.17.06
Robert Swan dit.....	01.17.06
Henry Kemball dit.....	01.06.10
Benjamin Grealy dit.....	01.00.06
Jonathan Henrick dit.....	00.15.04
John Corly dit.....	00.15.04
John Roby dit.....	00.08.06
Samuel Ladd dit.....	03.17.00
Thomas Kinsbury dit.....	01.12.04
Robert Swan dit.....	01.04.00
John Haseltine dit.....	01.04.00
Samuel Watts dit.....	00.13.06
Joseph Bond dit.....	00.13.06

The following extract from the colonial records, presents a vivid picture of the anxiety and distress among the people of Massachusetts, on account of the bold and daring determination of Phillip and his allies to extirpate the English. The proposition to erect a fortification of such magnitude, shows the desperation to which they were reduced, and the dangers to which they were exposed: —

"Att a court held in Boston March 23d 1676. Whereas several considerable persons have made application to us and proposed it as a necessary expedient for the public welfare and particularly for the security of the whole county of Essex and part of Middlesex from inroads of the common enemy, that a line or fence of stockades or stones (as the matter best

suiteth) be made about eight feet high extending from Charles River where it is navigable unto Concord river from George Farley's house, in Billerica, which fence this council is informed is not in length above twelve miles, a good part whereof is already done by large ponds that will conveniently fall into the line and so forth, and so forth, by which means the whole tract will be environed for the security and safety (under God) of the people, their houses, goods and cattel from the rage and fury of the enemy." o o o o

The court thereupon ordered one able and fit man from each of the included towns, to meet at Cambridge on March 31st, to survey the ground, estimate the expense, &c., and report in writing how it might be prosecuted and effected, and what each town should pay, &c. Nearly all the towns made a report.

The peace proved to be of short duration. On the 12th of the following July, Richard Saltonstall of this town, and others of Bradford, and Andover, petitioned the General Court for "more provision for protection on account of present appearance and warning of danger." In reply, the Court ordered one-fifth of the men to be kept continually on scout, taking turns, so that all should bear their part!

Hostilities commenced soon after, and were continued the remainder of that year, and also during the following year; in which period the Indians ravaged the country, and greatly reduced the eastern settlements.

In the spring of 1678, commissioners were appointed to settle a formal treaty of peace with the Indian chiefs, — which was done at Casco. Thus an end was finally put to a tedious and distressing war.

Fortunately for our town, it was not attacked during this war, though the inhabitants lived in continual expectation of one, and the most active and vigorous measures were adopted for defence. Houses were garrisoned, and armed scouts were kept on the watch for the enemy night and day, during the whole time.* At this distant day, we can have but a faint idea of the anxieties and hardships, the flickering hopes and gloomy fears, of those long and dreary three years of Indian warfare.

After the ratification of peace, commerce began again to flourish, and the population of the country rapidly increased. New towns were settled, and the colonists, no longer in daily and hourly fear of being startled by the war-whoop of the merciless savage, once more rested in present security.

* As late as 1684, thirty-five troopers were kept constantly on the scout, on the borders of Haverhill, Amesbury, and Salisbury; and a foot company was kept in readiness for service, in each of those towns.

CHAPTER XI.

1675 to 1688.

DURING the period included in the preceding chapter, the inhabitants of this town were so constantly engaged in providing and sustaining means of defence, that we find but little to record except matters in some way relating to the Indian troubles.

In 1675, the time of holding the annual town meetings was changed from the first Tuesday in March, to the last Tuesday in February.

In October, the General Court assessed a tax of £1,553, 5s. 4d. on the towns in the Colony, to defray the expenses of the war with the Indians. The proportion of Haverhill was fixed at £18. Even this sum was not easily raised, and a town meeting was called, November 18th, "to allow the inhabitants to make staves enough to pay the 8 rates required by the country, so as to save bread coin which men cannot well live without."

At the same meeting, Michael Emerson was chosen "to view and seal all leather" in the town. This is the first mention of such an officer, and Emerson was doubtless the first one so appointed. In 1677, Emerson "complained," and Andrew Greeley was "joined with him." We are not informed of what the former complained, but from the fact that an additional viewer and sealer was chosen, as a remedy for his complaint, we are led to suppose that the labors of the office were either too great or too troublesome for a single officer. As it was something new for the tanners in town to have some one specially authorized, and required, to view and seal their leather, it is quite probable that Emerson found his business anything but pleasant, and hence the popular ancient and modern remedy adopted, — division of responsibility.

At the meeting of February 27, 1676, William Thompson asked to be "accepted a Towns-man, to dwell here and follow his trade of shoe-making," but, for some unexplained reason, the town refused. The Recorder says, "the town by a clear and full vote do hereby reject his motion, not granting any such liberty or acceptance of him."

At the next annual meeting, another shoemaker made a similar application, which met with even a worse fate than that of Thompson, as will be seen by the following, from the Records of the town: —

"Petter Patie making a motion to the town to grant him a piece of land to settle upon, it not being till then known to the town that he was a mar -

ried man & a stranger, having hitherto accounted of him as a journey-man shoe-maker, his motion according to law was rejected. And the Moderator declared to him before the public assembly that the town doth not own him, or allow of him for an inhabitant of Haverhill, & that it was the duty of the Grand-jury men to look after him."

Pattee's (or Pettee's) proposal to become an inhabitant of the town, seems to have been lightly esteemed. But he was not so easily shaken off; and, in spite of his cool reception, he continued to reside here until his death. In 1680, he was "presented" to the Court, "for being absent from his wife several years, and in the following year, he was presented for having another wife in Virginia.^o In 1694, he was chosen constable by a "pleantiful, clear, and legal paper vote." As late as 1710, he was the regular ferryman at "Pattee's ferry."

Notwithstanding the unfavorable reception of Thompson and Pattee's applications for permission to establish themselves in town as shoemakers, others were soon found courageous enough to make a similar application. At the annual meeting in 1679, — "upon the request of Benjamin Webster and Samuel Parker, two young men and shoemakers, that the towne would give them libertie to live in this towne to follow the trade, having hired a house to that end; the towne by their vote doe grant their motion, and accept of them so as to live in towne and follow the trade of shoemaking."

Mirick expresses the opinion, that Webster and Parker were the first who had served a regular apprenticeship at the trade, and established themselves in this town, but a reference to the record in the case of Pattee and the fact that he then, and for years afterward, lived in town, and was a "journey-man shoemaker," is sufficient to establish his claim to the honor over the first-named. We think it nowise improbable, that Thompson, although he was refused permission to become a "towns-man," yet resided here, and worked at his trade of shoemaking. The vote of the town would not prevent this, as we have seen that it did not in the case of Pattee.

In 1677, Daniel Ela was licensed to keep an ordinary for one year; but the small pox breaking out in his family, he was unable to sell his liquors, and he petitioned the Court, at the fall term, to extend his license.

^o We find in the Town Records, under date of November 8, 1683, the marriage of *Peter Pettee* to Sarah Gile, and following are the names of eight children: Moses, Benjamin, Jeremiah, Samuel, Hannah, Mercy, Jemima, and Benjamin, born between July 23, 1683, and May 15, 1694. We presume that this was the same person alluded to above.

"The town being sensible of their great suffering for want of another mill to grind their corn; this mill of Andrew Grelee's not being able to supply them or to grind their corn as it ought to be done, did send to Andrew Grelee to treat with him, & proposed to him the building of another; Who then did refuse to accept of the proposition, & declared before the town that he knew there was a necessity for the town to have another cornmill, & that he was not at all against their having of one set up, provided it be set upon any other brook or stream, & not upon that brook which his mill stands upon."

Upon this, Stephen Dalton "propounded for liberty to build a corn-mill," which request was granted.

That it is no modern notion, to find fault with, and be suspicious of the integrity of town officers, is manifest from the town's voting, as long ago as 1679, to choose a committee to look after the accounts, &c., of the Selectmen for the preceding year. Their confidence had somehow become so much weakened, that they even voted that a similar committee should be chosen every year in future.

In the early part of 1680, Haverhill was set back into Essex county. The following is the order of the General Court, making the change:—

"At a General Court held in Boston the 4th day of Feb 1679-80.

This Court being sensible of the great inconvenience & charge that it will be to Salisbury, Haverhill, & Almsbury, to continue their County Court, now some of the Towns of Norfolk are taken off, & considering that those towns did formerly belong to Essex, & attended at Essex Court, Do order that those Towns that are left be again joined to Essex, & attend public business at Essex Courts, there to implead & be impleaded as occasion shall be: Their records of lands being still to be kept in some one of their own Towns on the North of Merrimack.* And all persons according to course are to attend in Essex County.

By the Court.

Edw: Rawson Secrety."

From the records of the General Court, we learn that twenty-two towns, and among them Haverhill, had not yet paid the amount they subscribed for Harvard College. The Court ordered the selectmen of the delinquent towns to enquire into the matter, and report, under a penalty of twenty pounds. As we hear nothing further from it, we presume the subscription was soon after paid,

In the spring of this year, (March 24, 1680,) Mrs. Ward, the wife of the minister, died. From the testimony her husband bears to her charac-

* The records referred to in the above order, were subsequently deposited in the archives of the County, at Salem, where they still remain.

ter, we learn that she was a woman of most exemplary life, and shining virtues, — a fit companion for the religious teacher of an early New England settlement. Her death was a severe blow to her surviving husband. She had been his constant, loving, and beloved companion, by night and by day, for nearly forty years. For more than a third of a century — the life-time of a generation — she had shared his joys and his sorrows, his hopes and his fears; had comforted and cheered him when sad, gently chided him when erring, and had yielded him the full measure of that choicest and most precious of all the treasures of this life, — a woman's love and devotion. And now, seared and decrepit with age, with the blossoms of almost fore-score winters upon his head, the veteran minister found himself approaching the land of shadows *alone*. No wonder is it that the old man's heart sunk within him; that his step grew unsteady, his voice tremulous, and his eye dim; when the full sense of his loss and his loneliness revealed itself to him. A few months afterward, we find the following record: —

"At a Town meeting Dec 22. 1680, held after Lecture,^o Nathl Saltonstall, Lieut Browne, Tho Whittier, Wm White, & Danl Ela, were chosen a committee to "look out for to agree with, & obtain forthwith, & procure upon the best terms they can get, some meet & able person to be a present help & assistant to Mr Ward, our minister, now in his old age, in the work of the ministry in preaching."

The record tells us that this was done "by the advice of our present minister." The meeting was held "after the Lecture." Suggestive theme! Who shall paint the picture presented to the eye at that "lecture;" the humble, unpainted, unsteepled, uncushioned, organless, pictureless little church; the assembled congregation; and the white-haired minister? All the members of his little flock were there; — children, youth, middle-aged and old. For many, many years, he had watched over, instructed, prayed for, and exhorted them; had gone in and out among them at all times and seasons; his benevolent smile, and sympathising voice, had been their comfort and solace in sickness and sorrow; and his presence and counsel had smoothed the pathway of the departed to the tomb, and mitigated the pangs of afflictive bereavement to the living. But his work was now almost completed; his sands of life were fast running out; his strongest earthly prop had been taken away; he was no longer able to labor

^o *Felt* says, that "Lecture Day" was Thursday, when the services commenced at 11 A. M. They were superseded about 1763, by monthly lectures. Evening lectures were first held about 1740. From an early date, *Friday* seems to have been the Lecture Day in this town. Dr. Heskiah Smith is said to have been the first one who held evening meetings in the town.

with them and for them as in times past; and, with trembling voice and tearful eye, he asks them to seek out another minister, while yet his little strength remained.

The committee chosen, were also instructed to "look out a place for a convenient situation for a minister," and "to agree with any one upon purchase or exchange of land, or if they meet not with a bargain to their mind, then to set out such of the town's common land as they shall judge most convenient for a place for the ministry."

At a meeting June 24, 1681, the committee reported that not finding any suitable place upon purchase or exchange, John Haseltine senior had "given two acres to the town for the perpetual use of the ministry," and they had laid out a piece adjoining it for the same purpose. Their doings were approved, and the land granted for that purpose "forever." This land was situated north of the present Winter Street, and between Little River and the Common.

The committee, at the same time, reported that they had not been able to get a new minister, and thereupon a new committee was chosen in their place, with instructions to do so, "they taking the advice of Mr. Ward, our present aged minister." Josiah Gage was agreed with, to build a house for the new minister.

At the same meeting, a gallery was ordered to be immediately erected in the east end of the meeting-house, for "the accommodation of the women."

We have already noticed that, in 1678, the annual salary of the school-master was discontinued. The records for several years succeeding that date are silent in regard to a school in town, and the first and only information we have been able to find relating to the subject at this period, is the following, in the records of the Ipswich Court, for March, 1681:—

"The Court having called the presentment of Haverill for not having a school-master, according to Law, in their Towne, & finding that there is some provision made for the present, for teaching of children, they are released upon that presentment, but the court judging that what is now done and provided by them doth not answer the law, nor is convenient to be rested in, doe order that the town before the next court at Ipswich provide an able and meet schoolmaster that may constantly attend that service, as is usual in such cases, and that the scoole be kept neare the centre of the Towne."

For some unexplained reason, Josiah Gage did not build a house for the new minister, according to agreement, and at the annual meeting the next

* It will be recollected that John Hutchins had previously built a gallery at the west end.

year (1682) a committee was chosen to find some one else to build it. A few weeks after, (April 4) a town meeting was called, and a committee chosen "to treat with Samuel Dalton^o or John Stockbridge for either of their houses which they have of late erected in town," for the use of the new minister.

At the June meeting of the previous year, the question of building a new meeting-house was discussed. The old one was too small to accommodate all the inhabitants, and was, moreover, much decayed. But the proposition was finally voted down, "by the additional and wilful votes of many prohibited by law from voting." The proposition adopted at that time, to build a gallery for the women, was probably a sort of compromise between the two parties. At the March meeting following, the matter was again agitated, but no action was taken.

In June, another meeting was called, "at the request of Mr. Ward," to see about a new minister. At this meeting, ten pounds were raised to get one.

In July, the town met to see about the "parsonage farm," and it was finally leased to Daniel Bradley, for twenty-one years. Mr. Ward's increasing age and feebleness were doubtless the reasons for this action, though none are given.

September 18th, another meeting was called to see about a new minister. The necessity was now becoming urgent, and the matter could not be delayed longer. After much discussion, the town voted "to proffer Mr. Jeremiah Cushing, or some other meet person that may be agreed upon, £100, in corn or provisions, besides the £60 proffered for annual salary during Mr. Ward's life." They determined that the above mentioned sums should be raised in the same way as a town rate, and should be paid "part money, part wheat, part rye, & part Indian Corn, all good, dry, sweet clean, & merchantable." The committee previously chosen were continued, "to carry on designs with Mr. Cushing, whom the town hath had some experience of."†

Three weeks later, another meeting was held, at which it was voted to purchase of Samuel Simons, "his house & nine acres of land for the use

^o Dalton was from Hampton.

† From the last clause of this vote, it appears that Mr. Cushing had preached in town at some time previous, — perhaps on "exchange" with Mr. Ward. Mr. Cushing was a son of Daniel Cushing, Esq., was born at Hingham, Mass., July 3, 1654, and graduated at Harvard University, in 1676. He received an invitation to settle in the ministry at Haverhill, in 1682, which he declined accepting. He was afterward invited to become the pastor of the church in Scituate, and was ordained over it May 27, 1691. He died March 23, 1705, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the fourteenth of his ministry. — *Vide Histories Hingham, and Scituate.*

of the ministry." The town gave Simons for his house and land, "forty acres near Fishing river, and £80 in wheat, rye, and corn." They also voted Mr. Cushing "four cow common rights," in addition to what they had previously offered him, and also "twenty cords of wood at his house annually."^o

This year, for the first time, the Moderator was chosen by "a paper vote," and it was voted that in future the Selectmen should be chosen in the same manner, "one at a time." This was the commencement of voting by written ballot in the choice of officers by the town.[†]

At the annual meeting in 1683, Francis Wainwright obtained leave for his son Simon to settle in town, and use timber to build him a house and a "ware house." This is the first mention we can find of a merchant, or trader, in town. Francis Wainwright was himself a merchant, from Ipswich, and had three sons,—John, Simon, and Francis. Simon immediately removed here.

At this meeting, the subject of Mr. Cushing's engagement was again discussed, and it was decided to send a messenger to get his answer or to have him "please to come and give us a visit, that we may receive answer from himself." It was voted to raise one-half of the one hundred pounds offered him, immediately; and also to buy "the house where Henry Palmer lived & died, for the use of the ministry forever." The price paid was twenty acres of land "towards Great Pond."[‡]

This was the *third* time the town purchased a place to be devoted to that use, "forever," and we may doubtless *forever* speculate as to the reasons why the previous bargains were not carried into effect, as the records give us no clue to a solution of the problem.

In June, another meeting was called to consider about Mr. Cushing's settlement, and to see about a new meeting house. The latter subject, however, seems to have engrossed all the time of the meeting. We should judge from the records that there was no difference of opinion in regard to the need, or the expediency of building a new house, as the discussions appear to have been confined entirely to its location. Upon this question, there was a wide difference of opinion, and when the vote was taken upon the question of placing the new meeting house upon the old site, the following voted yea, viz:

Serg. John Johnson, Mr. John Ward, minister, Nath'l Saltonstall, Lieut George Browne, Wm. White, Thomas Whittier, John Whittier, Robert Emer-

^o Twenty cords of wood per annum, was, at that day, considered a moderate allowance for an ordinary family.

[†] In the early days of the Colony, white and black beans were used in voting.

[‡] This is the first mention we find of that body of water, by that, or any other particular name.

son, Robert Clement, Jotham Hendrick, James Davis, sen., Daniel Ela, John Page sen., and Samuel Shepherd. (Total 15.) The following named persons "were against the settling of the meeting house where the meeting house now stands (forever), but that this meeting house that now is may stand as long as is convenient:— Thomas Davis, Daniel Lad sen., Saml Gild, Peter Ayer, Onesipho Mash sen, John Haseltine sen, Micha Emerson, Geo Corlis, Rob. Ford, Saml Simons, Tim Ayers, John Robie, Saml Hutchins, John Corlis, Saml Ayer, Thos Duston John Hartshorne, Tho Ayer, Joseph Kingsberry, John Gild, Saml Kingsberry, Joseph Hutchins, Stephen Webster, Nathl Haseltine, Tho Hartshorne, Robt Swan sen, Willm Neff, Josiah Gage, Ezek'l Lad, Robt Swan Jun, Philip Eastman, Henry Kimball, Joseph Johnson, Mat Harriman." (Total 34).

In referring to the action of the town about the settlement of Mr. Cushing, the former historian of Haverhill concludes, that there was not only considerable discussion, but that it was "probably rather violent," and adds, "the excitement appears to have been great." We have carefully examined the record, and are unable to find any evidence of violent discussions, or great excitement, and we feel confident that such was not the case. The matters were, indeed, most important ones, and we have no doubt that the discussions were both long and earnest; but the Recorder gives us no hints of either violence or great excitement.

Among the minor matters of this period, we find several items which may be of interest to our readers.*

In 1683, a committee was chosen to rebuild the "West Bridge, at Sawmill River, it being much dammified by the great flood of waters this spring." (This bridge stood near the present Winter street bridge).

Daniel Ela was prosecuted by his wife, for ill treatment, and the court ordered him to pay her 40s. This, however, did not prevent a continuance of his cruelty, as he was the next year complained of by William White, for turning his wife out of doors in a snow-storm, and shamefully abusing her. The following deposition of one of his neighbors, will exhibit his character: "Goodman Ela said that Goodman White was an old knave, and that he would make it cost him souse for coming to him about

* The following, from Coffin's *History of Newbury*, will probably apply equally as well to Haverhill, and is therefore worth inserting in this place:— "Turnips at that time, & for a half century after, supplid the place of potatoes. In 1663, the price of a cord of oak wood, & a bushel of turnips, was the same, namely, one shilling and sixpence. In 1702, oak wood was three shillings, & walnut five shillings a cord, and turnips from one shilling and sixpence to two shillings a bushel.(1) In 1676, turnips one shilling per bushell, hemp and butter sixpence per pound. In 1687, cotton wool was one shilling and sixpence per pound.(2)

(1) John Knight's Journal.

(2) Richard Bartlett's Journal.

his wife, and meddling about that which was none of his business. He said that she was his servant and his slave; and that she was no woman, but a devil in woman's apparel; and that she should never come into his house again; and that he would have her severely whipped, but that it would be a disgrace to him."^o

John Page was licensed to keep an ordinary in town; and William White to sell cider for three years. At the next court, Page was fined forty shillings for "selling drink to Indians."[†]

At the town meeting, in 1688, a complaint was made against John Keesar, for keeping his tan-yats open, by which means, some cattle and swine belonging to his neighbors, had been destroyed. "The Moderator, in ye name of ye towne, did publicly give sd Keesar a caution — warning and admonishing him upon his perill to secure his tan-yard and tan fatts that no damage be done by him, to other mens or his own creatures; and in speciall that mischief may not come unto children, which may occasion his own life to come upon triall."

On the 27th of October, another meeting was called to see about settling a minister. The first vote passed, was to dismiss the committee previously chosen for the purpose of finding some suitable person, and the next, was to choose a new committee, "to procure a person to join with Mr. Ward in the work of the ministry at Haverhill." This *third* committee consisted of Corporal† Peter Ayer, Corporal Josiah Gage, and Robert Swan, senior.

In the records of this meeting, we find the following, touching the negotiations with Mr. Cushing: —

"The town by their former Committee having had a treaty with Mr. Cushing, in order to his settlement, and at last being denied, Lieut Browne, that the town may be justified if they treat with any other person in order to a settlement in the ministry, gave in Mr. Cushing's two letters as his answer and refusal of our motion, that they might be entered and put upon file, with other papers belonging to the town's concernments which are on file."

This is the last reference we find to Mr. Cushing in the records. The Recorder does not state what his reasons were for declining to come, and as the letters above mentioned are now lost, we are left entirely in the dark concerning them. We feel confident, however, that his refusal was not given on account of any division or excitement among the people of the town, though *Mirick* so intimates in his *History of Haverhill*.

^o Court Records [†] Ibid.

‡ If any of our readers feel disposed to smile at the prominence given to military titles, by our ancestors, let them please remember, that, in these "latter days," nearly every man is addressed by some title. Those who cannot claim a higher one, are usually addressed as "Esq."

At the next annual meeting (1684) Daniel Ela and William Starlin made "a proffer to the town, to sell their livings, house & land, for a situation for a minister or the ministry," and a committee was chosen to treat with them "in the time of intermission, before the afternoon," and report. Upon the committee's report, the town declined the proffer of Ela, as "too difficult to comply with & perform," and decided to treat further with Starlin. For the latter purpose, the committee was ordered to confer with him again, and report at an adjourned meeting, the next day. The next day, the town voted to give Starlin one hundred pounds for his house and land, provided he would give them a "sufficient legal conveyance" of the same. His pay was as follows:—"Ten acres of land at the Fishing river, near to Robert Emerson's," which was to be laid out convenient "for the setting up of a corn mill there," at three pounds per acre; and the remaining seventy pounds to be paid in merchantable corn, in two several payments, for which a *rate* was then ordered to be laid.

The town expressly reserved the right to allow any other person or persons to put up mills on the same stream, and also stipulated that in setting down his dam he should not hinder the passage of the fish up the river to the pond, "at the season of the year when they come to pass up."

From the record of the same meeting we copy the following:

"A complaint being made to the town for want of room in the meeting house, for the women, convenient when they come to hear the word of God preached, and that care be speedily taken about the same: The town (by their act upon June 24, 1681, having taken care for such a gallery, and appointed persons to take care thereof, and get it to be made at the towns cost) do refer this matter to the said committee, empowering them to get the same built, desiring them forthwith to proceed upon the work to have it finished, that no excuse of that kind be made by any persons that do, or shall absent themselves from the public worship of God."

From the above, we are led to presume, that the committee had neglected to build the gallery on account of the probability of a new meeting-house being soon erected. As they were now ordered to proceed at once in the work, it appears as though the proposition for a new one was given up for the present.

In the summer of this year, (July 30, 1684,) a town meeting was called to see about the seating of the inhabitants in the meeting house, "alterations and divers deaths" having made some new arrangements necessary, and the selectmen were made a committee "for the new seating or placing of persons in the seats in the meeting house." It was voted, that if any of the inhabitants refused to occupy the seats assigned them by the selectmen, they should "forfeit a fine of twelve pence in corn" for each

day's neglect or refusal: and, "to prevent any objection of others," another committee was chosen to seat the selectmen!

Mirick, in noticing the above, says,— "It is evident, from the language of the Recorder that some epidemic prevailed about this time, though we have no other account of it." We are surprised that, with the record before him, he should have drawn such an inference. It had now been about thirty years since the seats were first assigned, and in that period great changes had naturally been made in families by "alterations and divers deaths," and we see no evidence or hint that favors the adoption of any other theory in explaining the above-mentioned action of the town.

A change in the mode of voting for Selectmen was adopted at the annual meeting this year, the record of which is not without interest:— "It is ordered that at this present meeting, and so for the future till this act is orderly repealed, every one that is presented at the town meeting for, and hath power or liberty of voting in the choice of Selectmen for the following year shall bring in his votes for five several distinct persons in one paper at one time, out between the names, so that they may hang together; and when all the papers so brought in are sorted, those five men that have the greatest number of votes, as it is usual in the public elections on Nominations for the country shall be the men who are chosen to serve for the Selectmen for the year ensuing."^o

In 1683, Job Clement of Dover, son of the late Job Clement of this town, applied to the town to lay out some land to him upon his father's house lot accommodation; but, "upon discourse," several persons affirmed that the land had already been laid out, and as "Daniel Ela affirmed openly that Mr Job Clement in his life time did say with reference to his three acres of accommodations, that Theoph. Satchwell who had been at law with him, had cheated him of it all," the town refused his request. In 1684, Clement renewed his application, and the "matter being long discoursed," the town again refused to acknowledge his claim,

After the Selectmen for 1685 were chosen, it was found that a majority were not freemen," as a law of the colony required, and "without reflection or disrespect, Daniel Bradley was left out, and Josiah Gage chosen in his room."

The same year, a highway was laid out "from Almsbury meeting house by Country Bridge to Haverhill." It was a "beaten" way before, but had not been regularly laid out. A highway was also laid out "above Spicket as far as Haverhill lands go in that direction." One had been previously laid out in the latter direction, but being little used, it had become "uncertain."

^o In 1687, this regulation was repealed, and "the former ancient practice of putting in for but one person at a time ordered to be attended to."

John Keyzar, to whom land was granted in 1674, on condition that he came and "set up his trade of tanner" in town, (which land was "confirmed to him" in 1682) made application this year for liberty to sell it; but the town informed him that "they did and do expect the conditions therein mentioned to be attended, or else the said John may leave the same to the Town, with the buildings and improvements by him made thereon, to the Town for public use."

The Town Records of this year, for the first time, state that the meetings were called by the "writ of the selectmen, published and placed on file." They were published by affixing a copy of the warrant to the door of the meeting house.

For ten years preceding this, we find no allusion in the Town Records to the subject of a school, and only one elsewhere,—that in the Ipswich Court Records of 1681. From this, and the record of the meeting mentioned below, we infer that there was no regular school in town during those years.

On the 9th of November, of this year, a meeting was called, "in order to a supply and the providing a fit person to keep school in this Town, and make it his only employ to instruct the children or young men, or any of the inhabitants of Haverhill in reading, and in writing, and in cyphering," and the selectmen were voted full power to provide such a person, and agree with him to keep school until the next annual meeting, provided they did not agree "to give him on the public account more than Four pounds in corn till that time." Under the same date, we find the following agreement, which is well worth preserving:—

"We whose names are underwritten have agreed with Mr James Chadwick to keep the school, to endeavour to teach such as shall resort to him, as they shall desire to read, or write, or cypher, or all of them, until the next annual meeting in February next: For which service of his he shall be paid by the town in general three pounds in corn, besides what he shall have, or agree with the scholars for; or their parents, or masters; or for want of agreement the said Mr Chadwick in his demands not to exceed what usually is paid in other places for schooling, viz: To have by the week—For a Reader 00:04, & for a writer 00:06. Dated November 9th, 1685, By us

Robt Ayer }
Ste Dow } Selectmen.
Josi'h Gage }

and consented unto by the other 2.

Jna Page Jun } Select
Sim Wainwright } men "

At the next annual meeting, the selectmen were directed "to agree with Mr Chadwick, or any other person, to make it his employ to keep school in Haverhill for the year ensuing."

In the spring of 1686, a road was laid out from Rowley to Haverhill. It was laid out eight rods wide.

In answer to a petition from the Selectmen, the Court empowered them to "bind out *young ones* into sarvice,"— provided their indentures met the approval of "worshipful Major Saltonstall."

At the annual meeting, Daniel Ela proffered to sell his housing and land by the meeting house" to the town for a parsonage, and take as part pay, the house and land the town had previously purchased of Wm Starlin; but, after much discourse, the town refused to treat with him. At the same time, John Gild charged Lieut. Johnson, in open town meeting, with attempting to cheat him, by altering the bounds of land at Flaggy meadow, and taking in "near 40 or 50 acres." As the Lieutenant "confessed in part," the town chose a committee to look into the matter. The Lieutenant was not, however, the only one in town who wanted more land than belonged to him, as Serg't John Page and Mr. Simon Wainwright, "by virtue of an order from the Selectmen," the previous year, "to search after and find out them that had trespassed upon the Town's ways and common lands by their fencing of them in," gave in the following names: — Joseph Greelee, Joseph Peasely, Saml. Pearson, Saml Shepherd, Daniel Ela, Edwd Brumidge, Sergt Johnson, Peter Patie, Lt. Browne or S Ford, Benj Singletery, John Gild, Robt Swan, Stephen Davis, Dan: Hendrick, Jno Davis, Edwd Clarke, Stephen Dow, Abra. Belknap, Thos Davis, John Whittier.

But even this large array of names did not include the whole, for at the same meeting, the Recorder informs us, "Robt Swan sen presented a motion to the Town for buying of their own lands which they had purchased of the Indians, and had grants for from the General Court: and was laid out in particular lots by the Town's allotment." Swan's motion was, that, —

"Whereas there was a certain tract of land purchased of Pumpasano-way alais Old Will, an Indian, by John Endicot of Boston, Gentn, eldest son to Gov Endicot, The which land was sold by Jno Endicot to Walter Barefoot, Esq, as appears by firm deeds under hand and seal, from one to the other of the above said conveyors, This land being part of it in the bounds of Haverhill near Spicket River. It being now in my hands to dispose of as I can make it appear, I think it expedient that a proposition be made to the town in the first place. That if they please to buy that

part of it which is within Haverhill line, they may have it at a reasonable rate, or if they please to accept it now, before it be otherwise disposed of, or if they will buy that which is granted to particular men and laid out to them; If the Town will buy the whole tract of land they shall have it for 2 shillings per acre, or if they will give acre for acre of land and meadow where they and I shall agree, it shall content me.

Robert Swan, sen."

The Recorder adds, that, —

"Considerable discourse was had about Robt Swan's motion, which was unanimously opposed with manifestation of great dislike of R Swan's proceedings and because he showed no original title, but only a blank, pretended to be Mr Endicott's title: and because of the Town's present being in possession, and having so been according to the law of possession. The town declares that till they be dispossessed by law they will not buy of R Swan or of any other, but will hold what they account their own."

Upon this, Swan desired the town to have laid out to him those lands which he could make appear to be legally due him, but which he declared had been kept from him twenty-three or twenty-four years by George Browne.^o He further declared, that he had often labored to have it done, but could neither have the lands laid out, or any satisfactory answer concerning the same, and that he was much reproached, and also impoverished by the malignity of Lieutenant Browne's spirit towards him.

In reply to this, the town directed Swan "to make his right appear, & then justice should be done to him as to other men."

Swan then asked that the town "would call Lieut Browne, James Davis, and himself, to an account for their actions since they were appointed to lay out and rectify lands," at the same time declaring that there had been "such irregular actions done as may cause the children yet unborn to curse us hereafter," This "was spoken to, but no vote passed by the Town to do anything in it."

Lieutenant Browne's turn now came, and he plumply charged Goodman Swan with having told him a wrong story about a certain brook, on account of which Browne had laid out more land to Swan than he was entitled to. Upon this, the Recorder adds, "several words, and some of them hard, passed, but there was no further proceed in order to further enquiry, and it being late and past time for a vote, the Moderator declared that the meeting was at an end, or dissolved, with respect to the present session."

At the next meeting, Swan asked the town to confirm to him a piece of meadow land, and his fourth division of land, "which he had laid out for

^o Browne was one of the town's "lot layers."

himself." The town rejected his proposal, and protested against this, and all such acts, by whomsoever done.

Notwithstanding these matters of dispute, Swan evidently had the confidence of the town, for the very next vote, at the same meeting, placed him on a committee to run disputed and uncertain bounds, — a most important office. Brown, however, "openly declared that he would not any longer stand as a lot-layer," and Thomas Whittier was chosen in his place. Swan was evidently too much for him.

We find the following among the records of births, marriages, and deaths, for 1686: — "Elizabeth Emerson, single-woman, had Dorothy, born April 10—86; and a second time, though never married, Twins, born May 8—91, who were both made away with privately, and found dead May 10—91." The Recorder then says: — "The Mother lay long in prison, but at the long run, in the year 1691, as I take it, was executed at Boston for the murdering of the two babes, or one of them."^o

About this time, a rule was adopted requiring all petitions to the town to be in writing.

A law of the General Court required all swine running at large to be yoked, and also to have two rings in their snout, but allowed towns a discretion in the matter of yoking. This town decided that they might go unyoked, if their owners would be responsible for damages.

At the annual meeting for 1687, Joseph Peasely, being chosen constable for the ensuing year, "by bringing in of paper votes,"[†] "made his plea for freedom," which not being granted, he moved that a second constable be chosen, — "because the Town was large and many lived remote so that one man could not well do the work of warning meetings and gathering of rates alone." This last request was granted, and John Ayer, junior, chosen second constable. It was left to them to divide their wards and their work, as they might themselves agree. It seems, however, that they could not agree, and the town released Ayer, and thus compelled Peasely to do all the work alone. A few years later, two constables were regularly chosen, and from that time, two continued to be chosen annually for many years.

The following shows the great value the town at this time placed upon its fisheries: —

"In answer to the proposition of some, and the universal desire of the people, that care, by an order, might be taken that fish might not, by Dams

^o The Recorder was correct. The father of the children, was Samuel Ladd, a married man, and then the father of eight children by his lawful wife, — the two youngest twins / Elizabeth was the daughter of Michael Emerson, and the one he kicked and beat so shamefully in 1674.

[†] This was the first time any officers, except Moderator and Selectmen, were chosen by written ballot.

and Wiers, made in the Sawmill River, or Fishing River, or any other, be stopped of the usual course up to the Pond, but have free passage up the River in this Town:

"The Town declares that they expect there shall be free passage for fish up the Sawmill River and Fishing River and all other Rivers, brooks and creeks in this Town, in all suitable seasons of the year for their getting up to the Pond to spawn, and in special in the night time; and to that end do order that no man shall make a dam, or suffer his dam so to stop any passage the fish used to have to the Ponds or Pond, without leaving his dam or Wier or other device open in the night time for the fish."

Similar reasons to those that led them to seek the preservation of their fisheries, also induced them to make vigorous efforts to increase their flocks.

We are unable to say when sheep were first introduced into the town, but it is probable that a few were owned by the inhabitants at an early period of its settlement. The first mention we find of them in the Town Records, is under date of 1684, when "the proprietors of the Great Plain thinking to lay down the said field for some years to be improved for a sheep pasture," the town gave them leave to fence it, choose officers, and make all necessary regulations for that purpose,^o

The next mention of them, is the following, in 1687:—

"It being the interest and desire of the inhabitants, for the sake of back, belly and purse, to get into a stock, and a way to keep a stock of sheep, in which all endeavours hitherto have been invalid and of no effect; For a further trial: The Selectmen have hereby power granted them to call forth the inhabitants capable of labor with suitable tools, and in suitable companies about Michaelmass, to clear some land at the town's end, sides, or skirts; as they in their discretion shall think meet to direct, to make it capable and fit for sheep to feed upon with the less hazard: and he that is warned as above, and doth not accordingly come and attend the service, shall pay a fine of 2s per day."

From the above it is evident that the "hazard" of sheep raising was occasioned by the ravages of wolves among the flocks. We have already alluded to the trouble these pests occasioned the settlers. In addition to the bounty paid by the colony for their destruction, this town (and others) for a long time paid forty shillings for every wolf killed in the town. In 1685, Amesbury repealed this additional bounty, and, to prevent fraud, this town soon afterward did the same, but still allowed the selectmen to

^o Coffin, in his *History of Newbury*, estimates that there were in that town, in 1685, over five thousand sheep. The owners in the several neighborhoods clubbed together, hired a shepherd, and by means of portable fences, or "gates," took turns in pasturing them,—thus enriching their corn land.

pay such sums as they should agree upon in particular cases. This plan did not prove satisfactory, however, and two years afterward a regular bounty of fifteen shillings was voted to any person who should kill a full grown wolf within the town's bounds, and seven shillings sixpence for each young one. The liberal bounty paid for their destruction, ultimately had the desired effect, and the flocks of the settlers were permitted to multiply without their molestation.^o

^o In 1696, Timothy Eaton petitioned the town to grant him a bounty, more than the country allowed, for killing a full grown she-wolf on the ox-common. The town granted him ten shillings "for killing said wolf since he declares it was a bitch wolf and that she will not bring any more whelps."

CHAPTER XII.

INDIAN TROUBLES.—FROM 1688 TO 1695.

IN 1688, a fresh Indian war broke out on the frontiers of New England. As a pretense for commencing hostilities, the Indians charged the English with neglecting to pay the tribute of corn, which had been stipulated by the treaty of 1678;^{*} obstructing the fish in Saco river with seines; defrauding them in trade, and with granting their lands without their consent."[†] The French used every effort to inflame their resentment, in order to revenge the recent injuries they had themselves received from the English.[‡]

The first acts of hostility commenced at North Yarmouth, by killing cattle, and threatening the people. This was followed by robbery, and capturing the inhabitants.

To add to the distresses and troubles of the Massachusetts colonists, they also found themselves involved in difficulties relating to their charter. Complaints had from time to time been made in England against the colonists, and in the height of the distresses of *Philip's war*, and while the colony were contending with the natives for the possession of the soil, these complaints were renewed with vigor. An inquiry was set on foot, and followed, from time to time, until 1684, when judgment was given against their charter. In 1686, a commission arrived, appointing a president and council to administer the government. This administration was, however, short, and in December of the same year, Sir Edmund Andros arrived with a commission for the government of all the New England colonies, except Connecticut.

^{*} It was stipulated, in this treaty, that the inhabitants should return to their deserted settlements, on condition of paying one peck of corn annually, for each family, by way of acknowledgment to the Indians for the possession of their lands.

[†] Belknap 1, 242.

[‡] France and England were early competitors in America. Each claimed a portion of its territory, assumed jurisdiction, and attempted its colonization. Their rivalry and hatred had existed for centuries—it was indeed hereditary,—and in consequence of it, the New England colonies were early involved in difficulties. Acadia and Canada were wrested from the French in 1639, but were restored by the treaty of St. Germain, in 1632. Acadia was again conquered in 1654, but restored by the treaty of Breda, in 1660. In 1690, the conquest of Canada was a second time attempted, but without success; and again in 1696, with a like result. These difficulties continued until the peace of Utrecht, in 1712. In 1744, war again broke out between France and England, and continued until the reduction of Canada, in 1760, and the treaty of Paris, 1763. During these wars, the colonies were continually involved, and severely suffered.

The administration of Andros was most arbitrary and oppressive. The Press was restrained; public thanksgiving, without an order from the Crown, was prohibited; fees of all officers were increased; and the people were even compelled to petition for new patents for their lands, for which patents they were obliged to pay exorbitant prices.^o As a consequence of these, and many other equally oppressive and arbitrary proceedings, the Colonists were greatly disquieted, and excited.

In September, 1689, a Special Justices' Court was ordered, to "make inquiry in the several towns of Gloster, Haverhill, & Boxford, and examine and binde over such persons as have beene Factionous & Seditious there and contemptuously refused to obey and execute the warrants of the Treasurer."

In the language of Andros himself, "there was no such thing as a town in the whole country;" and to assemble in town meeting for purposes of deliberation was esteemed an act of sedition and riot. The unhappy state of affairs at this period may be further judged from the following illustrations, which we find among the original papers in the State Archives:—

In the winter of 1688–9, Joseph Emerson and Jacob Whiticker, of this town, were pressed as soldiers for Andros, and sent in the expedition to Pemaquid. Their depositions, given afterward, before Nathaniel Saltonstall, Assistant, show that the soldiers of the tyrant were most shamefully abused, and maltreated. Simon Wainwright, of this town, had twenty-seven barrels of cider taken from him, by the excise officers of Andros.† Onisephorous Mash, constable of Haverhill, was forced to pay five pounds three shillings, in money, for the drawing up of a bond for him to appear at Salem, because the town had not appointed a commissioner on rates to meet at the shire town to assist in making rates for the county.

Daniel Bradley, one of the Selectmen, was forced to pay five pounds, one shilling, for a similar bond, *on the same case*.

Such was the unfortunate condition of the colonists, when troubles again broke out with the Indians, in 1688. To quell the disturbance, Andros, with seven or eight hundred men, marched into the eastern country, in November, and built several forts; and though many of his men died by hardships and exposure, not one Indian was killed, or even seen. They had all retired into their distant winter quarters.‡

^o One of the first acts of Andros was to levy a tax of twenty pence on each poll, and one penny in the pound upon "all the late colonies and provinces toward defraying the public charges of the government." Some towns asked to be excused from paying the tax, and others refused. Haverhill, Salisbury, Rowley, and Andover, were fined for their contumacy.

† It appears that Wainwright made twenty barrels in 1688, from the produce of his own orchard.

‡ Joseph Emerson and Jacob Whiticker, of this town, were pressed as soldiers for this expedition.

With the opening of spring, the situation of the settlers again became critical. None knew when or where another attack would be made, and we need not wonder that their hearts were oppressed with the gloomiest forebodings. The following extract, from a letter of Samuel Ayer, constable of Haverhill, to the General Court, under date of February 11, 1689^o, — in answer to a citation for the town to appear and answer to the charge of "withholding the one half of their proportion of rates," — touchingly represents the condition of the town: —

"I pray you consider our poor condition. There are many that have not corn to pay their rates, many more which have not money: to strain† I know not what to take: we are a great way from any market, to make money of anigh thing we have: and now there is not anigh way to transport to other places: I pray consider our poor condition."

Early in April, news reached Boston that William, Prince of Orange, had invaded England, and dethroned the King. Animated with the hope of deliverance, the people rushed to arms; took possession of the fort; seized Andros, and other obnoxious characters; placed them in confinement, and organized a *Council of Safety*.‡ The latter immediately sent circulars to the several towns, recommending that delegates be chosen by each, to assemble in convention at Boston on the 9th of the following month, to advise with the Council. The following was the answer of this town: —

"Haverhill May 20, 1689.

By an expresse from ye council for safety, &c, dated May ye 10th 1689. The Town being meet do unanimously, nemine contradicente, declare yt they think it most eligible & safe to wait for information from ye Crown in England, according to promise, & declaration, so yt we may ye better know wt we may at present do; & do pray yt ye Council, now in being for Safety of ye people, & Conservation of ye Peace do take care effectually in all publique affaires, & in all imergences. And we do hereby further declare yt we will be assistant in ye charges yt shal come unto, both wh our persons and estates, so yt ye Persons that are or shal be put into Hold§ be effectually secured, & have not too full a libertie of visitors, either made or Remade, whereby they may escape, wo we hear hath been attempted.

This was read, voted & passed, nemine contradicente, as attest

N Saltonstall Recdr."

° State Archives. † Restrain.

‡ Nathaniel Saltonstall was chosen one of this council.

§ Jail, or prison.

Cornet Peter Ayer was chosen to represent Haverhill at the Convention.*

Scarcely had the colonists recovered from their surprise at this sudden change of affairs in their government, when their attention was again called to the necessity of further protection against the Indians. The following, from *Mirick*, is well worth inserting in this place:—

“The Indians, for some time past, had been hovering over the town in such a manner as kept the inhabitants in continual alarm. Small parties were almost daily seen traversing the adjacent woods, and slyly approaching the farm-houses in search of plunder. The friendly intercourse that had existed so many years between them was broken, and open hostility succeeded. So early as 1675, the fortifications around the meeting-house were repaired, and in the following year we find that Ephraim Kingsbury was slain; but it was in the summer of this year that they commenced the work of murder and desolation in good earnest. The tawny savage sharpened his knife and tomahawk for the work of blood, and glutted his imagination with the atrocities he should commit. The war began—the fierce and inhuman contest on the part of the savages. It proceeded, and what deeds of valor were performed—what acts of chivalry graced the lives of our Fathers! The plaided Highlander, armed with his claymore and battle-axe, was not more heroic; the stern and determined patriot, who rallied beneath the banner of Wallace, was no braver; the enthusiastic Crusader, who fought and bled on the plains of the Holy Land, never exhibited a more fearless and undaunted spirit. Some of their deeds have been emblazoned on the page of history; but many of them, until now, have been permitted to rest in obscurity.

There was but little genuine bravery among the savages; and, in fact, we do not recollect one instance of the kind, on their part, where pure, high-souled and chivalrous courage was displayed, during the whole war,—a period of nearly thirty years. But they were generally cruel, vindictive and treacherous. Such aged and infirm persons as were unable to perform a journey through the wilderness, were generally despatched. Infants, soon as they became troublesome, had their mouths filled with burning embers, or their brains dashed out against the nearest stone or tree. But we have one thing to record which speaks highly in their favor; that is,

* The people of Massachusetts soon applied for the restoration of their charter, or the grant of a new one. A definite answer was deferred, but the council was authorised to administer the government according to the old charter, till further directions were given. A new charter was received in 1692. By this charter, the appointment of the governor was in the crown, and every freeholder of forty shillings sterling a year, and every inhabitant of forty pounds sterling, personal estate, was allowed to vote for representatives.

the modesty with which they generally treated their captive women. We do not recollect of but one instance^o where they attempted to abuse their chastity in word or action.†

Haverhill was a frontier town for nearly seventy years, and but few towns suffered so severely from the Indians. At this period we can have but a faint conception of the sufferings of the inhabitants. Surrounded with an immense and mostly unexplored forest—thinly scattered over a large tract of land—and constantly exposed to the attacks of savage hordes, are circumstances which have made us wonder, why they should continue to march onward and onward into the wilderness, terrific for its extent, and unfurl the banner of civilization under the very shadow of the enemy's wigwam. The contests between them and the savages, were not like those between civilized nations; but it was a war for extermination on one side, characterized with acts of the basest cruelty and revenge for defence on the other. The foemen frequently fought hand to hand; the bloody frays were frequent and sometimes long.

The Indians made their attacks slyly, and cautiously approached their enemy by skulking behind the intervening objects, until they came so near that they felt perfectly sure of their victim. At other times, they would fall upon the inhabitants before the break of day, and barbarously slaughter them while they were unprepared to defend themselves. The people always went armed to their daily labor, and on the sabbath they were seen on their way to Church, with a psalm-book in one hand, and a gun, loaded and primed, in the other. But even then, while kneeling beneath the roof of the sanctuary, they were not safe; if they went into the fields at noontide, with their spades and mattocks, their foes were behind them; if they slept within their dwellings when the sun had gone down, the darkness would not protect them; but ere the light had stole upon the east, their blood, and the blood of their beloved, might pool together upon their hearths. In summer and winter, at the budding and searing of the leaf, they were alike exposed to hardships and to death.

Some of the most heroic deeds accomplished by the inhabitants of this town, were performed by women,—by those whose limbs were not made to

^o This was in the case of Mrs. Hannah Duston, when her captors told her that she, and her companions, must be stripped naked, and run the gauntlet.

† Testimonies in favor of the savages, in this particular, are very frequent. Mary Rowlandson, who was taken prisoner at Lancaster, in 1675, says in her narrative, (page 55),—"I have been in the midst of these roaring lions and savage bears, that feared neither God nor man, nor the devil, by day and night, alone and in company, sleeping all sorts together, and yet not one of them ever offered me the least abuse of unchastity in word or action." Elizabeth Hanson, who was captured in Dover, in 1734, says in her narrative, that "the Indians are very civil towards their captive women, not offering any incivility by any indecent carriage." Charlevoix, speaking of the Indians of Canada, says, (letter 7) "there is no example that any have taken the least liberty with the French women, even when they were their prisoners."

wield the weapons of war,—whose hearts could never exult in a profusion of blood,—and whose sphere of usefulness, of honor and of glory, was in the precincts of the domestic circle."

Dover was the first to suffer. On the night of the 27th of June, the garrisons were attacked, twenty-three persons killed, and twenty-nine captured. Before the neighboring people could be collected, the Indians had withdrawn, with their captives and their plunder, toward Canada.

In August, a party of Indians fell upon the settlement at Oyster River (Durham, N. H.) and killed eighteen persons.

On the 13th of the same month, a small party made their appearance in the northerly part of this town, and killed Daniel Bradley. They then went to the field of Nathaniel Singletary, near by, where he and his oldest son were at work. They approached in their slow and serpent-like manner, until they came within a few rods, when they shot Singletary, who fell and died on the spot; his son attempted to escape, but was quickly overtaken and made prisoner. The Indians then scalped Singletary, and commenced a hasty retreat; but their prisoner soon eluded their vigilance, and returned to his home, on the same day, to make glad the hearts of his afflicted relatives. Nathaniel Singletary was a "squatter" on the parsonage lands. The marks of the cellar of his house are still to be seen, on the land now owned by Benjamin Kimball, on the Parsonage Road—a short distance northwest from the gate.

Bradley was killed on the "Parsonage Road," not far from the present Atkinson Depot.^o

About the same time, two men were also killed at Andover.

These forays caused the inhabitants of the town again to appeal to the General Court, for assistance in the work of watchfulness, and defence,† and on the 29th of the same month, the "Ipswich Horse" were ordered to this town, as a place of rendezvous for forces going to meet the enemy.

The savages again made their appearance, on the 17th of the following October, when they wounded and made prisoner of Ezra Rolfe,‡ who died three days after being taken.

^o On the 30th of September, 1690, the following petition of his son, Daniel, was addressed to the Court:
"To the honord court now sitting att Ipswige this may signify to your honors that whereas by the providence of G:d my father Daniel Brady was slaine by the hand of the heathen and left no will as to the deposing of his outward estate I request h^{is} brother Joseph may be appointed administrator.

DANIEL BRADLEY." (1)

This request was granted.

(1) This name does not appear in the Town Records among the children of the above Daniel Bradley.

† Men had been previously stationed in town, as garrison guards; but in July, (22d) a part of them (those from Rowley) had been ordered home, on account of the "busy season of the year."—*Hist. Rowley*.

‡ Rolfe lived not far from the present North Parish Meeting-house.

No further attacks were made by the Indians that year, and the inhabitants began to hope that they might be spared a repetition of the bloody work.

Toward the latter part of 1689, Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, of Newbury, began to preach in town, as an assistant to Mr. Ward, and, as it seems, with general acceptance.^o

At a town meeting, January 20, 1690, called "to see about getting a minister to join with Mr. Ward," it was voted to give Mr. Rolfe "forty pounds per annum in Wheat, Rye and Indian," to join and assist Mr. Ward, and after Mr. Ward's death, the town would "farther allow what shall be rational." According to the Recorder, there was "grand opposition" to the above vote, and it was finally declared "not to stand." The record intimates, that "Mr. Ward and his son Saltonstall" left the meeting, on account of the opposition to the vote. While they were absent, the town voted to pay Mr. Rolfe the above sum for one year, and his diet, or board, and that Mr. Ward should have his full salary, provided he, at his own cost, boarded Mr. Rolfe.

After a few months of comparative quiet, the colonists were again startled by the intelligence that the French and their savage allies were busily preparing for a renewal of their bloody work with the opening of spring. The prospects of the inhabitants of the frontier towns were indeed gloomy.

At the annual meeting, nothing was done, except to elect officers. Who can weigh the load of fear and anxiety that rested upon the hearts of our fathers, as they contemplated the dark future before them?

But little time was left them for suspense. Anon the news came that a large body of the enemy had attacked the beautiful village of Schnectady, New York, massacred sixty of its inhabitants, captured twenty-seven more, and reduced the town to ashes! Hardly had the people realized the fearful import of the intelligence, when another herald announced an attack on Salmon Falls, and the murder of twenty-seven of its inhabitants, while fifty-two others had been hurried away into captivity. No time was to be lost!

On the 24th of March, a meeting was held, "to consider what is to be done for the present security of the place against the enemy, by sending for help abroad, *or to draw off*." After voting the selectmen "full powers in all respects," the Recorder informs us that "a small discourse was opened about the then state of the Town, how to stand against the Enemy,

^o Mr. Rolfe was chaplain to the forces sent to Falmouth, Maine, from July 14th to November 14th, 1689, and probably came to this town soon after his return from that Province.—*State Arch.* Vol. II, p. 49.

and to see for a livelihood for hereafter, if lives of the people should be spared; But it soon ceased and was given over, and nothing done that was to satisfaction in that affair, the people being out of a way for their own subsistence; and therefore the Moderator declared the meeting closed."

Reader, mark the deep significance of that language. So imminent to them seemed the danger, and so feeble the resistance that they could offer, unaided and alone, that it was seriously debated, whether it was not best to *draw off*—to abandon the town entirely, and seek safety in some less exposed place! How must the mother's heart have sunk within her, when the husband and father returned from that meeting, with no word of hope or comfort for herself or her little ones. As the sun withdrew that day, and left the hills and valleys of Pentucket enshrouded in darkness, so the bright sun of hope withdrew from the hearts of its inhabitants, and left them buried in the dark shadows of despondency, and fearful apprehension.

As a means of defense, the selectmen appointed six garrisons, and four "houses of refuge."^o One of the garrisons was commanded by Sergeant John Haseltine. This house stood on the north side of the road, about half way up *Pecker's Hill*, and a few rods northwesterly from that formerly occupied by Samuel Pecker. Haseltine had seven men under his command:—Onesiphorus Marsh, sen., Onisephorus Marsh, jun., Nathaniel Haseltine, Eben Webster, Joseph Holt, Thomas Ayer, and Joseph Bond.

This garrison was owned by Onesiphorus Marsh, sen., who was the ancestor of those of that name in this town. The first notice we have of him, is in 1684, when he built the house above described.† He owned the principal part of that hill, and for many years it was known by the name of Marsh's Hill. The name was once generally spelt Mash. Another account states that the garrison was commanded by Jonathan Marsh.

Another was commanded by Sergeant John Webster; this, *Mirick* supposed, was the brick house which stands on the bank of the river, three fourths of a mile east of the bridge, and formerly occupied by Widow Nathaniel Whittier, but now owned and occupied by Joseph B. Spiller; but, as that house was not built until 1724, *Mirick* must have been mistaken. It was, perhaps, located somewhere in that vicinity. Webster had eight men under his command:—Stephen Webster, Samuel Watts Nicholas Brown, Jacob Whittaker, John Marsh, Robert Ford, Samuel Ford, and Thomas Kingsbury.

^o It is not certain that *all* these were appointed at that time, but most probably they were.

† Perhaps he came from Hingham, as we find the same name in that town, in 1674.

The third was owned and commanded by Jonathan Emerson; a part of it is now standing on the northwest corner of Winter and Harrison streets.

The fourth was commanded by James Ayer, and stood nearly opposite the house of the late Captain John Ayer, 2d, on Pond street.

The fifth was commanded by Joseph Bradley, and was situated in the northerly part of the town, not far from the house of the late Zebulon Sargent; it was long since torn down, and no traces of it now remain.

The sixth was owned and commanded by Captain John White; and was situated near the "White" house, on Mill street. He had six men under his command: — Stephen Dow, sen., Stephen Dow, jun., John Dow, Edward Brumidge, Israel Hendrick, Israel ———, jun.

Two brick houses, belonging to Joseph and Nathaniel Peaslee, in the easterly part of the town, and the houses of Major Nathaniel Saltonstall and Captain Simon Wainwright, were appointed for houses of refuge. A few soldiers were stationed in them, who were under the command of the owners. Two watch-houses were erected, one of which stood near the house occupied by the late John Dow, on Main street, and the other was on the bank of the river, a few rods east of the "Duncan Place," on Water street. The houses of Joseph and Nathaniel Peaslee are yet standing; the former was owned by the late Nathan Sawyer, and stands a short distance east of the latter, which is now owned and occupied by Captain Jesse Newcomb, and is situated about two miles east of Haverhill Bridge.

The house of Mr. Saltonstall stood on the site of that of the Widow Samuel W. Duncan. That of Captain Simon Wainwright, stood on the site of the "Emerson House," opposite Winter Street Church.

The school-house, which stood on what is now *Pentucket Cemetery*, was also used for the same purpose. A guard of soldiers was stationed in each of these houses, who were on the look-out for the enemy, night and day.

Besides these garrisons, and houses of refuge, many private houses were barricaded, and the inhabitants generally were prepared for any emergency.

"Most of the garrisons, and two of the houses of refuge, (those belonging to Joseph and Nathaniel Peaslee) were built of brick, and were two stories high; those that were not built of this material, had a single laying of it between the outer and inner walls. They had but one outside door, which was often so small that but one person could enter at a time; their windows were about two feet and a half in length, eighteen inches in breadth, and were secured on the inside with iron bars. Their glass was very small, cut in the shape of a diamond, was extremely thick, and fastened in with lead instead of putty. There were generally but two rooms in the basement story, and tradition says that they entered the chamber

with the help of a ladder, instead of stairs, so that the inmates could retreat into them, and take it up if the basement-story should be taken by the enemy. Their fire-places were of such enormous sizes, that they could burn their wood sled-length, very conveniently; and the ovens opened on the outside of the building, generally at one end, behind the fire-place; and were of such dimensions that we should suppose a sufficient quantity of bread might have been baked in them to supply a regiment of hungry mouths.

It was truly an age of terror with these hardy and courageous men; and their descendants can have but a faint idea of the difficulties they encountered, and of the dangers that continually hung over their heads, threatening every moment to overwhelm them like a torrent. Almost every man was a soldier, and many, who lived in remote parts of the town, moved, with their families, into the vicinity of a garrison, or a house of refuge.

This was the case with Stephen Dow and his son, who lived in the east part of the town, and moved near to the garrison of Capt. John White. The Indians had a peculiar whistle, which was made by placing both hands to the mouth, and was known to be their call. It was frequently heard in the adjacent woods, and tradition says, that Stephen Dow, jun., was the only person in the garrison who could exactly imitate it; and that he frequently concealed himself, and endeavored to decoy them within the range of the soldiers' bullets. But it does not say that he ever succeeded."^o

April 7th, another meeting was held, "to consider what may, & is to be done, as to sending to the Council or General Court for their affording help to this place by soldiers, as it is a frontier town, exposed to great danger, &c."

At this meeting, it was "Voted and agreed by the Town that a petition be drawn up & sent by a meet hand to the Council and General Court, to have sent to us, as we are a frontier town, upon the Country's charges, 40 men at least, to be a constant daily scout, to keep out without the outmost garrisons, and in constant service, so as to watch the enemy & prevent & surprise them, or give notice to others within, that they may be encouraged to do somewhat in order to future livelihood, and in case of need to stand for their lives."

Cornet Peter Ayer was "particularly made choice of to present, prefer, & prosecute" the petition.

^o Mirick.

In answer to the petition of the town, soldiers were sent from Newbury, and other places, to Haverhill, Amesbury, and Salisbury.*

Scarcely had the inhabitants made their preparations for defence and security, ere the murderous savages were again in their vicinity.

On the 5th of July, eight persons were killed at Exeter; and two days afterward, three were killed at Amesbury. It was no longer safe to venture out of doors, except in armed parties, or in the immediate vicinity of the garrisons, where watch was kept night and day for the enemy. None knew when or where an attack would be made, and the only safety was in strongly fortified garrisons, armed soldiers, and constant watchfulness.

Immediately after the news of the attacks at Exeter and Amesbury reached Haverhill, Major Saltonstall despatched a messenger to the Council, at Boston, with an urgent appeal for immediate aid. The following is his letter, copied from the original in the Archives of the State:—

Havll: July 10: 1690, at almost 3
afternoon;

Hond: Gentlemen

I am now by ye Posts from Salisbury put upon hurrying up a line or two to yor: selves, & bec: of my shortness of time I cannot stand to enter ye abreviate of ye 2 Lres: to me; & yrf: I have sent them to your selves by ye same hands yt brought ym to me; & pray that ye Lres: may by ye same hands be returnd, (we yy promise if it be permitted.)

I shal but add a few words; Capt: Buswells request I judg rationall, & most necessary to be attended; I can as I wrote by Lt: Johnson of Almsbury on monday last say, That Havll: hath as much need of present & settled assistance as any place; I beseech you cast us not off; or give us comand to draw off. I do not think it much to avail but as a present satisfaction yt men visit us affr: mischeif is done us; for before yy can be wth us ye enimie is hidden or gone, & nothing to be done but for ye men to return, unless yy would stay as men in service, or occasion shal offer. Indeed ye charg is grt:, but tho: all are not, yet some are willing to bear their part. Foot men are most advisable, & serviceable & so, in ye end,

* About this time, one Isaac Morrill, a native of New Jersey, came to Newbury, to entice Indians and Negroes to leave their masters and go with him, saying that the English should be cut off, and the Negroes should be free. He was arrested, May 29, 1690, and sent to Ipswich for trial. Their intention was, to take a vessel out of the dock at Newbury, go to Canada, join the French, and come down upon the back side of the country, and save none but the negroes and Indians. They intended to come with four or five hundred Indians, and three hundred Canadians, between Haverhill and Amesbury, over Merrimack river, near "Indian river by Archelaus hill on the backside of John Emery's meadow and destroy, and then they might easily destroy such small towns as Haverhill and Amesbury."—*Chapin Hist. Newbury*, 153.

it will be found; excepting only a very few to be employed in carrying or fetching newes; men complain more of difficulty to provide for horses than for many more men.

The Ld: be yor Counsellor & guid in all these difficulties; Let us have a speedy dispatch of the Posts, Philip Grele, & Wm Hely both of Salish: yt I may give accot: to ym yt send to me; I am not in a capacity to help ym, but want men for or necessary defence; & orders to keep or own men to duty upon their peril, & for their being sent to Boston for judgmt according to yr desert, yt is, some of ym. I am Gentlemen

your true servant

N: Saltonstall

On the 31st of August, as Samuel Parker, and a small boy, were engaged in curing hay in the East Parish, at the east-meadow, a party of Indians surprised them, and shot Parker dead on the spot. The boy ran in an opposite direction from the smoke of the assailants, and by concealing himself in the tall grass, escaped uninjured, and was the first to bear the melancholly tidings of Parker's death to his family.^o

September 21st, is memorable for an attack on Casco, in which eight persons were killed, and twenty-four wounded. This was the last foray of that season, and the Indians, according to their custom, gradually withdrew as winter approached, toward Canada.

Believing that the inhabitants could now, for the winter months at least, take care of themselves, the General Court (Oct. 10) ordered "that Maj Saltonstall do dismiss home the scout of ten troopers appointed to be employed between Haverhill & Salisbury by direction of the said Major for security of said towns in the time of harvest." On the 22d of the same month, they ordered that all the garrison soldiers posted in the towns of Haverhill, Salisbury, and Amesbury, be forthwith dismissed. Two weeks afterward, (Nov. 7) all the officers and soldiers at Piscataqua were ordered home; and a few weeks still later, (Dec. 13) one-third of all the eastern garrisons were disbanded.

While the inhabitants were thus surrounded by all the horrors of savage warfare, the small pox broke out among them. This loathsome disease was then but little understood, and was much more terrible to encounter

^o The following doubtless refers to this attack, though the account is far from correct:—

"This morne about seven ye the clock news came to me from Rowley yt Majr Saltonstall sent to Newberry: vizt, yt two men of Haverhill was in the evening last night about three miles out of the towne lookig after their corne: their fields were about fift rods one from the other; each about their owne; one of them is escaped who heard a gun which he supposed to be shot at ye other man & espying Indians Run for it but saith yt he heard at least ten more guns & ye man not returning he is supposed to be killed, for he that escaped heard them give a Græt Shout."—*Extract from a Letter of Samuel Appleton, of Ipswich, to the Governor. September 1, 1690.*

than at the present day; and we need not wonder that the town was greatly alarmed. A pest-house was erected on the hill east of the house of the late Joseph Bradley, to which the infected were removed. But few, however, died of the disease.

Merrick says, "We can learn of but six persons who died with this disease. They were Abraham Hendrick, Mary Ford, and her daughter Mary, Josiah Starling, Ruth Hartshorne, and Thomas Marsh. The records say that John Stockbridge 'went to sea & died of the small pox,'"

Taking advantage of the short respite from savage incursion, the town again turned their attention to the matter of securing a minister. Mr. Rolfe had now been laboring among them a year, and was so well liked, that a meeting was called (Dec. 31) to see about securing his "further help in the ministry." They unanimously voted to do so, if they could, and a committee was chosen to treat with him.

At the annual town meeting the following spring, (1691) nothing was done except to choose town officers. With the opening of spring, the inhabitants feared fresh outrages by the Indians, and they had little heart to engage in anything except measures for the support and defense of their families.

On the 16th of June, John Robie, of this town, was killed by the savages. Warned by the impending danger, Robie had taken his family from his own dwelling, to a house of refuge, that stood where the house of Benjamin Clement now stands, in the North Parish. He was returning from this mission with his cart and oxen, and had reached about midway of the burying-ground, near the residence of Jesse Clement, when a ball struck him down. His son, Ichabod, who was with him, was taken prisoner, but soon after managed to escape, and returned home. Robie's wife died a few days previously, leaving a family of seven children, the oldest of which was not quite eleven years of age. This doubtless led him to seek safety for them in the house of refuge. A letter from Nathaniel Saltonstall, to Major Pike, of Newbury, dated "June 15, 1691, 12 at night," states, that Robie was killed about two hours before sunset, "near the woods near Bradley's."

At the same attack, Nathaniel Ladd was shot, and soon after died of his wounds.

No further damage was done by the Indians in the vicinity^o until October, when, says Hutchinson, "a family was killed at Rowley and one at Haverhill.† Perhaps he had reference to the above persons; if not, the

^o On the 28th of September, seven persons were killed and captured at Berwick; and on the following day, between twenty and thirty at Sandy Beach.

† Vol. I, p. 359. We find, however, that the *History of Rowley* places it one year later — 1692.

name of that family must remain in obscurity, for there is no account of the death of any other person, this year, by the Indians. The family killed at Rowley was named Goodrich.

The constant state of anxiety and fear in which the colonists were kept during these long and dreary months, and years, may be judged from the fact that in Newbury, which was far less exposed than either of the frontier towns, *fifty-one persons kept watch each night.*

The new year brought no brighter prospects, but rather the reverse. On the 5th of February, a large body of French and Indians attacked York, Maine, burned all but three or four garrisoned houses, killed about seventy-five of its inhabitants, and captured eighty-five. The work of slaughter had re-commenced in fearful earnest.

At the annual meeting of 1692, but little was done except the election of officers. A few applications were made for land, and Samuel Dalton asked permission to build a corn-mill on Mill Brook, but all were refused. The inhabitants were evidently so engrossed in the all important matter of personal security, that they had little courage left for extending their settlement.

On the 18th of July, Hannah Whittiker, of this town, was killed by the Indians.^o The particulars of her death are now lost.

On the same day that Hannah Whittiker was killed, an attack was made on Lancaster, Mass., and six persons were killed. August 1st, the same number were killed at Billerica; and September 29th, twenty-one were killed and captured at Rye Beach.

Sometime in August, John Keezar took his scythe and his gun, and went to the Pond Meadow to cut grass. He laid his gun down beside a tree, and while mowing, a short distance from it, an Indian, who had secretly observed his motions, crept silently along, and secured the gun before Keezar was aware of it. The Indian then brought it to his shoulder, and exultingly exclaimed—"me kill you now." Keezar saw that an attempt to fly would be attended with certain death, and his only recourse was to stratagem. Soon as he saw that the Indian had secured his gun, he faced about and ran toward him, shouting at the top of his voice, swinging his glittering scythe, and threatening to cut him in pieces. This daring conduct, in one whom the Indian expected would fly, or beg for his life, his terrible threatenings, and the formidable appearance of his weapon, completely affrighted him; and he threw down his stolen gun, and

^o Hannah Whittiker was the wife of Abraham Whittiker, Jun. Her maiden name was "Beane." She was married April, 1682.

fled for his life. Keezar followed close upon his heels, repeatedly striking at him with his scythe. At length he reached him, and at one stroke, buried it in his bowels.^o

The enemy were all around them, continually watching for opportunities to make a successful attack, and the situation of the inhabitants of this town was perilous in the extreme. None knew when or where the blow would fall, but it was daily and hourly expected. In answer to a call for aid, Sir William Phipps ordered twelve soldiers to be sent from Newbury to Haverhill, November 1st, to assist in protecting the town. Happily no other assault was made that season.

With the return of another winter, came the necessity of again considering the matter of Mr. Rolfe's settlement as minister, and a meeting was called for that purpose. At this meeting, the question, "whether Mr. Benj Rolfe, whom this town hath had experience of in the ministry near three years, shall be the man pitched upon for that work, and to be our settled minister in Haverhill," was "by a full vote," passed in the affirmative, and a committee was chosen to agree with him.

December 5th, a meeting was called, to hear the report of the committee, which was made in the form of a letter from Mr. Rolfe. The following is a copy:—

"Haverhill Nov 21, 1692.

To the Town of Haverhill,

Gentlemen:

The Committee chosen and appointed by you on Oct 25, 92, to treat with me in order to my settlement among you as your minister; have been with me and acquainted me as far as they could with the Town's mind in this affair, making some proposals which they thought might be agreeable to what you approve of:

Upon which I make you this brief return—That it is not my design nor desire to propose for what may rationally be thought hard: But only that there may be such a competent, comfortable settlement, as that thereby I, or any that shall be called to be your minister, may be capable to endeavour the discharge of that duty that God requires of persons under such circumstances without distraction.

The want of this will be uncomfortable to you and your minister: and, That in order hereto I presume that there is no rational man but will think it requisite, that, in such a place as this is, where there is no house for the ministry; there be (in some convenient place) allotted to him a small

^o Tradition.—Mirick.

parcel of land, on which he may at his own cost (with the help of such as shall freely offer thereto) erect an house to dwell in which he may call his own; and

Inasmuch as your Committee have proposed to me by order of the Town, what place in the Town would be most satisfactory to me to dwell in; — I reply, that I think it beyond me to determiné. The Town's pleasure in this matter will doubtless be for accommodation.

But except the Town can think of a more convenient place, I know no objection against that place on which Nathaniel Smith did formerly dwell, or any near it.

With respect to a settled yearly maintain, I object not against what the Town by their Committee have already settled on me: Provided, that in convenient season, when the work is doubled, and the Town comes to be under better circumstances, there be such an addition to it, as shall rationally be thought requisite.

Your speedy conclusion upon what hath been proposed will enable me to give you a more full answer:

In the meantime I remain

Yours in all christian offices

Benjamin Rolfe."

Upon the reading of Mr. Rolfe's letter, it was voted: —

"That Mr Benj Rolfe, who hath, for about three years been an help here, in the work of the ministry with Mr Ward; If he please to settle here in the ministerial work shall have, & hereby hath, that piece of land freely bestowed upon him as his own proper estate, which was laid out by the Town's committee June 24, 1681, and approved of, near where Nathaniel Smith formerly lived, and is also joining to that two acres which was given by the Town to Samuel Wilcot."

The selectmen were, at the same time, directed to treat with the owners about buying Wilcot's two acres, to be added to the rest.

Toward the last of the next month, (Jan. 30, 1693) another meeting was called, to see if the town would confirm its vote to settle Mr. Rolfe, as some objections had been made to that meeting, "because of the shortness of warning." The town declared that, "by a clear vote, it is renewed, allowed of, confirmed, made, and to be stood unto, for the full and free vote of the Inhabitants of Haverhill." There could be no mistaking their intentions this time, most certainly.

Mr. Rolfe was granted the free and full improvement of the Parsonage farm and meadow, then on lease to Mr. Bradley, so long as he continued in the town as their minister, and also of the Parsonage land bought of

William Starlin, besides what was otherwise appointed him for his annual salary. It was also voted to lay him out, with all convenient speed, ten acres of good meadow, for his free use while he remained their minister.

We have already alluded to the charter received in 1692. It was a far different instrument from the colonial charter of 1629, and effected a thorough revolution in the country. The form of government, the powers of the people, and the entire foundation and objects of the body politic, were placed upon a new basis.

Sir William Phipps, the first governor of the province under the new charter, arrived at Boston on the 14th of May, 1692. Writs were immediately issued for a general assembly, which convened in the following month, and the government was duly inaugurated.

These changes in the government of the province, necessitated corresponding changes in the organization of towns, and, accordingly, at the next annual meeting of this town, several new officers were chosen, and the name of the town Recorder was changed to *Town Clerk*.

The following is a list of the first board of town officers under the new charter: —

Lt John Johnson, *Moderator*; Nathl Saltonstall, *Town Clerk*; Ensign Thomas Eatton, Cornet Peter Ayer, Sergt Robert Ayer, Sergt John Page, Nathl Saltonstall, *Selectmen*; Robert Swan sen., Samuel Currier, James Sanders, Ensign John White, & Sergt Josiah Gage, *Highway Surveyors*; Michael Emerson, *Leather Sealer*; Ensign Thomas Eatton, *Sealer of Weights & Measures*; Sergt Josiah Gage, Lieut Saml Ayer, Sergt John Haseltine, Capt Geo Browne, Wm Starlin, & Joseph Johnson sen, *Tything-men*; for *Viewers of Fences*, for the West side of the Sawmill River, Ensign Saml Hutchins, Onesiph Mash sen; — between the West bridge and Mill brook and northward as far as Ephraim Gild's, John Johnson Saml Emerson; — between the Mill brook and Great Plain, Eph Roberts, Israel Hendrick; — for the Great Plain and fields below that, to the extent of Haverhill bounds, on that quarter to the eastward, Amos Singletery, John Whittier; — for the northern farms about Wm Starlin's, and in that quarter, Joseph Johnson sen, Christopher Bartlett; Steven Dow sen, *Grand Juror*; Daniel Lad jun, for *Jury of Trials*.

At this meeting, Joseph Peasely was granted the privilege of erecting a sawmill "at the head of east meadow river upon the stream by or near Brandy Brow." The location selected was the one still occupied, and known as "Peaslee's Mills." It is now, and we believe has most of the time, since 1698, been owned by persons of that name.

We notice that more business relating to lands, and similar matters, was done by the town this year, than for several years previously, which indicates a returning confidence, and prosperity. No allusions are made to the Indians in the records, and we do not find any mention of persons being killed by them, this year, in the vicinity, except Jonathan Franklin in this town, and one person in Dover.

May 8th, a town meeting was called, "for the people to join with the church and take care for the providing necessities for Mr Rolf's ordination in office in this town." After choosing a Moderator, "the Town resolved to stop in the proceedings till they knew what Mr Ward would abate of his yearly maintenance." The following proposal from him, dated November 13, 1692, was then read:—

"In answer to the Town's proposal to me to know what I would abate of my yearly maintenance, and upon what terms they should be with me in case they got another minister to help with me in the ministry, I grant

In case the Church and Town do procure another Minister to be settled in office in the work of the ministry in Haverhill; Then from that time and forward I will abate to the Town of what they ought to pay to me by Covenant and Town orders, *all*, excepting only Twenty pounds in Corn, and Fifty cords of current merchantable cord wood, to be paid as followeth, annually, during my life; viz.

Ten pounds in merchantable Wheat, and

Ten pounds in merchantable Indian, and

Fifty cords of Oak and Walnut wood, to be laid in at my house, and corded by one thereto appointed at the Town's charges; for time as followeth, viz:

Half in October, annually; and the other Half in February annually.

Provided that all arrears be truly paid me, and that myself and estate I be exempted from all rates; and that the Town do appoint one or two men to attend at my house upon a set day to receive and take account of what shall be brought in, and set the price thereof if it be not merchantable, that so it come not in pitiful dribblets as formerly.

And in case the conditions be not performed within the year, by the 2d of February annually; then the whole Sixty pounds to be paid annually, according to town orders already made, and so proportionably.

John Ward."

After this letter was read, the meeting chose a committee of four, "to go and see what Mr Ward will abate of his annual covenanted mainte-

nance, in order to the settlement of Mr B Rolf for a minister here." The following is their report:—

"The messengers, by word of mouth, return Mr Ward's answer: That from and after Mr Rolf's ordination, he will abate all except Twenty Pounds in Wheat & Indian annually, & Fifty cords of merchantable sound wood corded at his house."

The town accepted the offer. A vote was then passed that "care shall at the Town's charge be taken for a place and provision for entertainment at Mr Rolf's ordination," provided it did not exceed ten pounds; but as "several men proclaimed against it with great violence," the vote was *nullified*.

The following agreement of the committee with Mr. Rolfe, was then approved and confirmed:—

"We,^o Robert Ayer, Peter Ayer, and Steven Dow, who are the present Committee in that affair have covenanted and agreed with said Mr Rolf; and do hereby covenant & agree, and promise to & with the said Rolf and his heirs and assigns, as the said Committee men, and on behalf of the said Town by virtue of their orders and acts, and because one vote may take off a preceding one by the unsteadiness of a multitude: That Mr Rolf may not be disappointed, We not only for the Town in general, but for ourselves in particular, as the said Town's Committee, and for our successors, do covenant and agree as followeth:

1. That Mr Benjamin Rolf during the time of his abode in this Town in the work of the ministry, until he is settled with us in office in that work, shall have paid unto him by the Town Sixty pounds per annum in Wheat, Rye, and Indian Corn, by equal proportions of each, at the price of the grain in the Country rate, at the time of payment. So that the whole may be paid into him, or his order in Haverhill, by the 2d of February annually.

2. That Mr Rolf out of his Sixty pounds is to provide personal quarters for himself as he shall think good.

3. We the Committee before mentioned do further promise to said Mr Rolf that upon the Town's charge, in convenient season annually, there shall be laid in for him a sufficient quantity and stock of good, sweet, and dry, and sound Hay for the keeping his horse through the winter at such place in Haverhill as he shall appoint."

^o The introductory paragraph, which merely rehearses when and for what the committee were chosen, we have omitted, as unimportant.

The agreement is signed by the committee. The following is the letter of Mr. Rolfe, accepting the terms offered : —

“ Haverhill April 29, 1693.

In answer to the Election of the Town of Haverhill signified by public vote at a general orderly meeting with respect to my being their settled minister, and to the call of the Church of Christ there ;

The Providence of God having so ordered, as to move his people here to invite me to settle among them for the carrying on of the great and solemn work of the ministry of the gospel of Christ,

I do hold it my duty to consider & take notice of the special Providence of God therein, and therefore do hereby express myself willing to settle among them for that end : viz :

1st. So long as the people of God here do continue in the profession of the true faith and peace of the gospel — Acts 2:42.^o

2d. So long as I may have the liberty of my ministry among them.

3d. So long as I can discharge my duty to myself and family, if it shall please God to give me one ; I mean by this, That the Town comply with and duly discharge for the present, that obligation with respect to a yearly maintenance that they by their Committee are now under to me. Granting also to me a supply of wood as soon as I shall stand in need of it. And if it shall please God so to order it that the whole work be devolved upon me, or to bring them out of those difficulties that by occasion of the war they are now under : They grant to me such a supply as that thereby I may so live as a minister of the gospel ought to live, and be able without distraction by wants, to discharge my duty as a minister of Christ to God and yourselves.

Thus I say I do express myself willing to settle among you with a true intention and true affection.

Benjamin Rolfe.”

Having at last seen his successor selected, provided for, and firmly seated in the affections of the people with whom he had himself lived so long, and so happily, and for whose welfare he had devoted the best years of a long life, the venerable John Ward was soon laid beside her whom in life he had loved so well. He died on the 27th of December, 1693, and was buried on the following day, almost in the very shadow of the humble little church where, for nearly a half century, his voice had been heard from Sabbath to Sabbath earnestly pleading with the FATHER for bless-

^o “ And they continued steadfastly in the Apostle's doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayer.” — Acts 2, 42.

ings upon his little flock.* Mr. Rolfe, on the day of his ordination, speaking of him, says, that "these four years past have been the happiest and most profitable to me of my whole life. I have had the councils of wisdom and experience, the admonitions of a father and friend, and an example constantly before me, of undissembled virtue, ardent piety and burning zeal."

The following is an extract from his will, which bears date May 27, 1680.†

"O Lord, into thy hands commit I my spirit. Credo languida fide sed tamen fide.

Concerning that portion of worldly goods which God of his rich bounty hath bestowed upon me, I make this my last will and testament. I give to my beloved son Benja. Woodbridge, and to my beloved daughter, Mary, his wife, one parcell of land containing thirty acres, more or less, lying att the norwest end of the towne of Haverhill, in N. England. o o o o o I give to my beloved son, Nathl. Saltonstall, and to my beloved daughter, Elizabeth, his wife, my house, and land adjoyning thereto, commonly called the houselott, lying in the town of Haverhill,‡ o o o o Lastly, I constitute and appoynt my beloved son, Saltonstall, the executor of this my last will and testament, and do hereby make void all former Wills made by me.

Witness my hand and seal

JOHN WARD. [SEAL.]

Signed and sealed in the presence of us;

WILLIAM WHITE, THOMAS EATON, BENJA. ROLFE.

Jan. 23, 92-3, owned before JOHN WHITE."

Mr. Rolfe was ordained on the 7th of the January following Mr. Ward's death.

At the annual meeting for 1694, the town refused to choose Tythingmen, (and also a Hayward, Culler of Staves, Field Drivers, and House Officers,) according to law; but we find that a few weeks afterward, a town meeting was held "by the order of the Sheriff," to choose a representative to the assembly, and *tythingmen*. The government seem to have allowed the omission of the others, but refused to entertain the idea that a town could get along without *tythingmen*. The duty of a tythingman was

* On the 19th, of November, 1693, Mr. Ward, then just entering his eighty-eighth year, preached an excellent sermon, — his last public effort. — *Mather*.

† Two months after the death of his wife.

‡ This homestead, since known as the "Saltonstall Place," about half a mile east of the Bridge, remained in possession of the family until after the Revolution. It is now familiarly known as the "Widow Duncan's Place."

to preserve good order in the church during divine service, and to make complaint of any disorderly conduct. It is but recently that the office was abolished. The writer well remembers when "the tythingman" served as an effectual "bugbear" for juvenile church-goers.

This year, all the town officers were, for the first time, duly "sworn" to the faithful performance of their several official duties, — a practice which has since become a custom.

July 2d, a meeting was called to see about the meadow land for the ministry, which had been laid out, but was claimed by Robert Swan, sen., who had prosecuted the town for taking it away from him. The town voted to fight it out with him, "according to law."

On the 30th of July, a meeting was held, "by command of the Country," to choose *assessors*, and Captain Simon Wainwright, Ensign John White, and Cornet Peter Ayer were duly chosen and sworn.

This was the first *board* of assessors chosen by the town. For a few years preceding this, a "commissioner" had been annually chosen to act with the selectmen in taking valuations.

After nearly two years of comparative freedom from molestation by the Indians, the inhabitants were again alarmed by news of horrible massacres, and threatened extermination.

On the 18th of July (1694) the settlement at Oyster River was again attacked, and ninety-four of its inhabitants killed and captured. This sad news had hardly reached this town, when another messenger conveyed the intelligence of four more victims at Portsmouth; and within a week later, Groton was surprised, twenty-two persons killed, and thirteen wounded. The enemy were all around them, and terror sat on every countenance. Three weeks later, five persons were killed at York, and the same week, eight more were added to the long list of victims from Kittery.

September 4th, two men, Joseph Pike and Richard Long, both of Newbury, were slain by the savages as they were travelling, near the north of Pond Plain. "The enemy lay in a deserted house by the way, or in a clump of bushes, or both."^o

Although no other attack was made in this town that year, yet the inhabitants had every reason to expect them, and the strictest watch was kept, day and night, and every precaution taken to preserve life and pro-

^o *Pike's Journal*. Neal, in his *History of New England*, says, under date of September 4, 1694: —

"Mr. Joseph Pike of Newbury, Deputy Sheriff of Essex, travelling with one Long between Amesbury and Haverhill in the execution of his office, fell into an Ambuscade of the enemy, and both he and his companion were murdered."

perty, in case of such emergency. Under such circumstances, as we may well suppose, there were occasionally false alarms, when a whole garrison or neighborhood would be thrown into the greatest consternation and fear, without serious cause. One of the most ludicrous of these alarms, occurred at the garrison commanded by Sergeant Nathaniel Haseltine,^o which is thus related by *Mirick*, from tradition : —

“ In the dead of night, when the moon shone fitfully through the ragged clouds, and the winds moaned solemnly on the wooded hills, the watch, the only person awake in the garrison, perceived something within the paling that surrounded it, which he supposed to be an Indian ; and who was, as he thought, endeavoring to gain an entrance. Being considerably affrighted, he did not wait to consider the object coolly, but raised his musket and fired. The report alarmed the whole garrison. The women and children were awakened from their slumbers, and ran hither and thither like maniacs, expecting that they should fall beneath the tomahawk. The men, equally affrighted, jumped into their breeches as though their lives depended on their speed, seized their guns, and hastened to the port-holes. Every man now displayed his heroism. Volley after volley was fired at the suspicious looking object — but it fell not. There it remained, just as it did when the watch first observed it. This was truly a mystery, that had no whys nor wherefores. It is presumed a consultation was held at this important crisis ; but we have never been informed of the result. Let that be as it may, — they ceased firing, but continued under arms till morning, all prepared for immediate action, and keeping a good look-out for the supposed enemy. At length the morning began to dawn, and all eyes were turned toward the daring intruder. They soon discovered the cause of their alarm — and what do you suppose it was, reader ? Why, it was nothing but an old maid’s black quilted petticoat, which she had washed the day previous, hung it on the clothes-line to dry, and neglected to take it in at night. When it was taken down, every part of it was pierced with bullet-holes, and, for aught we know, the poor old maid had no other to wear. It is thought that those excellent marksmen ought to have provided her with another — and doubtless they did.”

In 1695, the annual meeting was held on the first Tuesday in March, according to an Act of the Assembly.

At this meeting, Peter Patie applied for permission to build a grist mill at east meadow river, but was denied. For some reasons, now unknown, there was great delay and difficulty in getting such a mill erected on that stream. Many years previously, Andrew Greelee applied for, and received

^o The one at Packer’s Hill.

permission to erect such a mill there, and partly built a dam, but, for some reason, abandoned the enterprise, and nothing more was done about it for several years. In 1694, Nathaniel Whittier applied for the privilege, but he wanted twelve acres of land as a bonus, which the town thought too much. They offered him *the use* of four acres, which he refused, and the same offer being then opened to any one who would accept, Joseph Greelee and Joseph Peaseley agreed to erect the mill; but they also failed to do it, and, in 1696, the town gave Samuel Currier and Joseph Greelee permission to build, and allowed them the use of ten acres of land for their accommodation and encouragement. But it seems that they did not make much progress that year, for Peter Patie applied to the town the next spring for the same privilege. The town refused Patie, because they were already under obligations to Currier and Greelee, who, we believe, soon after erected such a mill. It was located at the place known for many years as *Johnson's Mill*, about one-fourth of a mile from the mouth of the stream.

For the first time, the town this year chose a Town Treasurer. Lieutenant Samuel Ayer was the person selected. Mr. Rolfe applying for wood, the town voted him fifteen cords a year, for three years. John Gild offered the town sixteen pounds for "the side hill adjoining Great Pond," which offer was accepted. He was to pay "one third currant money, one third good Indian corn, & one third good fat neat cattle fit for slaughter."

The matter of bounds between this town and Amesbury came before the town again this year, after a quiet rest for many years. This time, as before, Amesbury commenced the agitation. The town ordered the selectmen to see that the matter was settled forthwith. They evidently had no desire for an extended controversy.

The selectmen were also ordered to attend to the settling of "schools of learning" in town, and "to settle a suitable school-master, according to law."

Among the records of this year, we find a copy of a receipt from the State Treasurer, for "eight wolves heads at six shillings eight pence, in full for *thirty thousand pounds* assessment." Something of a discount, we think.

At an adjournment of the annual meeting, the same year, it was ordered that the meeting-house "be forthwith repaired so far as is necessary for our present use of the place; till we may be better fitted and provided with a new one." Immediately upon this vote being declared, the question was put "whether, when the Town builds a new Meeting house, it shall be set in the same place where the old house stands." This was, by

a full vote, decided in the negative. It was then proposed, "whether the next meeting house for this Town, when built, shall be set upon the Common land near John Keyzar's & Lieut Johnson's new dwelling places." This was decided "plentifully in the affirmative," only Captain Browne, John Whittier, and Samuel Carrier dissenting. It was then voted "that a new meeting house shall be built forthwith, with what speed may be," and a committee was chosen to "treat with men abroad" about doing the work, and report their proposals to the town.

The next we hear of the matter, is in May of the next year, when a meeting was called to see whether the town would build a new meeting-house, or repair the old one.

They voted to build a new one, and chose a committee "to look out a workman that can & will engage to do the work by the lump, or great, for money." They were "to look out & view some meeting houses for dimensions," and then propose the work to some person or persons, either at home or abroad.

On the 28th of July, the committee reported that they had "been abroad at several towns, taking dimensions of several meeting houses, and having an account of the cost of them," and "after bartering with divers workmen," found Sergeant John Haseltine "the most inclinable to build of any one." Haseltine offered to build a meeting-house fifty feet long, forty-two feet wide, and eighteen feet stud, "finishing the same within & without, with seats, pulpit, galleries, windows, doors, floors, & stairs," after the pattern of the Beverly meeting-house, and doing the sides after the style of the Reading meeting-house, finding all material for four hundred pounds, money. After a long debate about the place for the house to stand, and the price proposed, the dimensions proposed were accepted, and the meeting closed without further action.

Nothing more was done about the matter until April 10, 1697, when another meeting was called for that special purpose. This time, the town voted that "there be a meeting house forthwith framed," and chose a committee to agree with Sergeant John Haseltine, or any other man, about the work. They were to agree for the whole work and material, even "to turning of the key," and were limited to four hundred pounds in money. The house was to have "a Turret for a bell," and it was agreed to set it "at the place by Lieut John White's and Mr Samuel Dalton's."

But the end was not yet. In June, another meeting was called to consider the committee's report. After "much discourse and difference about the place where the new meeting house should be erected," it was

voted to call another meeting of the town before deciding the matter. Accordingly, on the 5th of July, the inhabitants again assembled, to consider the vexed question. Upon the question of location for the new meeting house, "paper votes were called for," and with the following result^o: —

" For the old place that now is 25†
For the common land near Keyzar's 53."

Paper votes were then called for, in choosing a new committee to go on with the work, and Captain Samuel Ayer, Corporal Peter Ayer, and Ensign John Page, were declared chosen. The committee were then granted full powers, within the previously mentioned limits, as to cost.

So strong, however, appears to have been the opposition to the new location, that the matter of building progressed very slowly, and one year after the above meeting, (July 4, 1698,) another was called " by warrant from a Justice of the Peace," on petition of eight of the inhabitants, who desired that a committee might be chosen " to hear all pleas on both sides, and determine where the new frame should be raised." In this request, thirty-three more joined. The Moderator then called for the names of those opposed to having such a committee, " which was drawn and brought in," and, being counted, numbered sixty-three names; upon which he declared against having any such committee, and the meeting dissolved.

Summer passed, autumn came and went, and when winter again approached, the work on the new meeting house had progressed so far that it was, by many, thought advisable to meet in it for worship.

A meeting was therefore called by the selectmen, to consider " whether the people should meet this winter at the old meeting house, or at that which is of new erected 'at Widow Keyzar's." " Votes were called for by personal appearance and entering their names," and " thirty four persons entered their names for their meeting at the new house as soon as the glass windows are finished & set up," while eighteen persons voted for continu-

^o This was probably very near the whole number of legal voters in town, as the business doubtless called out the full strength of the voters.

† Nathl Saltonstall†	John Currier†	Jona'n Eaton†	The Whittier†
Peter Green†	Amos Singletary†	Joseph Greelee†	John Eaton†
Elisha Davis†	Samuel Currier†	John Page Jun†	Benj Page
Daniel Eli†	Joseph Pease†	Robert Clement Jun	Eli Hazen†
Jotham Hendrick†	Joseph Whittier†	Geo Browne†	James Sanders sen
Cornelius Page	Eli Whittier†	Esa Eaton†	Abiel Mercer†

Those to whose names is annexed a (†) also entered their protest against the subsequent action of the meeting.

ing in the old meeting-house, "till a new meeting house be quite finished."^o

It being thus decided to remove, the selectmen were chosen "to determine the places, and what room shall be allowed to such as shall desire to have pews in the new meeting house; and to whom it shall be allowed; They being at the cost for the making of them for their own use as is usual in other places; any other form for seats formerly thought of notwithstanding."

The Recorder informs us that "much discourse was held about pulling up the seats in the old meeting house to set up at a new place for the present meeting house; but it was fully opposed, and reasons given, & therefore was not put to vote."

This closed the proceedings of that meeting, and we find no reference to the subject again until the following October, (Oct. 24, 1699,) when a town meeting was called, "for the further consideration and settlement of the affairs belonging to the new meeting house."

At this meeting, the committee last chosen reported that room had been allowed eight persons to make themselves pews in the new meeting-house at their own cost; and after some "discourse about the new meeting house, and the receiving it for the end it was built for," a committee was chosen and sent forth to view it, and see if it was done according to agreement, and if the town should accept it or not. (It is worthy of remark that the chairman of the committee, Nathaniel Saltonstall, had all along opposed the location of the new house, and had voted against most or all of the propositions in favor of building it.)

The committee attended to their duty, and submitted the following report to the same meeting: —

"Haverhill Oct 24, 1699.

We, the Committee above named, this day chosen, forthwith attended to the work we were appointed to examine, view, and pass our thoughts

^o Those who voted against the removal, were the same persons who previously voted against the proposed location of the new meeting house. The following persons voted for the change: —

Ensign John Page	Nathl Haseltine	Steph Dow sen	James Sanders
Serjt John Haseltine	John Simmons	John Mash	Wm Johnson
Joseph Bond	John Dow	Joseph Page	Benj Emerson
Saml Ayer jun	Ensign Samuel Hutchins	Matt Herriman sen	Benj Hutchins
Joe Johnson sen	Joe Johnson smith	Ephra'm Gild	Josiah Gage
Joe Kingsberry	Mich Emerson	Onk: Marsh	Eph Roberts
Daniel Ela	James Ford	Robt Ayer	Joe Heath
Tho Kingsberry	Joe Emerson	Joseph Ayer	
Joe Stevens sen	Jona Emerson	Sam: Smith	

† Capt. S. Walnwright, Capt. Samuel Ayer, Nath. Saltonstall, Serjt. John Haseltine, Lieut. John White, Widow Hannah Ayer and son, Ena. John Page, Serjt. Josiah Gage.

upon, and make our return to the Town in order to their further proceed.
Do unanimously say

We have viewed the house without and within, and have measured the house in its length, breadth, & height, and find them all to exceed the covenant dimensions: That is to say, in length upwards of 8 inches; in the breadth also better than 8 inches; and in the height of the stud between sill and plate about 12 inches: and the outsides to be well fitted and comely; and for the work within we find, and account it to be good, substantially, well & commendably done, with respect to the walls, pulpit, and seats below and in the galleries; and cannot but say, we like and well approve of the work; and therefore we humbly propose to the Town now assembled to accept of the same as to the work and workmans part, in said Covenant, his additions being much for the better. And he having appeared to be honest, and honestly faithful to his word, we have taken his word for some small matters to be farther done to the seat or pew for the minister's wife & children, and to make troughs or gutters on the sides of the house at the eaves to carry the water that comes off the roof from the sides, so that it may fall at the corners: which said work tho necessary, is beyond what he was obliged unto by covenant. And we again do pray that the Town will accept of his work with thankfulness to him for his care & pains, & take care that the Town's part for payment be also faithfully & seasonably performed.

Witness,

Nath. Saltonstall,
Simon Wainwright,
Lt John White,
Capt John Whittier,
Daniel Ela,"

Upon the reading of the above, "the Town by their unanimous vote, without any one voting to the contrary, granted their acceptance of the Committee's return, above written, and of the New meeting house according thereunto."

It was then long debated whether a committee should be chosen "to seat the people in the long seats in the new meeting house *before it should be met in*," but being opposed, no vote was taken.^o

The town then formally voted that the new meeting-house should be the place where the people should in future "meet and attend for the constant worship of God."

^o From this, it is evident that no meetings had as yet been held in the new house, notwithstanding the vote of the previous fall.

Immediately upon this, "Joseph Peaseley &c. moving that the Town would allow him & others to meet at the new meeting house for, and in their way of worship : which is accounted to be for Quakers : It was read & refused to be voted upon."^o

November 20th, a meeting was called to choose a committee "to place or seat the people in the new meeting house, that they may know where to sit, & not disorderly crowd upon one another, and be uncivil in the time of God's worship."

Such a committee was accordingly chosen, and instructed how to proceed in assigning seats to the inhabitants. A committee was also chosen, to *seat the first committee*, "so that there may be no grumbling at them, for picking for, and placing themselves." The seating committee were subsequently allowed six shillings each for performing that duty.

Having at last, after years of effort, and many warm discussions, pleasantly and contentedly settled themselves in their new and commodious meeting-house, the town bid adieu to the old one in the following language : —

"It is voted and granted that Capt Samuel Ayer, & Nath: Saltonstall be, and are hereby empowered to the best advantage they can to dispose of our old meeting house, for the public benefit of the said Town, for the use of a school house, or a watch-house, or a house of shelter or shed to set horses in, for all or any one, or more of them as they can meet with chapmen."

This is the last we hear of the old meeting-house, where, for half a century, the good people of the town had regularly assembled from week to week, for divine worship; and around which, it would seem, some of their most pleasant and cherished thoughts and recollections must have clustered. "A shed to set horses in!" Sad, indeed, was the fate of the little pioneer meeting-house of Pentucket.

A view of the second meeting-house, taken after a steeple had been added, was, many years afterward, painted on a panel over the mantle-piece in the front room of the "Harrod House," which stood a little north of the present Town Hall. In order to preserve the painting, the panel was subsequently cut out, and has been carefully preserved in the family to this time. It is now in the possession of Charles H. Stebbins, Esq., of Staten Island, (a grandson of Mr. Harrod,) who kindly furnished the drawing from which our engraving is executed. The painting must have been made

^o Joseph Peaseley (or Peaseley) was the son of Joseph, an emigrant settler, who was made a freeman in 1642; settled in Newbury; went to Haverhill previous to 1646; thence to Salisbury, (now Amesbury) where he died December 3, 1680.

between 1750 and 1766. The building near the meeting-house, was probably the one erected in 1723, for the double purpose of a watch-house and a school-house.



The Puritan Sabbath in the villages of New England commenced on Saturday afternoon. No labor was performed on the evening which preceded the Lord's day. Early on Sunday morning the blowing of a horn in some places announced that the hour of worship was at hand. In other villages, a flag was hung out of the rude building occupied by the church. At Cambridge, a drum was beat in military style; at Salem, a bell indicated the opulence of that city.

The public religious services usually commenced at nine in the morning, and occupied six to eight hours, divided by an intermission of one hour for dinner. The people collected quite punctually, as the law compelled their attendance, and there was a heavy fine for any one that rode fast to meeting. The sexton called upon the minister and escorted him to church in the same fashion that the Sheriff now conducts the Judge into our State Courts.

There were few pews in the churches, and the congregation had places assigned them upon the rude benches, at the annual town meeting, according to their age, importance, and social standing. A person was fined if he occupied the seat of another. Our local histories reveal that pride, envy, and jealousy, were active passions among the men of olden times, and it was a delicate and difficult business to "seat the meeting-house," as it was quaintly called.

Many of the early churches of New England had two clergymen — one, who was called the pastor; the other, the teacher. The congregation assembled at an early hour — never later than nine o'clock. After prayer, a chapter from the Bible was read by one of the ministers, and expounded at length. In many of the churches, however, the Bible was not read at all, and it took years of agitation to carry that innovation. A psalm in metre was next sung, which was dictated line by line to the congregation. This service was usually performed by one of the deacons. The preacher did not take part in the introductory services.

The baptisms, cases of church discipline and collections, always took place in the afternoon. The "long" prayer usually occupied from an hour to an hour and a half, and many of the sermons of this period make from a hundred to a hundred and fifty pages. There was a contribution every Sunday, preceded by an appeal from one of the deacons. The boxes were not carried around, but the congregation arose and proceeded to the deacon's seat, and deposited their offerings. The magistrates and "brief gentlemen" walked up first, the elders next, and then followed the "common people."

The trials of ecclesiastical offenders, at the close of the services, often afforded much excitement and amusement; for some offences a particular dress was worn, and the "confession" of the offender was listened to with much interest. Oftentimes the public services were continued until after sunset. After the benediction, the ministers passed out of the church, bowing to people on both sides of the aisle, as they all sat in silence until the clergymen and their families had gone out. Few persons, we imagine, would be willing to go back to these Sunday ceremonies of the Puritan Sabbath.

CHAPTER XIII.

1695 to 1700.

IN the latter part of the preceding chapter, we omitted matters of the gravest importance, in order to give a connected account of the locating and building of the second meeting-house in the town; and we therefore return to the record of 1695, to complete our history of events, during the period mentioned.

The tomahawk and the scalping knife were not yet laid aside, and the frontier towns continued to be laid under tribute for victims to satiate savage vengeance.

The first appearance of the Indians this season, (1695) was at Exeter, where two persons were killed, July 7. The next was at Billerica, August 5, when ten were killed and five carried away captive. About the same time, two persons were wounded in this town,^o and two boys were captured. The following account of the latter, we copy from *Mirick*:—

“Early in the fall, a party of Indians appeared in the northerly part of the town, where they surprised and made prisoners of Isaac Bradley, aged fifteen, and Joseph Whittaker, aged eleven, who were at work in the open fields near Joseph Bradley’s house.† The Indians instantly retreated with their prisoners, without committing any further violence, and pursued their journey through the wilderness until they arrived at their homes, on the shores of the Winnipisogee. Isaac, says tradition, was rather small in stature, but full of vigor, and very active; and he certainly possessed more shrewdness than most of the boys of that age. But Joseph was a large, overgrown boy, and exceedingly clumsy in his movements.

“Immediately after their arrival at the Lake, the two boys were placed in an Indian family, consisting of the man, his squaw, and two or three children. While they were in this situation, they soon became so well

^o *Belknap*. The persons here alluded to were, without doubt, two children of Abraham Whittaker, as may be seen from the following extract from the record of March 6, 1703:—

“At the motion of Capt. Saml Ayer, voted that the present selectmen on the Town’s cost pay Doctr Bradstreet for what he did for Abraham Whittaker’s children towards their cure; and also to pay John Stephens sen. for digging a grave for some of the said Whittaker’s family, which were killed by the Indians.”

The digging of the grave was probably for Whittaker’s wife, Hannah, who was killed by the Indians July 18, 1692.

† Bradley lived on the Parsonage Road, near the northerly brook. Whittaker lived nearly due west from Bradley’s, on the Derry Road, but was at the time with Isaac Bradley, at the place above mentioned.

acquainted with the language, that they learned from the occasional conversations carried on in their presence, between their master and the neighboring Indians of the same tribe, that they intended to carry them to Canada, the following spring. This discovery was very afflicting to them. If their designs were carried into execution, they knew that there would be but little chance for them to escape; and from that time the active mind of Isaac was continually planning a mode to effect it. A deep and unbroken wilderness, pathless mountains, and swollen and almost impassable rivers, lay between them and their beloved homes; and the boys feared, if they were carried still further northward, that they should never again hear the kind voice of a father, or feel the fervent kiss of an affectionate mother, or the fond embrace of a beloved sister. They feared, should they die in a strange land, that there would be none to close their eyes — none to shed for them the tear of affection — none to place the green turf on their graves — and none who would fondly treasure up their memories.

Such were the melancholy thoughts of the young boys, and they determined to escape before their masters started with them for Canada. The winter came with its snow and wind — the spring succeeded, with its early buds and flowers, and its pleasant south wind — and still they were prisoners. Within that period, Isaac was brought nigh to the grave — a burning fever had raged in his veins, and for many days he languished on a bed of sickness; but by the care of the squaw, his mistress, who treated them both with considerable kindness, he recovered. Again he felt a strong desire to escape, which increased with his strength; and in April he matured a plan for that purpose. He appointed a night to put it in execution, without informing his companion, till the day previous, when he told him of his intentions. Joseph wished to accompany him; to this Isaac demurred, and said to him, "I'm afraid you won't wake." Joseph promised that he would, and at night they laid down in their master's wigwam, in the midst of his family. Joseph soon fell asleep, and began to snore lustily; but there was no sleep for Isaac — his strong desire to escape — the fear that he should not succeed in his attempt, and of the punishment that would doubtless be inflicted if he did not — and the danger, hunger and fatigue that awaited him, all were vividly painted in his imagination, and kept sleep or even drowsiness far from him. His daring attempt was environed with darkness and danger — he often revolved it in his mind, yet his resolution remained unshaken. At length the midnight came, and its holy stillness rested on the surrounding forest; — it passed — and slowly and cautiously he arose. All was silent save the

deep drawn breath of the savage sleepers. The voice of the wind was scarcely audible on the hills, and the moon, at times, would shine brightly through the scattered clouds, and silver the broad lake, as though the robe of an angel had fallen on its sleeping waters.

Isaac stepped softly and tremblingly over the tawny bodies, lest they should awake and discover his design, and secured his master's fire-works, and a portion of his moose-meat and bread; these he carried to a little distance from the wigwam, and concealed them in a clump of bushes. He then returned, and bending over Joseph, who had, all this time, been snoring in his sleep, carefully shook him. Joseph, more asleep than awake, turned partly over, and asked aloud, "what do you want?" This egregious blunder alarmed Isaac, and he instantly laid down in his proper place, and began to snore as loudly as any of them. Soon as his alarm had somewhat subsided, he again arose, and listened long for the heavy breath of the sleepers. He determined to fly from his master, before the morning dawned. Perceiving that they all slept, he resolved to make his escape, without again attempting to awake Joseph, lest, by his thoughtlessness, he should again put him in jeopardy. He then arose and stepped softly out of the wigwam, and walked slowly and cautiously from it, until he had nearly reached the place where his provisions were concealed, when he heard footsteps approaching hastily behind him. With a beating heart he looked backward, and saw Joseph, who had aroused himself, and finding that his companion had gone, concluded to follow. They then secured the fire-works and provisions, and without chart or compass, struck into the woods in a southerly direction, aiming for the distant settlement of Haverhill. They ran at the top of their speed until day-light appeared, when they concealed themselves in a hollow log, deeming it too dangerous to continue their journey in the day time.

Their master, when he awoke in the morning, was astonished to find his prisoners had escaped, and immediately collected a small party with their dogs, and pursued them. The dogs struck upon the tracks, and in a short time came up to the log where the boys were concealed, when they made a stand, and began a loud barking. The boys trembled with fear lest they should be re-captured, and perhaps fall beneath the tomahawk of their enraged master. In this situation, they hardly knew what was best to do — but they spoke kindly to the dogs, who knew their voices, ceased barking, and wagged their tails with delight. They then threw before them all the moose-meat they had taken from the wigwam, which the dogs instantly seized, and began to devour it as though they highly relished so choice a breakfast. While they were thus employed, the Indians made

their appearance, and passed close to the log in which they were concealed, without noticing the employment of their dogs. The boys saw them as they passed, and were nearly breathless with anxiety. They followed them with their eyes till they were out of sight, and hope again took possession of their bosoms. The dogs soon devoured their meat, and trotted after their masters.

They lay in the log during the day, and at night pursued their journey, taking a different route from the one travelled by the Indians. They made only one or two meals on their bread, and after that was gone they were obliged to subsist on roots and buds. On the second day they concealed themselves, but travelled the third night and day without resting; and on that day, towards night, they luckily killed a pigeon and a turtle, a part of which they ate raw, not daring to build a fire, lest they should be discovered. The fragments of their unsavory meal they carried with them, and ate of them as their hunger required, making their dessert on such roots as they happened to find. They continued their journey night and day as fast as their wearied and mangled legs would carry them. On the sixth day, they struck into an Indian path and followed it till night, when they suddenly came within sight of an Indian encampment, saw their savage enemy seated around the fire, and distinctly heard their voices. This alarmed them exceedingly; and wearied and exhausted as they were, they had rather seek an asylum in the wide forest, and die within the shadow of its trees, than trust to the kindness of foes whose bosoms had never been moved by its silent workings. They precipitately fled, fearing lest they should be discovered and pursued, and all night retraced their steps. The morning came and found them seated side by side on the bank of a small stream, their feet torn and covered with blood, and each of them weeping bitterly over his misfortunes. Thus far their hearts had been filled with courage, and their hopes grew, and were invigorated with the pleasant thoughts of home, as they flitted vividly across their minds. But now their courage had fled, and their hopes had given way to despair. They thought of the green fields in which they had so often played — of the tall trees whose branches had so often overshadowed them — and of the hearth around which they had delighted to gather with their brothers and sisters, on a winter's evening, and listen to a story told by their parents. They thought of these, yea, of more — but as things from which they were forever parted — as things that had once given them happiness, but had forever passed away.

They were, however, unwilling to give up all further exertions. The philosophy of Isaac taught him that the stream must eventually lead to a

large body of water, and after refreshing themselves with a few roots, they again commenced their journey, and followed its windings. They continued to follow it during that day and a part of the night. On the eighth morning, Joseph found himself completely exhausted; his limbs were weak and mangled, his body was emaciated, and despair was the mistress of his bosom. Isaac endeavored to encourage him to proceed; he dug roots for him to eat, and brought water to quench his thirst — but all was in vain. He laid himself down on the bank of the stream, in the shade of the budding trees, to die, far from his friends, with none for companions but the howling beasts of the forest. Isaac left him to his fate, and with a bleeding heart, slowly and wearily pursued his journey. He had travelled but a short distance when he came to a newly raised building. Rejoiced at his good fortune, and believing that inhabitants were nigh, he immediately retraced his steps, and soon found Joseph in the same place and position in which he left him. He told him what he had seen, talked very encouragingly, and after rubbing his limbs a long while, he succeeded in making him stand on his feet. They then started together, Isaac part of the time leading him by the hand, and part of the time carrying him on his back; and in this manner, with their naked limbs mangled and wearied with travelling, their strength exhausted by sickness, and their bodies emaciated almost to skeletons, they arrived at Saco fort, sometime in the following night.

Thus, on the ninth night, they arrived among their countrymen, after travelling over an immense forest, subsisting on a little bread, on buds and berries, and on one raw turtle and a pigeon, and without seeing the face of a friend, or warming themselves over a fire. Isaac, soon as he had regained his strength, started for Haverhill, and arrived safely at his father's dwelling, who had heard nothing from him since he was taken, and expected never to see him again. But Joseph had more to suffer — he was seized with a raging fever soon as he reached the fort, and was for a long time confined to his bed. His father, when Isaac returned, went to Saco, and brought home his long lost son, soon as his health permitted."

On the 7th of October, of the same fall, one person was wounded, and nine taken captive, at Newbury. This was the last Indian depredation of that year, and for the next eight months the inhabitants of the vicinity suffered no molestation by them, although, with the opening of spring, they had every reason to fear fresh incursions. But the spring wore away, and summer came again, with no signs of the enemy. The settlers now began to hope that they would once more be permitted to rest in peace, and suffered their watchfulness and vigilance to relax. This was appa-

rently just what the cunning savages were waiting for, and well did they improve their opportunity. On the 26th of June, a large party fell upon Portsmouth, killed twenty-four, wounded one, and captured four. A few days afterward, they assaulted Amesbury, killed three persons, burned three houses, and, with hellish barbarity, tortured to death Captain Samuel Foot. On the 26th of July, Dover was attacked, three persons killed, three wounded, and three taken captive. August 13th, two men, — "Old John Hoyt," so called, and a young man named Peters, — both of Amesbury, were killed by the Indians on the road between Haverhill and Andover.

Two days afterward, Jonathan Haynes of this town, and his four children, Mary, Thomas, Jonathan, and Joseph, were captured.^o The children were in a field near Bradley's mills, picking beans, and the father was reaping near by. The Indians immediately started with their captives for Pennacook, (Concord, N. H.) When they arrived, they divided their prisoners, and separated, — one party taking the father and Joseph, and the other the remaining children. The first party started for their homes, in Maine, where they soon arrived. Their prisoners had remained with them but a short time, when they improved an opportunity to escape. After travelling two or three days, with scarce anything to satisfy their craving appetites, the old man sunk down exhausted. Finding his efforts to encourage his father were vain, the son started onward, and soon after coming to the top of a hill, he climbed a tall tree, to see if he could discover any signs of civilization. But no such joyful sight was his. After the first bitter gush of grief had passed, and while he yet hesitated which course to take, his quick ear caught the sound of a sawmill! He listened. There was no mistaking that familiar sound, and, with a glad heart and bounding step, he followed it, and soon found himself at the settlement of Saco!

His story was soon told, and with ample assistance, and a bottle of milk, he hastened back to his father, whom he found as he had left him, — laid down to die, without the hope or expectation of ever again looking upon the face of a friend. The milk, and the good news, revived him, and, with considerable difficulty, he reached Saco. Here they remained until their strength was sufficiently recruited, when they started for Haverhill, where they soon arrived without further difficulty.

^o *Mirick* is incorrect in giving the names of the children. The children of Jonathan and Sarah Haynes were Mary, born November 14, 1677; Thomas, born May 14, 1680; Jonathan, born September 3, 1684; Margaret, born March 3, 1687; Joseph, born August 4, 1689; Ruth, born February 10, 1692; Elizabeth, born March 23, 1697.

The party which took the other children, went to Canada, where they were sold to the French.

As the tradition is, that Mary was carried to Canada on a hand-sled, we presume the Indians tarried at Pennacook until winter. Mary was redeemed the following winter, with one hundred pounds of tobacco. She afterward married John Preston, of Andover, and moved to Connecticut. She was living in Windham, (Conn.) October 12, 1730, as appears by her signature to a deed of that date. The boys never returned. A deed of 1731 speaks of them as still in Canada. In one of the companies in the Canada expedition of 1757, were three brothers named Haynes, from this town. While in Canada, they had leave granted to make search for the captive brothers, *and they found them*. They had lost their mother language completely, and could only converse with their English relatives, through an interpreter. One of them enquired about his sister, who had one of her fingers accidentally cut off by a young lad, the son of a neighbor, a short time before her capture. He recollected the circumstance, and asked if she was still living. Neither of them could be persuaded to return with their relatives.^o

Thus far, Haverhill had been spared the horrors of a general, or extensive attack. Its losses and sufferings had been principally from small parties of the enemy, who were continually prowling around the frontier, watching for opportunities to harrass, rob, murder, and capture the inhabitants. But its hour for severer trials was now near at hand.

The 15th of March, 1697, witnessed one of the bloodiest forays of the whole war, and this town was the victim. On that day, a party of about twenty Indians came suddenly, and without warning, upon the western part of the town, and, with the swiftness of the whirlwind, made their attack, and as suddenly disappeared.

The first house attacked was that of Thomas Duston.† Of this attack, and the heroic exploits of Duston and his wife, there have been various accounts published, and traditions handed down, which, though agreeing

^o We have these interesting traditinary incidents, from Guy C. Haynes, Esq., of East Boston, a native of Haverhill.

† This name, at the present time, is written in various ways. It was originally written *Durston*, and was changed to *Duston* about the time of the above-named Thomas Durston. This is shown, not only by our Town Records, but by Duston's petition to the General Court, in June, 1697. In the heading of his petition, (which is not in his own hand writing,) the name is written *Durston*, and it is so written in the subsequent proceedings on the petition. But his signature to the petition is "Du(r)stan," (or perhaps Du(r)stein). The letter "r" must have been interpolated subsequent to his first signing the petition, and we think it most probable that it was done by Duston himself, so as to make his signature agree with the name as given in the heading of the petition. We have adopted *Duston* in this work, because it is so written, in almost every instance, in our Town Records.

in the main, disagree somewhat in the detail. Of them all, we think the account given by Rev. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, is the most reliable. Mather heard the story directly from the lips of Mrs. Duston, when she was in Boston, (soon after her return from captivity,) and published it very soon after. The following is his version^o:—

"On March 15, 1697, the *Salvages* made a Descent upon the Skirts of *Haverhill*, Murdering and Captivng about Thirty-nine Persons, and Burning about half a Dozen Houses. In this Broil, one *Hannah Dustan* having lain-in about a Week,† attended with her Nurse, *Mary Neff*,‡ a Widow, a Body of terrible *Indians* drew near unto the House where she lay, with Designs to carry on their Bloody Devastations. Her Husband hastened from his Employments abroad unto the relief of his Distressed Family;§ and first bidding *Seven* || of his *Eight* Children (which were from *Two* to *Seventeen*. years of age) to get away as fast as they could unto some Garrison in the Town, he went in to inform his Wife of the horrible Distress come upon them. E'er she could get up, the fierce *Indians* were got so near, that utterly despairing to do her any Service, he ran out after his Children; resolving that on the Horse which he had with him, he would Ride away with *that* which he should in this Extremity find his Affections to pitch most upon, and leave the rest unto the Care of the Divine Providence. He overtook his Children about Forty Rod from his Door; but then such was the *Agony* of his Parental Affections, that he found it impossible for him to distinguish any one of them from the rest; wherefore he took up a Courageous Resolution to Live & Die with them all.¶ A party

^o We copy directly from the first edition of the *Magnalia*, published in London, 1702,—only five years subsequent to the exploits it describes. The notes are ours.

† Her babe was born March 9th, 1696-7.

‡ She was the daughter of George Ootile, and married William Neff; her husband went after the army, and died at Pemaquid, in February, 1688. Neff lived on the farm now owned by William Swasey. It was given to Mrs. Neff, by her father.

§ "Her Husband was at work in the field, and seeing the Enemy at a distance, ran home."—*Neale's Hist. New Eng., London, 1747.*

|| Their names were, Hannah, born August 23, 1678; Elizabeth, born May 7, 1680; Thomas, born January 6, 1683; Nathaniel, born May 16, 1685; Sarah, born July 4, 1688; Abigail, born October —, 1690; Jonathan, born January 15, 1691-2; Timothy, born September 14, 1694. Besides these, they had had Mary, born November 4, 1681; died October 18, 1696; John, born February 2, 1686; died January 23, 1690; Mehitable, (twin sister to Timothy,) died December 16, 1694; and Martha, (the babe killed,) born 1696-7. They afterward had Lydia, born October 4, 1698.

¶ The following beautiful lines, entitled *THE FATHER'S CHOICE*, are from the pen of Mrs. Sarah J. Hale:—

Now fly, as flies the rushing wind—
Urge, urge, thy lagging steed!
The savage yell is fierce behind,
And life is on thy speed.
And from those dear ones make thy choice;
The group he wildly eyed,

When "father!" burst from every voice,
And "child!" his heart replied.

There's one that now can share his toil,
And one he meant for fame,
And one that wears her mother's smile,
And one that bears her name.

of *Indians* came up with him ; and now though they. Fired at him, and he Fired at them,^o yet he Manfully kept at the Reer of his *Little Army* of Unarmed Children, while they marched off with the Pace of a child of Five Years Old ; until, by the Singular Providence of God, he arrived safe with them all unto a Place of Safety about a Mile or two from his House.†

And one will prattle on his knee,
Or slumber on his breast;
And one whose joys of infancy,
Are still by smiles expressed.

They feel no fear while he is near;
He'll shield them from the foe;
But oh! his ear must thrill to hear
Their shriekings, should he go.

In vain his quivering lips would speak,
No words his thoughts allow;
There's burning tears upon his cheek—
Death's marble on his brow.

And twice he smote his clenched hand—
Then bade his children fly!
And turned, and e'en that savage band
Cowered at his wrathful eye.

Swift as the lightning winged with death,
Flashed forth the quivering flame!
Their fiercest warrior bows beneath
The father's deadly aim.

Ambition goads the conqueror on,
Hate points the murderer's brand—
But love and duty, these alone
Can nerve the good man's hand.

Not the wild cries, that rend the skies,
His heart of purpose move;
He saves his children, or he dies
The sacrifice of love.

The hero may resign the field,
The coward murd'rer flee;
He cannot fear, he will not yield,
That strikes, sweet love for thee.

They come, they come—he heeds no cry,
Save the soft child-like wail,
"O father save!" "My children, fly!"
Were mingled on the gale.

And firmer still he drew his breath,
And sterner flash'd his eye.
As fast he huris the leaden death,
Still shouting, "children fly!"

No shadow on his brow appeared,
Nor tremor shook his frame,
Save when at intervals he heard
Some trembler flap his name.

In vain the foe, those fiends unchained,
Like famished tigers chafe,
The sheltered roof is near'd, is gain'd
All, all the dear one's safe!

o "The *Indians* pursued him all the while, but he kept in the rear of his little Flock and when any of them came within reach of his Gun, he presented it at them, which made them retreat."—*Neal*.

"A small party of the *Indians* pursued Mr. Dustin, as he fled from the house, and soon overtook him and his flying children. They did not, however, approach very near, for they saw his determination, and feared the vengeance of a father,—but skulked behind the trees and fences, and fired upon him and his little company. Mr. Dustin dismounted from his horse, placed himself in the rear of his children, and returned the fire of the enemy often and with good success. In this manner he retreated for more than a mile, alternately encouraging his terrified charge, and loading and firing his gun until he lodged them safely in a forsaken house. The *Indians*, finding that they could not conquer him, returned to their companions, expecting, no doubt, that they should there find victims, on which they might exercise their savage cruelty.

It is truly astonishing that no one of that little company was killed or wounded. When we reflect upon the skill of the *Indians* as marksmen, upon their great superiority of strength, and the advantage they possessed in skulking behind every fence and tree, it cannot but be confessed that the arm of the Almighty was outstretched for their preservation. Not a ball from the enemy took effect; but, so surely, says tradition, as Mr. Dustin raised his gun to his eye, so surely some one of the enemy would waver in his blood."

—*Mirick*.

We feel confident that Neal is right, and that Dustin *did not fire his gun*. Had he done so, his pursuers could and would have rushed upon him before he could possibly have re-loaded, and have made sure work of him. But by making a barricade of his horse, and reserving his fire—bringing his trusty gun quickly to bear upon the blood-thirsty, but cowardly red devils, as any of them chanced to peep from behind a tree or wall—he took the most reasonable and effective method for keeping them at bay.

† Precisely where, and what, this "place of safety" was, is a question of no small interest. *Mirick* says, that Dustin ordered his children "to fly in an opposite direction from that in which the danger was approaching," and that he finally "lodged them safely in a forsaken house." The first appears reasonable, but not the last. A "forsaken house" would have afforded no safer shelter than his own roof, from which he had already fled. Again, the tradition seems always to have been that the place reached was a *garrison*, (Vide Mather, Neal, and others,) and this appears to harmonize with the fact that the garri-

But his house must in the meantime have more dismal *Tragedies* acted at it. The *Nurse* trying to escape with the New-born Infant, fell into the Hands of the Formidable *Salvages*; and those furious Tawnies coming into the House, bid poor *Dustan* to rise immediately. Full of Astonishment she did so; and sitting down in the Chimney with an heart full of most fearful *Expectation*, she saw the raging *Dragons* rifle all that they could carry away, and set the house on Fire. About Nineteen or Twenty *Indians* now led these away, with about half a Score other *English Captives*; but ere they had gone many Steps, they dash'd out the Brains of the *Infant* against a Tree^o; and several of the other *Captives*, as they began to Tire in their sad *Journey*, were soon sent unto their *Long Home*; the *Salvages* would presently Bury their Hatchets in their Brains, and leave their Carcases on the Ground for Birds and Beasts to feed upon. However, *Dustan* (with her *Nurse*) notwithstanding her present Condition,† Travelled that Night about a Dozen Miles, and then kept up with their New Masters in a long Travel of an Hundred and Fifty Miles, more or less;‡ within a few Days Ensuing, without any sensible Damage in their Health, from the Hardships of their *Travel*, their *Lodging*, their *Diet*, and their many other Difficulties. These Two Poor Women were now in the hands of those whose *Tender Mercies* are *Cruelties*; but the good God, who hath all *Hearts in his own Hands*, heard the sighs of these *Prisoners*, and gave them to find unexpected Favor from the *Master* who laid claim unto them. That *Indian Family* consisted of Twelve Persons; Two Stout

sons were expressly designed for, — were always considered, and were in reality, — *places of safety*. As the *Indians* must have attacked from the north, or west, *Duston* would naturally flee toward the south, or east, — in which direction were all the *garrisons* then in the town. And, whether he lived on the easterly or westerly side of Little River at the time, the nearest garrisons were those of Onisephorus Marsh, (about half-way up "Pecker's Hill,") and Jonathan Emerson, (on the west corner of Winter and Harrison Streets). To one of these, therefore, he must have directed his flight. Among all the versions of the tradition which have reached us, we find but one which unequivocally designates the place reached, and that one points to the garrison of Mr. Marsh. This tradition comes to us through Moses Merrill, Esq., (of which more anon,) and we have no doubt of its truthfulness.

• Mirick says, "We have been informed by a gentleman, that he heard his grandmother who lived to an advanced age, often relate this fact, and that she had frequently ate apples that grew on the same tree. We have also been informed by an aged female, that she had often heard her mother tell of eating of the fruit of the same tree." All the traditions which locate this tree at all, agree in locating it on the west side of Little River.

† Mrs. *Dustin* was barely allowed time to dress herself, and was even compelled to start on the long journey, at that inclement season, with but one shoe.

‡ The home of the Indian who claimed Mrs. *Duston* and Mrs. *Neff* as his captives, was a small island at the junction of the Contwocook and Merrimack rivers, a few miles above Concord, N. H. To this place they were taken. The island has long since been known as *Dustin's Island*. The Northern Railroad now passes directly across it. We agree with the compiler of the excellent *History of Concord, N. H.*, (Dr. Bouton,) that a monument to Mrs. *Duston* should be erected on the above island; — that being the scene of her remarkable exploit.

Men, Three Women, and Seven Children; and for the Shame of many an *English Family*, that has the Character of Prayerless upon it, I must now Publish what these poor Women assure me: 'Tis this, in Obedience to the instructions which the *French* have given them, they would have *Prayers* in their Family no less than Thrice every Day; in the *Morning*, at *Noon*, and in the *Evening*; nor would they ordinarily let their Children *Eat or Sleep* without first saying their *Prayers*. Indeed these *Idolators* were like the rest of their whiter Brethren *Persecutors*, and would not endure that these poor Women should retire to their *English Prayers*, if they could hinder them.^o Nevertheless, the poor Women had nothing but Fervant Prayers to make their Lives Comfortable or Tolerable; and by being daily sent out upon Business, they had Opportunities together and asunder to do like another *Hannah*, in Pouring out their Souls before the Lord: Nor did their praying Friends among our selves forbear to *Pour out* Supplications for them. Now they could not observe it without some Wonder, that their *Indian* Master sometimes when he saw them dejected would say unto them, *What need you Trouble your self? If your God will have you delivered, you shall be so!* And it seems our God would have it so to be. This *Indian Family* was now Travelling with these Two Captive Women (and an *English Youth* taken from *Worcester* a year and a half before,) unto a Rendezvous of *Salvages*, which they call a *Town*, somewhere beyond *Penacook*;† and they still told these poor Women, that when they came to this Town they must be Stript, and Scourg'd and Run the *Gantlet* through the whole *Army of Indians*. They said this was the *Fashion* when the Captives first came to a Town; and they derided some of the Faint-hearted *English*, which they said, fainted and swoon'd away under the *Torments* of this Discipline.‡ But on *April 30*,§ while they were yet, it may be, about an Hundred and Fifty Miles from the *Indian Town*, a little before break of Day, when the whole Crew was in a *Dead Sleep*, (Reader, see if it prove not so!) one of these Women took up a Resolution

^o Their master, some years before, had lived in the family of Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, of Lancaster, and he told Mrs. Duston that "when he prayed the English way he thought that it was good, but now he found the French way better,"—*Sewell's Diary*.

† They had not yet started for the rendezvous, but the captives were informed that they would soon start. The place of destination was Canada, where the Indian expected to obtain from the French a handsome sum for his captives.

‡ The gauntlet consisted of two files of Indians, of both sexes, and of all ages, containing all that could be mustered in the village; and the unhappy prisoners were obliged to run between them, when they were scoffed at and beaten by each one as they passed, and were sometimes marks at which the younger Indians threw their hatchets. This cruel custom was often practised by many of the tribes, and not unfrequently the poor prisoners sunk beneath it.

§ This would make their stay at the island about five weeks, or a little more.

to imitate the Action of *Jael* upon *Sisera*,^o and being where she had not her own *Life* secured by any *Law* unto her, she thought she was not forbidden by any *Law* to take away the *Life* of the *Murderers*, by whom her Child had been Butchered. She heartened the *Nurse* and the *Youth* to assist her in this Enterprise; and all furnishing themselves with *Hatchets* for the purpose, they struck such home Blows upon the Heads of their *Sleeping Oppressors*, that ere they could any of them struggle into any effectual resistance, at the Feet of those poor Prisoners, *they bow'd, they fell, they lay down; at their Feet, they bowed, they fell; where they bowed, there they fell down Dead.* Only one *Squaw* escaped sorely Wounded† from them in the Dark; and one *Boy*, whom they reserved asleep, intending to bring him away with them, suddenly wak'd and scuttled away from this Desolation.‡ But cutting off the *Scalps* of these *Ten Wretches*, they came off,§ and received *Fifty Pounds* from the General Assembly of the

^o Mrs. Duston planned the mode of escape, and prevailed upon her nurse and the boy to join her. The Indians kept no watch—for the boy had lived with them so long they considered him as one of their children, and they did not expect that the women, unadvised and unaided, would attempt to escape, when success, at the best, appeared so desperate.

On the day previous, Mrs. Duston wished to learn on what part of the body the Indians struck their victims when they would despatch them suddenly, and how they took off a scalp. With this view she instructed the boy to make inquiries of one of the men. Accordingly, at a convenient opportunity, he asked one of them where he would strike a man, if he would kill him instantly, and how to take off a scalp. The man laid his finger on his temple—"strike 'em there," said he; and then instructed him how to scalp. (1) The boy then communicated his information to Mrs. Duston.

(1) Sewell's Diary, and tradition.

† She received seven hatchet wounds and was left for dead, but jumped up and ran into the thicket!—*Vide deposition of Mrs. Bradley.*

‡ Mrs. Duston killed her master, and Samuel Lennardson despatched the very Indian who told him where to strike, and how to take off a scalp! The deed was accomplished before the day began to break.

§ After performing the bloody work, Mrs. Duston gathered up what little provisions there were in the wigwam,—taking the gun of her dead master, and the tomahawk (1) with which she killed him—and, scuttling all the canoes, except one, she embarked in that, with Mrs. Neff, and Lennardson, on the waters of the Merrimack, to seek their way to Haverhill. They had not proceeded far, however, when Mrs. Duston, perceived that they had neglected to take the scalps, and fearing lest her neighbors—should she ever arrive at her home—would not credit her story, she hastened back with her companions to the scene of death, took off the scalps of the slain, and wrapped them in a piece of linen cloth (2) that was taken from her house at the time of her capture. With these bloody witnesses of their feat, they hastened again on their downward course to Haverhill.

"A long and weary journey was before them, but they commenced it with cheerful hearts, each alternately rowing and steering their little bark. Though they had escaped from the clutches of their unfeeling master, still they were surrounded with dangers. They were thinly clad—the sky was still inclement—and they were liable to be recaptured by strolling bands of Indians, or by those who would undoubtedly pursue them so soon as the squaw and the boy had reported their departure, and the terrible vengeance they had taken; and were they again made prisoners, they well knew that a speedy death would follow.

(1) This was some years after lost in the woods, near Mr. Duston's.

(2) This she afterward divided among her daughters, and a part of it is still preserved by some of their descendants.

Province, as a Recompence of their Action ; besides which, they received many *Presents of Congratulation* from their more private friends ; but none gave 'em a greater Taste of Bounty than Colonel *Nicholson*, the Governor of *Maryland*, who hearing of their Action, sent 'em a very generous token of his Favour."

After recovering from the fatigues of the journey, Mrs. Duston and her two companions, accompanied by Mr. Duston, started for Boston, where they arrived on the 21st of April. They carried with them the gun^o and tomahawk, and their ten scalps—witnesses that would not lie. Soon after their arrival, Duston presented the following petition to the General Assembly, then in session : —

"To the Right Honorable the Lieut Governor & the Great & General assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay now convened in Boston

The Humble Petition of Thomas Durstan of Haverhill Sheweth

That the wife of ye petitioner (with one Mary Neff) hath in her Late captivity among the Barbarous Indians, been disposed & assisted by heaven to do an extraordinary action, in the just slaughter of so many of the Barbarians, as would by the law of the Province which—a few months ago, have entitled the actors unto considerable recompence from the Publick.

That tho the——of that good Law——no claims to any such consideration from the publick, yet your petitioner humbly——that the merit of the action still remains the same ; & it seems a matter of universal desire thro the whole Province that it should not pass unrecompensed.

And that your petioner having lost his estate in that calamity wherein his wife was carried into her captivity render him the fitter object for what

This array of danger, however, did not appall them, for home was their beacon light, and the thoughts of their fire-sides, nerved their hearts. They continued to drop silently down the river, keeping a good look-out for strolling Indians ; and in the night two of them only slept, while the third managed the boat. In this manner they pursued their journey, until they arrived safely, with their trophies, at their homes, totally unexpected by their mourning friends, who supposed they had been butchered by their ruthless conquerors. It must truly have been an affecting meeting for Mrs. Duston, who supposed that all she loved—all she held dear on earth—were laid in the silent tomb."—*Mirick*.

^o This gun continued in possession of the male line to the year 1850, when it was presented to the *Dustin Monument Association* of this town, by Mrs. Lucia H. Dustin, widow of Thomas Dustin, of Henniker, N. H. At a meeting of the Directors of the Association, held July 9th, 1850, it was

"Resolved, That the Directors of the Dustin Monument Association accept with a lively sensibility the donation of the musket, as an interesting memorial of the perils and valor of the pioneer settlers of Haverhill.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be presented to Mrs. Lucia H. Dustin, of Henniker, N. H., for the gift of this valued family relic.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be presented to Mr. George W. Chase for his disinterested efforts to procure the musket for the Association.

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to transmit copies of these votes to Mrs. Dustin, and to Mr. Chase."

consideration the public Bounty shall judge proper for what hath been herein done, of some consequence, not only unto the persons more immediately delivered, but also unto the Generall Interest

Wherefore humbly Requesting a favorable Regard on this occasion

Your Petitioner shall pray &c

Thomas Du(r)stun."

The petition of Duston was read in the House of Representatives, June 8th, when it was "voted that the above named Thomas Durstan in behalf of his wife shall be allowed & paid out of the publick Treasury Twenty five pounds; & Mary Neff the sum of Twelve pounds Ten Shillings, and the young man (named Samuel Lenerson) concerned in the same action the like sum of Twelve pounds Ten Shillings."

Hannah Duston was the daughter of Michael and Hannah (Webster) Emerson, and the eldest of fifteen children. She was born December 23, 1657, and was married to Thomas Duston December 3d, 1677, by whom she had thirteen children.^o The time of her death, and also that of her husband, is uncertain. There is a tradition, entitled to credit, that Mrs. Duston survived her husband some years, and after his death went to reside with her son, Jonathan, who lived on the south west part of the original Thomas Duston farm. This tradition is repeated to us by Moses Merrill, Esq., now above eighty years of age, and a man of unquestioned veracity, who received it, when quite a lad, from the lips of the mother of Joseph Ayer, *then about ninety years of age*. Mrs. Ayer must have been born about the year 1700. She spoke of the *fact*, (not tradition) that Mrs. Duston resided with her son, after her husband's death, and was buried from that son's house. His house stood about twenty feet north-west of the present foundation of the "Dustin Monument." Thomas Duston was living in March, 1729, and also his son, Thomas, Jr.† Mrs. Ayer must have been about thirty years of age when Duston himself died, and was certainly old enough to remember distinctly the circumstances she related to our informant.‡

The favorite saying of an esteemed friend, — that "the true heroes are not always those who receive the most applause," — seems to us to be especially applicable to the case of Thomas and Hannah Duston. In every version of the story which has met our eye, or ear, Thomas Duston

^o For their names, see note to a preceding page.

† Vide Proprietor's Records. Thomas, Sen., was moderator of most of their meetings from 1715, to January, 1721-2.

‡ Mrs. Ayer was the wife of Peter Ayer. Her maiden name was Lydia Perley. The date of her marriage is not given in the Town Records. Her first child was born October 26, 1721. The sixth, Joseph, was born in 1737.

has been made to occupy a subordinate position to that of his wife. Indeed, in many cases, his name, and his heroic defence of his children, would seem to have been introduced merely to identify the wife and mother, and to add an accessory coloring to the picture of her exploit. But, when placed side by side with his, the exploit of his wife, extraordinary as it certainly was, seems to us as the light of the moon to the brilliant rays of the sun.

Hannah Duston, to escape from a cruel captivity, — not from death, not from violation even,^o — and to revenge the death of her child; *with two strong arms to assist her*, courageously planned the destruction, and boldly attacked, twelve *sleeping savages, seven of whom were children, and but two of whom were men*. It was not with her a question of life and death, but of liberty, and *revenge*.

Thomas Duston, with the question of life or death for himself, and a cruel captivity for his children, distinctly before him, heroically staked his life *for his children*! It was a "father's love" that nerved his arm, and not *revenge*.

While, therefore, we would not, wittingly, detract one jot or tittle from the full credit due the mother, for her extraordinary feat, we claim for the pure and lofty heroism of the father, a larger share of the world's applause than has as yet been awarded him.

Dr. Dwight, in speaking of Thomas Duston, makes use of the following truthful language: —

"A finer succession of scenes for the pencil was hardly ever presented to the eye, than is furnished by the efforts of this gallant man, with their interesting appendages. The artist must be destitute indeed of talents who could not engross every heart, as well as every eye, by exhibitions of this husband and father, flying to rescue his wife, her infant, and her nurse, from the approaching horde of savages; attempting on his horse to select from his flying family the child, which he was least able to spare, and unable to make the selection; facing, in their rear, the horde of hell-hounds; alternately, and sternly, retreating behind his inestimable charge, and fronting the enemy again; receiving and returning their fire; and presenting himself, equally, as a barrier against murderers, and a shelter to the flight of innocence and anguish. In the background of some or other of these pictures might be exhibited, with powerful impression, the kindled dwelling; the sickly mother; the terrified nurse, with the new

^o The Indians seldom killed, and never violated their female prisoners, when once captured. They were either sold to the French, or kept for ransom.

born infant in her arms; and the furious natives, surrounding them, driving them forward, and displaying the trophies of savage victory, and the insolence of savage triumph."

We regret that we are unable to trace more fully the history of this heroic man.^o We cannot even say from whence he came. The name first appears in our town records among those who built cottages between the years 1669, and 1675; next we find it in a deed from Thomas Duston to Peter Green, in 1675-6; then among the soldiers in King Phillip's War, (August, 1676); then in the list of cottages built between January, 1675, and February, 1677; then the marriage of Thomas Duston and Hannah Emerson, in December, 1677; and then we find, among the names of those who built cottages between February, 1677, and January, 1679, that of "Thomas Duston 2d." The name is first found in the record of our town meetings, under date of June 13, 1682.

We think it probable that Duston came from the vicinity of Dover, N.H., as we find the name of "*Thomas Durston*" among the signers of a letter to the governor of Massachusetts, dated *Northam*, (Dover) March 4, 1640. They subscribe themselves;—"We, the inhabitants of Northam." We also find the name "*Tho Durston*" among those admitted freemen at Kittery, in November, 1652. It is possible, but hardly probable, that the latter was the Thomas Duston of this town. If so, he must have been at least forty-six years of age at his marriage, — (after which he had a family of thirteen children, — the last born when the father was at least sixty-eight years of age,) — and at least one hundred years of age at his death. All this is possible, but, taken together, hardly probable. It is certain, however, that the Thomas Duston of *Northam*, and the Thomas Duston of 1697, could not have been one and the same person.

A comparison of dates and incidents in the meagre record before us, we think favor the supposition that the Thomas Duston of 1675, and the Thomas Duston 2d, of 1677, were father and son. The former may have been the Thomas Duston of 1640, and who removed to Haverhill between 1669 and 1675, with his son, and either died or removed from the town subsequent to 1677.†

^o The following is from *Mirick*:—"Thomas Dustin was a man of considerable ingenuity, and tradition says that he had a "vast deal of mother wit;" that he possessed unshaken courage and the purest and loftiest feelings of affection, cannot be doubted. It is said that he made his own almanacks, and furthermore, that he always made them on rainy days. How true this is, we will not attempt to say. He had a grandson, Joshua, who was said to have been his counterpart. He once took it into his head to weave a bed-quilt, and succeeded in making an excellent one, consisting of as many colors as Joseph's coat. This curious relic is now preserved by his descendants."

† Since writing the above, we have examined the recently published *Genealogical Dictionary of the early Settlers of New England*, by James Savage, Boston, 1800, where we find the following:

"*Dustin, or Duston*, Josiah, of Reading 1617, had Josiah, born May 14, 1630, and perhaps others, and

As there is a wide difference of opinion as to the location of Thomas Duston's house, at the time his wife was taken by the Indians, it will doubtless be expected that reference, at least, will be made to the matter in these pages.

In March, 1675, Thomas Duston, of Haverhill, "in consideration upon exchange of land," deeded to Peter Green, forty-five acres of upland, more or less, "with the house, orchard, and purtenances." The land was bounded on the east corner by a white oak, "and so bounded on hack^o meadow highway." The northwest corner was bounded by "Spicket path."[†] This land was on the west side of Little River, but the description will not apply to any part of the "Thomas Duston farm," upon which the monument to Hannah Duston is now in course of erection.

In August, 1697, (five months *after* Mrs. Duston's capture) William Starlin, of Haverhill, deeded to Thomas Duston, in consideration of one hundred pounds, "my Ten acres of land who I purchased of ye said Town,"—lying at a place called ye fishing River neer ye house of Matthew Herriman, the bounds thereof as it is entered in ye Townes booke of record, with all ye houses, housing, mills, Damms, streams of water fences oorchards Trees wood timber and all other rights," &c.;—also, "my other Ten acres of Land adjoining to ye former which I had by grant from said Towne on condition that I and my heirs did build a Corne Mill which might be for ye use of sd Towne."[‡] (Starlin deeded it to Duston on the same condition.)[§] This land was on the *east* side of Little River, and a part of the "Duston Farm," near the northerly end of Primrose Street. It was the earliest deed to Duston of land on that side of the river. This, in our opinion, makes it *certain* that Duston did not reside on the east side of Little River when his wife was captured; and, as the deed is dated less than two months subsequent to the vote of the General Court, granting him fifty pounds for the scalps taken by his wife, it almost confirms the old and generally received tradition, that the above place was *bought with the scalp money*.

In the town records, under date of March 4, 1701–2, mention is made of "the highway that leads up to Tho Duston's Mill." This is strong

died January 16, 1672. Thomas, of Dover 1640, perhaps removed to Kittery before 1652. Thomas, of Haverhill, perhaps son of the preceding, married Hannah Emerson, December 8, 1677."

• Hawk. † Essex Reg. Deeds, book 20, p. 2.

‡ Essex Reg. Deeds, book 13, p. 43.

§ February 24, 1684, the town granted Wm. Starlin two ten acre lots. One lot was "at the Fishing River, near the saw mill path." (The lot was bounded on one side by the river); the other *adjoined* the above, and was granted "For encouragement of Wm. Starlin to set up a Corn Mill at Fishing River, neer to Robert Emerson's."—*Town Records*, Vol. 1, p. 188.

presumptive evidence, that Duston at that time resided at Fishing River. We have no doubt that he removed there soon after he purchased the place. But that he actually did, subsequently, reside there, is, we think, made clear by the following:—

In June, 1717, Thomas Dustin deeded to his son Nathaniel,—“in consideration of yt Love I bear to My Son Nathaniel Durston of ye town of Haverhill, ° ° ° ° one piece or Tract of Upland and meadow land lying and being in ye township of Haverhill aforesaid, containing twenty acres more or less, *being ye one half of my Living I formerly lived on, on ye West Side of ye Saw Mill River, and ye easterly part thereof.*”^o

In March, 1723-4, Thomas Dustin deeded to his son, Timothy Dustin, “in consideration of parental love and affection, ° ° ° ° the full possession to be given after my decease, ° ° ° ° my dwelling or mansion house Barn and Corn Mill now standing on the Fishing River;” also, “one moiety or half part of my homestead or house lott, containing twelve acres, part of which land I purchased of Wm Starling.”[†]

On the 8th of September, 1860, the writer of these pages, in company with Moses Merrill, Esq.,—than whom no one now living has had more frequent and favorable opportunities for examining and locating ancient deeds of land in the north and west parts of the town,—visited the place designated by Mr. Merrill as that upon which Thomas Duston lived at the time his wife was taken, and his house burned, by the savages, in 1697. The southerly line of the original farm bounds upon the cross road, on the northerly side of which the proposed “Dustin Monument” is now being erected, and the new school-house is located, and runs about northeast and southwest, from a point a few rods southwest of the monument site, to the Little River. The northerly line runs parallel with the above, thus giving the farm the form of a parallelogram, with about one third of it on the westerly side of Jew Street.

Having arrived at the spot, Mr. Merrill made, in substance, the following statement:—“This is the original Thomas Duston farm, *as I always understood it.* It was laid out for ‘eighty acres, more or less,’ but contains considerable more than that. (We walked about one hundred and sixty feet easterly from the road.) Here is the well belonging to the new house which Duston was building at the time the attack was made by the Indians. (We continued our walk about one hundred and twenty feet

^o In March, 1723-4, Thomas Duston deeded to his son, Jonathan Duston,—“In consideration of parental love and natural affection”—“The Homestead or Lott whereon the said Jonathan now dwells”—“fifteen acres, more or less.”—“bounded at a great rock by the highway, which is a corner bound of land I gave to my son Nathaniel.”—*Essex Reg. Deeds, book 51, p. 206.*

[†] *Essex Reg. Deeds, book 43, p. 107.*

further, in the same direction.) Here is the cellar of Duston's new brick house. (We continued our walk easterly, toward the lower land. About two hundred and fifty feet from the cellar, Mr. Merrill stopped, looked about,—evidently taking the bearing of the surrounding objects,—went a little distance east, returned to nearly the same spot, hesitated,—observed that it was many years since he had been on the ground, and it was now somewhat changed by cultivation,—and, at length, struck his stick upon the ground, apparently firmly decided.) The house from which Hannah Duston was taken stood just about here. When I was young, I could see the cellar distinctly, though it was partly filled with stones. It must have been a small house, because the cellar was small. I have no doubt that this is the identical spot, because, when I was quite a lad, I heard old Mrs. Ayer ('Joseph Ayer's mother') say that *she knew this was the place*. She coupled the assertion with a curious remark, which I have never forgotten, and which served to fix the circumstance firmly in my mind. She was very aged at the time. I never heard any other place spoken of, until within a few years. (We noticed, distinctly, that Mr. Merrill stood just within the edge of a small place where the grass was apparently much *drier* than that all about it. Might not this have been caused by the thin layer of soil over the stones with which the old cellar was filled, and the consequent leaching of the moisture? We walked a few rods beyond the edge of the low ground, and stopped at a well.) Here is the well. I have a distinct impression that, in my younger days, the house was spoken of as having been twenty rods, or such a matter, northwest from this well.^o (We returned to the road, upon the opposite side of which—and a little to the south—Mr. Merrill pointed out an old cellar.) Here is where Nathaniel Duston lived. The land was given him by his father. Jonathan lived over at the southwesterly corner, beyond the new school-house. (*Question*.—How did it happen that the monument ground came to be regarded as the site of the original Duston house?) I don't know, unless the tradition that Mrs. Duston was buried from that house, became confounded with the other traditions. Old Mrs. Ayer said that after Mr. Duston died, Mrs. Duston lived with her son, Jonathan, on that place, *and was buried from his house.*"

^o A pocket compass subsequently gave us the following bearings:—Mr. Charles Dustan's house in the North Parish, bears about ten degrees north of east from the well; and the house of Mr. J. Whitaker about ten degrees west of south. From the well to the old cellar is one hundred and sixty-four feet, in a west-north-west direction. From the latter to the new cellar is seventy-one paces. From the north-east corner of the latter, the North Church bears almost exactly south-east. The well of the new house is about one hundred and twenty feet from the new cellar, and about one hundred and sixty feet east from the road. The "Monument" site bears south-west from the last named well and cellar. The cellar of the house of Jonathan Duston, is about twenty feet north-west from the site of the "Dustin Monument."

We have thus given the substance of such deeds, grants, and authoritative traditions, as bear directly upon the point in issue, and the reader is left free to decide the matter for himself. We will only add, that we commenced the investigation unbiassed in favor of either of the locations contended for, but rise from it fully convinced that the one designated by Mr. Merrill is the true one.^o

But to return from this long digression, to our narrative. After the attack on Duston's house, the Indians dispersed themselves in small parties, and attacked the houses in the vicinity. Nine houses were plundered and reduced to ashes on that eventful day, and in every case their owners were slain while defending them. Twenty-seven persons were slaughtered, (fifteen of them children) and thirteen captured.† The following is a list of the killed:—John Keezar, his father, and son, George; John Kimball and his mother, Hannah; Sarah Eastman; Thomas Eaton; Thomas Emerson, his wife, Elizabeth, and two children, Timothy and Sarah; Daniel Bradley, his wife, Hannah, and two children, Mary and Hannah; Martha Dow, daughter of Stephen Dow; Joseph, Martha, and Sarah Bradley, children of Joseph Bradley; Thomas and Mehitable Kingsbury; Thomas Wood and his daughter, Susannah; John Woodman and his daughter, Susannah; Zechariah White; and Martha, the infant daughter of Mr. Duston.

Having fully glutted their thirst for blood, and fearing a general alarm of the town, the savages, in small parties, as was their custom, commenced a hasty retreat. The rumor of this attack soon reached the village, and an armed party was collected and started in pursuit, but without success.

Mirick adds the following, to his account of this attack:—"One of their number stole the old or first town book, and with a few others retreated up the river. In the westerly part of the town, now Methuen, they came upon a yoke of oxen, and with that hellish barbarity which is their principal characteristic in war, cut out their tongues, struck up a fire and broiled them. Had they despatched the oxen, after their tongues were out, it would have been a deed of mercy; but instead of doing that, they left them in that dreadful situation. After their repast was over,

^o The distance from that spot to the site of the old garrison house on Pecker's Hill," in an air line, is a fraction over one mile. From the monument site, to the same place, is a little less than a mile; the difference being about fifty rods. So far, then, as the distance is concerned, either place will agree with the tradition.

† From a petition to the Governor and Council, under date of April 17, 1701, we learn that the following Haverhill captives were still missing:—Daniel Bradley, aged seven; Abigail Kimball, aged eight; and Phillip Ood, aged six;—all taken March 15, 1697: Jonathan Haines, aged twelve; and Joseph Haines, aged seven;—taken August 15, 1696: and Abraham Whitaker, aged eight or nine, taken in August, 1691.

they continued their retreat, but either designedly or intentionally, left the town-book. It was soon found, but so damaged with water, that many of the records were perfectly illegible."

We feel confident that Mirick is in error in both these particulars—for the following reasons:—Nathaniel Saltonstall, who was then Town Clerk, and had held the office constantly since 1669, lived at the place, east of the village, so long in possession of his family, and we can hardly see how the savages, who did not venture within about two miles of his house, could have obtained possession of the town-book. Perhaps, however, the book was at that time in the possession of the family of John Carleton, the former Clerk, who lived on the place west of the village, now owned and occupied by his descendant and namesake. But even in that case, or, indeed, in any case, we can hardly credit the story of an Indian making a prize of an old record book, when there were so many other things within his grasp, far more attractive and valuable to savage eyes.

But in regard to the second particular, we have no doubt that Mirick is mistaken. We think that he has misplaced the incidents belonging to a subsequent outrage, which happened in the same vicinity. We refer to the massacre of Jonathan Haynes and Samuel Ladd, which took place near World's End Pond, in the February following. Each of these men had a yoke of oxen, which the Indians killed, *and then* "cut out their tongues, and the best pieces," to carry along with them.^o This party camped over night in "Mill Meadow," about one mile and a half north-east of the above pond. Considering the great difficulty, not to say impossibility, of cutting out the tongue of a living ox, under such circumstances, and the striking similarity of the two traditions in other respects, we have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that the savages were not guilty of the charge thus alledged against them.

From the following, which passed the Assembly March 22d, 1697, it appears that at the time an opinion prevailed that Col. Saltonstall was censurable for negligence in this matter. But as nothing further appears to have been done about it, we are bound to believe that the complaint originated from the anguish of bereavement, rather than from any fault of the Colonel.

"Whereas it is reported that Col Saltingstall hath been very negligent of his duty as Col: & that the late damago at Haverhill wherin about 40 of his majesties subjects were killed & captivated by the Heathin enemie besides six houses burnt & much spoile, & yt the said Coll did not (as he

^o Tradition, as repeated to us by the venerable Mr. Isalah How, who lives near the place of the massacre.

ought) when he had notice of the enemies approach take care to draw them into Garrison; nor encourage the pursuit of them when persons offered; that his Honor will be pleased to make inquiry into said affair & see that there may be due animadversions; which may be a proper means to prevent the like miscarriage."o

It was a terrible blow for the town. Some of its most useful citizens, and promising youth, were among the slain; and well knowing that they were daily and hourly liable to similar attacks, it needs no stretch of imagination to declare that fear seized the hearts of the inhabitants.

The most vigorous measures were speedily taken to prevent, if possible, another similar bloody massacre: guards were stationed in many of the houses, and the brick house of Thomas Duston, that had been partly finished the year previous, but had not been occupied, was ordered to be garrisoned. The following is a copy of the order to Mr. Duston, when appointed to command it:†

"To Thomas Dustin, upon the settlement of garrisons. April 5 1696-7. You being appointed master of the garrison at your house, you are hereby, in his Maj's [Majesty's] name, required to see that a good watch is kept at your garrison both by night and by day, by those persons hereafter named who are to be under your command and inspection in building or repairing your garrison; and if any person refuse or neglect their duty, you are accordingly required to make return of the same, under your hand, to the Committee of militia in Haverhill. The persons appointed are as followeth:—Josiah Heath, sen., Josiah Heath, jun., Joseph Bradley, John Heath, Joseph Kingsbury, and Thomas Kingsbury.

By order of the Committee of militia.

SAMUEL AYER, Capt.

Mr. Duston was, for the times, largely engaged in brick-making. The business, however, was attended with no little danger, on account of the Indians, who were almost continually lurking in the vicinity, watching an opportunity for a successful attack. The clay-pits were only a short distance from the garrison, but the enemy were so bold that a file of soldiers constantly guarded those who brought the clay from the pits to the yard near the house, where it was made into bricks.

There is a good story told of one Joseph Whittaker, one of the guard stationed at this garrison while commanded by Mr. Dustin, and which will doubtless be looked for in this place:—

Joseph was a young, unmarried man, full of "mercury," as the story goes, who became deeply entangled in the webs unconsciously wound

o *State Archives.*

† Mrs. Duston had not yet returned from her captivity.

around his susceptible heart, by one Mary Whittaker, who was then living in the garrison. Joseph struggled long and manfully to escape from the silken meshes, but in vain. At last, summoning all his courage to his assistance, he improved a favorable opportunity to make a declaration of his passion. But, ah! most unfortunate Joseph, Mary did not listen with favor to his story. He pleaded, he entreated, he implored her to take pity on his forlorn condition, but all to no purpose. Mary Whittaker emphatically declared that she did not reciprocate the passion of the aforesaid Joseph Whittaker—not she. Joseph arose: his Whittaker blood was up; and he was not to be turned off in that manner—and by a Whittaker, too—not he. He told Mary that unless she accepted his offer, he would jump into the well, and thus put an end to the life of the unhappy Joseph Whittaker. But Mary was not to be so easily won, and, “with one long, lingering look behind,” Joseph immediately left the garrison, went straight to the well, seized a large log near by, and — threw it into the dark, deep waters! Mary heard the plunge, and her heart relented. She suddenly remembered how fondly she loved him, and, with her hair streaming in the dark night-wind, she rushed to the well, and, with bleeding, agonizing heart, cried out—“Oh, Joseph! Joseph! if you are in the land of the living, I will have you.” Joseph immediately emerged from his hiding place, and threw himself into her arms, exclaiming—“Mary, I will take you at your word.”

Although the two Whittakers were soon afterward made *one*, we do not learn that the number of Whittakers was thereby permanently diminished.

No further attack was made on the inhabitants of this town the same year, but other places suffered severely,^o and the whole frontier was kept in a state of continual fear, anxiety, and watchfulness.

The next year, the Indians commenced their incursions unusually early. On the 22d of February, a party fell upon Andover, killed five of the inhabitants, and captured as many more. On their return, the same party killed Jonathan Haynes and Samuel Ladd, of this town, and captured a son of each.[†]

Haynes and Ladd, who lived in the western part of the town, had started that morning, with their teams, consisting of a yoke of oxen and a

^o At Groton, May 30, one person was killed and three wounded; at Exeter, June 10th, one was killed, one wounded, and one captured; the same day, two were taken captive at Amesbury; July 20th, three were killed and one wounded, at Dover; August 7th, three were killed, and three captured at Saco; September 8th, twelve were killed, and twelve wounded, at Damariscotta; September 11th, twenty-one were killed, two wounded, and six captured at Lancaster; and November 15th, one person was killed, and one captured at Johnson's creek.

[†] Mirick.

horse, each, and accompanied with their eldest sons, Joseph and Daniel, to bring home some of their hay, which had been cut and stacked the preceding summer, in their meadow, in the extreme western part of the town. While they were slowly returning, little dreaming of present danger, they suddenly found themselves between two files of Indians, who had concealed themselves in the bushes on each side of their path. There were seven of them on a side. With guns presented and cocked, and the fathers, seeing it was impossible to escape, begged for "quarter." To this, the Indians twice replied, "boon quarter! boon quarter!" (good quarter.) Young Ladd, who did not relish the idea of being quietly taken prisoner, told his father that he would mount the horse, and endeavor to escape. But the old man forbid him to make the attempt, telling him it was better to risk remaining a prisoner. He cut his father's horse loose, however, and giving him the lash, he started off at full speed, and though repeatedly fired at by the Indians, succeeded in reaching home, and was the means of giving an immediate and general alarm.*

Two of the Indians then stepped behind the fathers, and dealt them a heavy blow upon the head. Mr. Haynes, who was quite aged, instantly fell, but Ladd did not. Another of the savages then stepped before the latter, and raised his hatchet as if to strike. Ladd closed his eyes, expecting the blow would fall—but it came not—and when he again opened them, he saw the Indian laughing and mocking at his fears. Another immediately stepped behind him and felled him at a blow.

"The Indians, on being asked why they killed the old men, said that they killed Haynes because he was '*so old he no go with us*;'—meaning that he was too aged and infirm to travel; and that they killed Ladd, who was a fierce, stern looking man, because '*he so sour*.' They then started for Penacook, where they arrived, with the two boys. Young Ladd soon grew weary of his situation, and one night after his Indian master and family had fell asleep, he attempted to escape. He had proceeded but a short distance, when he thought that he should want a hatchet to fell trees to assist him in crossing the streams. He accordingly returned, entered a wigwam near his master's, where an old squaw lay sick, and took a hatchet. The squaw watched his movements, and probably thinking that he intended to kill her, vociferated with all her strength. This awakened the Indians in the wigwam, who instantly arose, re-captured him, and delivered him again to his master, who bound his hands, laid him upon his back, fastened

* One version of the tradition is, that the horse rushed against the door of his master's house, bursting it open, and fell dead upon the threshold, upon seeing which, Mrs. Ladd exclaimed, in agony, "Oh! the Indians have killed Ladd."

one of his feet to a tree, and in that manner kept him fourteen nights. They then gashed his face with their knives, filled the wounds with powder, and kept him on his back until it was so indented in the flesh, that it was impossible to extract it. He carried the scars to his grave, and is now frequently spoken of by his descendants as the 'marked man.' Some years after, he found means to return, and his scarred and powdered countenance produced many witticisms at his expense. He was one day walking the streets of Boston, and a parrot observing his 'marked' features, vociferated, 'a rogue! a rogue!' Haynes remained a prisoner with the Indians some years, and was at last redeemed by his relatives."^o

When Haynes was about leaving the Indians, his master, in token of his good will and esteem, presented him his best cane. This cane is now in the possession of Guy C. Haynes, of East Boston, a descendant. The upper half is neatly ornamented with diamond-shaped figures, cut with a knife.

On the 5th of March, a party of about forty Indians again attacked Andover, killed five persons, burnt two houses, and two barns with the cattle in them. On their return, "they made spoil on Haverhill."[†]

This proved to be the last attack in the vicinity, during this war. Peace being declared between France and England, the governor of Canada informed the Indians that he could no longer support them in their war against the English, and advised them to bury the hatchet, and restore their captives. This they concluded to do, and a treaty was at length made with them at Casco.

During this war, (from June, 1689, to May, 1698,) five hundred and sixty-one persons were killed, eighty-one wounded, and one hundred and sixty-one captured by the Indians, in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine, including Schenectady. Soon after peace was declared, a general contribution was taken in the Province, for the relief of those who were prisoners with the French and Indians.

On the return of peace, the settlers were again allowed to engage in the cultivation of their land, and in the increasing of their flocks and herds, without the constant fear of an attack from an unseen and barbarous foe.

^o Mirick.

[†] Hutchinson. This "spoil," we presume, was the burning of the house and buildings of Philip Eastman, which were destroyed by the Indians this year.

CHAPTER XIV.

INDIAN TROUBLES—1700 TO 1710.

At the annual town meeting for 1699, nine applications were made for grants of land, *all of which were denied*. The town had for some time been growing more sparing in its grants of land, and it now seems to have decided not to grant any more, except for "value received," either in money, or some other equally tangible and valuable equivalent.

As the town increased in population and importance, its lands became the more valuable, and the number of applications for new grants increased in a corresponding ratio. As the township was originally purchased by a few individuals, their descendants, as the undivided lands become more and more valuable, must have frequently found themselves considering the question *to whom do these ungranted lands belong?* The records of the year 1700, for the first time, show that this was the case, and that the general feeling was strongly against new comers into town having any voice in the further disposition of the "common lands." It appears that some years previous, a committee had been chosen to consider the matter, but nothing had been done by them. At the annual meeting this year, the subject assumed considerable prominence, as will be seen from the following:—

"There being too much apparent disorder in the voting about disposal and improvement of Common land, those that have no interest in Common land putting in votes, and overrunning by violence and combination the certain Proprietors, to dispose and order their own: it is

Ordered that Cornet Peter Ayer being deceased, who was one of the Committee men formerly appointed for the examination of the rights that any have in Common land in this town, and privilege to vote about the same; That another man be now chosen to join with Nath: Saltonstall and John White who are yet alive of said Committee."

Captain Samuel Ayer was chosen to fill the vacancy, and then "after long discourse," it was voted "That there shall not be any further proceed for Gift, Grant, Sale, or Exchange, or alteration of any land laying in Common, to, or with any person, till by Law or Town order, it be known who are the Proprietors that have liberty to vote about the disposal of land, which they are to make out to the said Committee men this day appointed to consider the same and make report thereon."

The next vote was as follows:—"By reason of many alterations of the Proprietors unto lands lying in Common, either stinted or not already granted, which makes it uncertain who are the owners who have a right to vote and order the same which hath this day (upon some men's claiming a right which is not known) put a stop to the proprietors in the business lying before them; the Town do hereby refer the examination of that matter unto the said Committee this day appointed thereunto."

The next we find touching the matter, is the record of a meeting August 26, 1700, designated as "a meeting of the Proprietors to ungranted and undivided lands to consider about encroachments &c. called by the Selectmen's Warrant. At this meeting nothing was done, except to confirm the doings of a previous meeting, when certain things were done "by a full and unanimous, though mixed vote of inhabitants and proprietors." The object seems to have been to draw and preserve the line of distinction between those who were Proprietors of the ungranted lands in the town, and those who were merely inhabitants. In this view, the *Town* from this time refused to act on any matters involving the proprietorship of these ungranted lands. Thus, in 1702, in reply to a petition of Joseph Peasey for an exchange of land, the town refused to consider the matter, because the petition was "not directed to the proprietors of lands, but to the Town, many of whom have no power to vote in the disposal of lands."

Previous to this time, the town had invariably voted upon each demand or bill against the town, separately—or, in other words, had been its own auditor—but this way of doing the business had now become too cumbersome, and, to save time and trouble, a committee was chosen "to audit the bills of claims, and so to settle the account on each bill, and return the sum total to the town." The amount reported, was nineteen pounds, seventeen shillings, two and a half pence, for which the selectmen were ordered to lay a rate upon the inhabitants.

This year, a building was ordered to be erected for a watch-house, school-house, and for any other use to which it might be appropriated. It was built on what is now Main street, near the top of the hill, and faced the Merrimack.

Trouble with the Indians already again threatened the frontier towns, and measures of defense forced themselves upon the inhabitants. From documents in the State Archives, we learn that in March and April of this year, (1700) Capt. Samuel Ayer had twenty soldiers under his command, who were in constant service during that time in this town. March 16th, twenty men were sent from Ipswich to Haverhill; thirty to Wells; fifteen to York; fifteen to Kittery, and ten to Amesbury.

On the 3d of June, a grammar-school was ordered to be established immediately, and Mr. Richard Saltonstall was appointed to procure a suitable instructor. In July thirty pounds were raised to be appropriated for that purpose; and the selectmen were ordered to "write a letter to the scholar that Richard Saltonstall had treated with, or to some other meet person, to invite him to come and be the school-master for this town of Haverhill."

The school was not, however, established; as we find that the next year, September 12th, a meeting was called to see about a school-master, when

"The question being moved by some of the inhabitants whether this Town is obliged by the Law to be provided with a Grammar school-master—Yea or no: the Town answers in the negative and therefore do not proceed to do it, because they do not find they have the number of one hundred families or householders which the law mentions."

At the annual election, in 1701, John White was chosen *Town Clerk*, in place of Nathaniel Saltonstall, who had filled the office regularly, and acceptably, since 1668, a period of more than thirty years. The latter was now an old man, grown gray in the active and honorable service of his country, and his town, and he sought, in the retirement of his own fire-side, that repose which should the better fit him for his approaching sunset of life.^o

A special committee was chosen, at this time, "to seat all such strangers as are come to town since the last seating, or such as may come the present year to dwell here as settled inhabitants." It was further ordered that, "if any of the inhabitants did sit in any seat where he or she was not seated, should pay a fine of one shilling in money."

It appears that Joseph Peasely had recently suffered considerably by fire, for the town "voted to give him his rates" on that account.

Early in the spring, the Indians again made their appearance, in small parties, traversing the woods in every direction. They soon became bold, and attacked the garrison of Jonathan Emerson; but were repulsed with the loss of two killed, while the whites sustained no injury. One of the soldiers, after the war was over, meeting one of the Indians, spoke of the attack, when the following dialogue ensued:—

"'You had two of your number slain,' said the garrison man. 'How do you know that?' asked the Indian. 'We saw your biers,' was the reply. 'Ugh, Ugh,' grunted the tawny fellow of the woods. 'And you put them in the great hole,' continued the garrison man. 'Ugh, Ugh! no, we did not,' muttered the Indian, feeling that he was questioned too closely. 'What did you do with them?' asked the garrison man, laugh-

^o He died in 1707.

ing in his sleeve, as the saying is, confident that he had the best end of the dispute. 'We carried them to the deep hole above,' he replied, sharply; and immediately wheeled about and marched for the woods."^o

The "deep holes," referred to by the Indian, were situated in the lowlands, a short distance from the junction of Fishing and Little Rivers, and not far from the present brick-yards. One of them not many years since, was near fifteen feet in depth, and was called *the great hole*; and the other was called *the deep hole*. Soon after the attack on the garrison, two Indian biers were found near them, which led to the supposition that two of the enemy were slain.

The breaking out of a new war in Europe, was the occasion of this renewal of Indian hostilities. The inhabitants of the town again found themselves exposed to all the dangers and horrors of a savage border warfare, and were obliged to resort to former measures of defence and security.[†] In addition to the old garrisons, one was ordered to be kept in the northeasterly part of the town, in the house of James Sanders, who lived near the foot of the hill still known by his name,—"Sander's Hill." His house stood on or near the site of the present house of Richard Stuart.[‡]

It was customary for the nearest neighbors to sleep in the garrisons at night, but one Thomas Whittier,[§] a member of the Society of Friends, who lived near the garrison above mentioned, always refused to shelter himself and family beneath its roof. Relying upon the weapons of his faith, he left his own house unguarded, and unprotected with palisades, and carried with him no weapons of war. The Indians frequently visited him, and the family often heard them, in the stillness of the evening, whispering beneath the windows, and sometimes saw them peep in upon the little group of *practical* "non-resistants." Friend Whittier always treated them civilly and hospitably, and they ever retired without molesting him. To injure such a household, was too diabolical, even for a blood-thirsting savage.

January 5, 1702, a meeting was called to see about laying a tax "for the defraying the Town charges in 1701." The following, which is given as the total indebtedness of the Town, is well worth a place in our pages:—

"To Mr Benj Rolfe.....£01.10.00

To Capt Ayre.....09.15.00

• Tradition.—*Mirick*.

† The House of Representatives (1702) ordered snow-shoes to be provided for the frontier towns, on account of their exposure to Indian depredations in the winter.

‡ John Sanders, the first of that name in this town, was from Weeks, in the Parish of Dainton, County of Wilts, England. He made his will in 1670. The above-named James, was, we believe, a son of the first John.

§ The ancestor of our distinguished Post.

To John White.....	06.14.00
To the Schoolmaster.....	06.00.00
To the Selectmen's salary.....	02.10.00
To the Assessors of the Country Tax.....	01.04.00
To making return of the choice of Representative.....	00.06.00
To time and money spent to obtain a Schoolmaster.....	00.06.00
To returning an account of the Country Tax.....	00.08.00
To Jotham Hendrick.....	01.03.06
To Constable Bartlitt.....	00.03.00
To Hanniel Clark.....	00.12.00
To Constable Simmons.....	00.03.00
To Capt Simon Wainwright.....	00.02.00
To the Committee for Micall Emerson's land.....	01.10.00
The above sums the Town voted to pay, after deducting the following credits:—	

“ Due to the Town from Ena. Saml Hutchins.....	£00.09.09
from Joseph Bond.....	00.08.06
from Serjt Josiah Gage.....	00.07.03
from Const. Saml Ayer.....	00.08.06

Leaving the Town's indebtedness £31.12.06, for which a rate, or tax, was voted to be made. This year, John Hutchins was chosen “Sealer of Leather.”^o Such an officer was first chosen in 1675, and from that time to 1702, Michael Emerson had been annually re-elected.[†]

The minister, Mr. Rolfe, applying to the town for a supply of wood, ten pounds was added to his salary for that purpose, and he was also allowed “four public contributions.”[‡]

The Selectmen being ordered to get a Schoolmaster, for this year, “with all the speed they possibly can,” engaged a Mr. Tufts, and agreed to pay him thirty-four pounds for his services. The cause of this great hurry to get a schoolmaster, was the fact, which afterward appears, that the town had been again “presented” for being destitute of a school. Their post-haste compliance with the law did not, however, save them from a fine for previous neglect.[§]

At the annual meeting in 1703, Captain Richard Saltonstall petitioned for liberty to run a fence “from the pound cross over the spot where the

^o John Hutchins was a son of Joseph, of this town, who was probably a son of John, of Newbury, as were also John and Samuel, of this town.

[†] A Clerk of the Market was first chosen in 1698. Ensign Thomas Eaton was the first, and continued in the office until 1706.

[‡] Four public contributions were first granted him the year previous, and were annually voted him until his death, in 1708.

[§] Court Records.

old meeting-house formerly stood, to his fence," and to "feed the burying-place." or else he wanted the town themselves to fence in the burying-place by itself. They voted to do the latter. From this it appears that the old meeting-house had already disappeared, though it was only about three years since it was abandoned for worship. Let us, then, fondly believe that it was not, after all, occupied as a horse shed!

Mr. Tufts' engagement as schoolmaster having expired, a meeting was held July 21, to see what should be done for the future. After much discussion, the meeting adjourned to August 18th, when they met, and again adjourned to September 15th, without coming to any decision. At the meeting in September, "after much discourse about getting a schoolmaster, the town, on consideration of their troubles with the Indians, resolved that nothing should be done about it, and the meeting was dissolved.

That the town had good excuse for declining to assume the expense of a school in their then exposed and straightened condition, is made evident by a subsequent order of the General Court (November 1705) exempting all towns of less than two hundred families from keeping a Grammar School for three years,—on account of their being impoverished by the Indian war.

The Indians had been quite peaceable for a year or two, and the inhabitants pleased themselves with the hope that they would not again trouble them. They therefore relaxed their watchfulness, and neglected to guard their dwellings as strictly as in former years. But the French in Canada were again stirring up the savages to deeds of blood and cruelty, and plotting the ruin of the frontier settlements of New England.

The first important attack in this war,^o was made on the 10th of August, when five hundred French and Indians ravaged the settlements from Casco to Wells, and killed and captured one hundred and thirty persons. The news of this incursion had hardly reached this town, when intelligence was received of an attack on Hampton, by a party of thirty Indians, in which five of the inhabitants were killed. It was this alarming intelligence, that led to the adjournment of the second meeting above alluded to, and the final decision of September 15th.

The attack on Hampton proved to be the last one of that season, and the inhabitants were left to pass a few months in gloomy anxiety, and fearful apprehensions.

During the winter, as the Indians had heretofore seldom made their appearance before the opening of spring, less care was taken to guard

^o Which is known as the *French and Indian War*.

against surprise. This carelessness proved fatal, ere winter was over, as may be seen from the following account, which we copy from *Mirick*:—

"On the 8th of February, about 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon,^o a party of six Indians attacked the garrison of Joseph Bradley, which was unhappily in an unguarded state—even the sentries had left their stations, and the gates were open. The Indians approached cautiously, and were rushing into the open gates, before they were discovered. Jonathan Johnson, a sentinel, who was standing in the house, shot at and wounded the foremost, and Mrs. Bradley, who had a kettle of boiling soap over the fire, seized her ladle, and filling it with the steaming liquid, discharged it on his tawny pate—a soap-orific that almost instantly brought on a sleep, from which he has never since awoke.† The rest of the party immediately rushed forward, killed Johnson,‡ made prisoner of the intrepid woman, and of some others. Pike in his Journal says four.§ Three persons escaped from the garrison. The Indians, then fearing lest they should soon be attacked by a stronger party, commenced a hasty retreat, aiming for Canada, which was their place of resort when they had been so successful as to take a number of prisoners.

Mrs. Bradley was in delicate circumstances, and in slender health; still she received no kindness from her savage conquerors. No situation of woman would ever protect her from their demon-like cruelties. The weather was cold; the wind blew keenly over the hills, and the ground was covered with a deep snow,—yet they obliged her to travel on foot, and carry a heavy burthen, too large even for the strength of man. In this manner they proceeded through the wild wilderness; and Mrs. Bradley informed her family, after she returned, that for many days in succession, she subsisted on nothing but bits of skin, ground-nuts, the bark of trees, wild onions, and lily roots.

^o Pike's Journal. † Penhallow. ‡ Town Records.

§ We copy the following from Mr. Pike's Journal—it is all that he says of the affair. "Feb. 8. About 3 or 4 o'clock, afternoon, Joseph Bradley's house, at Haverhill, was taken by six Indians; 13 persons killed and 5 carried away, whereof one returned. 3 more persons escaped out of the house, and 1 Indian was slain in it by Jonathan Johnson." Mr. Pike is the only one that we can find, who says that thirteen persons were killed in this attack. Penhallow, in his history of the "Indian Wars," speaks of no other slain, than Jonathan Johnson and the Indian; and if there were thirteen killed, it appears rather singular that he did not mention it. Mr. Pike says there were only six Indians, and thirteen slain—the disparity of the two parties seem to invalidate his statement, for, unless they were all children, which is not probable, they must have been positive cowards, or been taken extremely unawares. Or, if they were women, it hardly seems probable to us, for women at that period, seem to possess, at times, as much courage and fortitude as the men. Another reason we have for doubting the statement of Mr. Pike, is the silence of the Town-Records on the subject. The death of Mr. Johnson is there faithfully recorded, thus:—"Jonathan Johnson [birth] killed by the Indians, Feb. 8, 1703-4." Why did they neglect to record the deaths of the others? It appears to us that, if other persons were slain, their deaths would have been recorded as well as that of Mr. Johnson.—*Mirick*.

While in this situation, with none but savages for her assistants and protectors, and in the midst of a thick forest, she gave birth to a child. The Indians then, as if they were not satisfied with persecuting the mother, extended their cruelties to the innocent and almost friendless babe. For the want of proper attention, it was sickly, and probably troublesome; and when it cried, these remorseless fiends showed their pity, by throwing embers into its mouth.^o They told the mother that if she would permit them to baptize it in their manner, they would suffer it to live. Unwilling to deny their request, lest it should enrage their fierce and diabolical passions, and hoping that the little innocent would receive kindness at their hands, she complied with their request. They took it from her, and baptized it by gashing its forehead with their knives.[†] The feelings of the mother, when the child was returned to her with its smooth and white forehead gashed with the knife, and its warm blood coursing down its cheeks, can be better imagined than described.

Soon as Mrs. Bradley had regained sufficient strength to travel, the Indians again took up their march for Canada. But before they arrived at their place of rendezvous, she had occasion to go a little distance from the party, and when she returned, she beheld a sight shocking to a mother, and to every feeling of humanity. Her child, which was born in sorrow, and nursed in the lap of affliction, and on which she doted with maternal fondness, was piked upon a pole.[‡] Its excruciating agonies were over — it could no more feel the tortures of the merciless savages — and its mother could only weep over its memory. Soon after, they proceeded to Canada, where Mrs. Bradley was sold to the French for eighty livres. She informed her friends, after her return, that she was treated kindly by the family in which she lived. It was her custom, morning and evening, when she milked her master's cow, to take with her a crust of bread, soak it with milk, and eat it; with this, and with the rations allowed her by her master, she eked out a comfortable subsistence.[§]

In March, 1705, her husband, hearing that she was in the possession of the French, started for Canada with the intention of redeeming her. He travelled on foot, accompanied only by a dog that drew a small sled, in which he carried a bag of snuff, as a present from the Governor of this Province to the Governor of Canada.^{||} When he arrived, he immediately redeemed her,[¶] and set sail from Montreal for Boston, which they reached in safety; and from thence travelled to Haverhill.

^o Penhallow. [†] Tradition. [‡] Rev. Abel Abbot's MSS. [§] Tradition.

^{||} The only authority we have of the dog and sled, and bag of snuff, is tradition, which we heard related very minutely by his descendants. — *Mirick*.

[¶] Penhallow, p. 10.

Penhallow^c mentions this as her second captivity, and Hutchinson says the same; but Penhallow is, without doubt, his authority. Diligent search has been made to learn the history of her first; but, thus far it has been unsuccessful. Very accurate traditions of the captivities of the other members of the family, have been transmitted to their descendants, but they have never heard their fathers tell that this person was taken at any other time; at least, they can give no account of such a fact. We extract the following, from Rev. Abiel Abbot's MS., taken by him from Judith Whiting:—"Destitute of nurses and necessaries, the child was sickly, and apt to cry, and they would put hot embers in its mouth. Being obliged to leave it a short time, on her return, she found it piked on a pole. ° ° ° ° Having been brought home by her husband, she was taken a second time, but not before she had finished and wounded an Indian, by pouring boiling soap into his mouth." From this, it appears that she was twice captivated; but of the truth of the statement, in this particular, we will not undertake to judge. It certainly does not agree with Penhallow's, and if we rely on one, we must throw up the other, at least, in part."

Mrs. Bradley's deposition, which we give in another place, is conclusive evidence that the above was her *second* captivity. As we have it from one of her descendants, Mrs. Bradley was engaged in boiling soap, when she was startled by the appearance of Indians at her very door, one of whom exclaimed, exultingly,—"Now, Hannah, we got you." Instead, however, of quietly allowing herself to be captured a second time, Hannah saluted the savage with such vigorous applications of "soft soap," that he quickly gave up the ghost. After a desperate resistance, she was at last made a prisoner. Revenge for the death of their comrade, was doubtless the principal cause of the subsequent tortures of the child by the savages. Their extreme barbarity, in this particular instance, can only be accounted for upon some such supposition. Their ingenuity was always exerted to the utmost in devising tortures for a brave warrior, when taken prisoner, and the case of Mrs. Bradley is but a similar instance of their revenge and cruelty.

On the 29th of the same month in which the attack was made on the garrison of Mr. Bradley, Hertel de Rouville, with two hundred French, and one hundred and forty-two Indians, fell upon the town of Deerfield, Mass., killed forty-seven, and made prisoners of one hundred and twelve of its

^c Hist. of Indian Wars, p. 10.

inhabitants. April 25th, two persons were killed, and two captured, at Oyster River; and again in August several more were killed at the same place.

It was indeed a time of trial to the inhabitants of the frontier.^o On the 3d of August, Colonel Saltonstall thus writes to Colonel Thomas Noyes, of Newbury:—†

"Sir, by his excellency's express direction I command you in her majesty's name forthwith to appoint and set forth one-half of your company by name and have them ready, well fixt with arms & ammunition and ten day's provision to march at an hours warning. The command is strict."

On the 4th of August, Joseph Page, and Bartholomew Heath, of this town, were killed by the Indians, and a lad who was with them, narrowly escaped the same fate.‡ The particulars of this attack are now lost.

On the 28th of September, Colonel Saltonstall again writes to Colonel Noyes:—

"I desire and order that by tomorrow morning at farthest you press and post at your block houses in Newbury twelve able souldiers, three at each of your four (block) houses, to abide there night and day, to watch."

Happily, no further attacks were made that year; but such was the distress and poverty occasioned by the Indian hostilities, that the town ordered its selectmen to petition the Assembly for an abatement of this year's taxes.

During the next year, no attacks were made by the Indians, but the inhabitants had every reason to expect them, and were obliged to keep a constant watch and guard, day and night. In June, Governor Dudley ordered Colonel Saltonstall "to detach twenty able soldiers of the Newbury militia and have them rendezvous at Haverhill on July fifth."

On the appearance of these "able soldiers" in this town, Colonel Saltonstall thus writes to Colonel Noyes, of Newbury:—§

"Haverhill, July 17, 1705.

I received your return of ye twenty men ye Governor commanded me to call for, and when ye persons (which I cant't call men) appeared, even a considerable number of them, to be but boys, or children, and not fit for service, blind in part, and deaf, and cross-handed, I stopt till I waited on

^o April 4th, a general Fast was held throughout the New England colonies, on account of the war with France and Spain.

† Coffin.

‡ Pike's Journal. Joseph Page was a son of Joseph; and Bartholomew Heath was a son of John.

§ Coffin.

ye governor, ye twelfth instant and upon liberty to speak with him, I with ye major have taken ye best care we can to keep the men and children sent hither for ye present, till I may have opportunity to tell you the queen likes it not to be served in this manner.

But in one special, Nicholas ○○○○○○ by name, is blind, and deaf, and small, and not fit to be continued, and therefore to be short, I send Nicholas ○○○○○○ home to you, and do expect that you will send some able man in his place, if you have an able one in Newbury.

The other diminutives are sent out to garrison at present, or else you had mett with them to return to you for ye like exchange.

My heart, if it speaks, is full. I wait a suitable time, to tell you what I have to say on her majesty's behalf. *To take boyes for orriginally prest men, and they hired too,* I know not ye regularity of it. I shall be glad to see you, and intend to do it at Haverhill or Newbury or a middle place, as you will desire, if I am able to attend, to see what is right and what is our duty for us to do.

Your very humble servant,

Nathaniel Saltonstall.

To lieutenant-colonel Thomas Noyes."

No one, we think, can blame the Colonel for writing thus severely. To send *hired boys*, in place of *able soldiers*, to defend a frontier town against merciless savages, was indeed cruel. No wonder his *heart was full*, when he contemplated the feeble resistance such "soldiers" would make, in case of an attack. The bloody record of 1708 fully reveals the sad result of depending upon "hired boys" for defence!

A fortnight later, Colonel Saltonstall again writes to Colonel Noyes:—

"August 4th 1705.

One Smith came this day with two of his sons in order to get a release for John Danford. I wonder how you concern yourself so much about this man, to get Danford home, and disregard your default and have not yet sent a good man for that pitiful insufficient sick man Nicholas ○○○○○○ whom I sent off ye sixteenth of July last to you to send a better hand, & he to returne in two days time to me but he is not yet come, nor other for him. Pray *consider what lyes at your doore* and do not deale so unhand-somely with your patient friend and humble servant, N. Saltonstall.

To lieutenant-colonel Thomas Noyes."

Thank Heaven, no attack was made by the enemy that season. Had it been otherwise, Colonel Noyes would have had bitter cause to "consider" the greivous wrong that lay at his door.^o

^o A company of "Centinels" under Captain Saltonstall, was also posted at Bradford block-houses, from April 6th, to September 7th, of the same year, and probably still later.

But little business was done by the town in this and the two succeeding years. The inhabitants were so closely occupied in guarding the lives of their families, that little time or inclination was left for anything else.

In 1705, John Swan, and Jonathan Emerson, were granted the privilege of setting up a grist-mill, on Little River. The location was, we judge, near where Mr. Rich recently erected a mill, — about midway between the mouth of the river, and the Winter Street Bridge, — and near where Ezekiel Hale formerly had a grist-mill.

At the next annual meeting, John White was allowed to build a "fulling-mill on Mill Brook, near his now dwelling house." The location was probably near where the plaster-mill now stands. This was the first mill of that kind in town.

The granting of new lands was still held in abeyance, as it was not yet known to whom they belonged. The town were evidently determined to move carefully in the matter, as may be seen from the following: —

"Capt Saml Ayer moving to the proprietors of the land lying in Common in Haverhill that before any vote or act pass for the disposing of the land or timber in Haverhill, it may be known who by law have right to vote in the affair: This petition is granted."

"Many other petitions were read in the Town meeting, but because of the last vote, nothing was acted on them."

At the same meeting, a motion was made that the Town Clerk have the keeping of the "Town's old book of grants and orders so that copies might be given out, as out of other books in his hands," but being strongly objected to, it was not put to vote.^o

A committee of five were chosen, at the same time, to "run lines and settle bounds between individuals and the common-lands," and "the moderator gave notice for a meeting of the proprietors of the Common or undivided lands in Haverhill for April 2d."

April 2d, "at a meeting of the Commoners," the old committee chosen to examine the claims of persons to these lands, were dismissed, and a new one chosen.† This new committee were ordered "to do it as speedily as they can."

— The next meeting of the Commoners, was July 21, 1707, when nothing was done except to adjourn to September 2d. At the latter meeting, a committee was chosen to prosecute all trespassers on the common lands,

^o We do not learn in whose hands the book was at this time, but it was probably one of the original proprietors of the township.

† Captain Samuel Ayre, John White, Joseph Peasey, Sen.

and the Town Clerk was empowered, as "Clerk of the Proprietors in Haverhill Commons," to execute a power of attorney for the committee.^o

At the Commoners' meeting of September 2d, Thomas Ayer petitioned "for a small piece of land to set a house on near the Meeting house, that so the said Ayer's wife might be the better accommodated for the keeping of school to teach children to read." The Selectmen were empowered to lay him out a piece for that purpose, to enjoy during her lifetime.[†]

With the opening of the spring of 1706, the Indians again commenced harrassing the frontier settlements. The first attack was made in April, at Oyster River, where eight persons were killed, and two wounded. On the 3d of July, seven were killed at Dunstable, and the same day, Sergeant Kingsbury, of this town, was killed, or taken prisoner.[‡] A few days after, (10th) two more were killed, and two captured, at Dunstable; and the same party penetrated as far as Amesbury, where they killed some cattle. At Exeter, the same day, four were killed, one wounded, and three-captured. About the same time, one person was killed at Hampton.

To add to the general alarm, Governor Dudley received intelligence from Colonel Schuyler, of Albany, that two hundred and seventy French and Indians were on the march toward Piscataqua! Fortunately for the inhabitants, the expedition was abandoned.

Sometime in the summer of this year, a small party of Indians again visited the garrison of Joseph Bradley; and it is said that he, his wife and children, and a hired man, were the only persons in it at the time. It was in the night, the moon shone brightly, and they could be easily seen, silently and cautiously approaching. Mr. Bradley armed himself, his wife and man, each with a gun, and such of his children as could shoulder one. Mrs. Bradley, supposing that they had come purposely for her, told her husband that she had rather be killed than be again taken. The Indians rushed upon the garrison, and endeavored to beat down the door. They succeeded in pushing it partly open, and when one of the Indians began to crowd himself through the opening, Mrs. Bradley fired her gun and shot him dead. The rest of the party, seeing their companion fall, desisted from their purpose, and hastily retreated.[§]

Some idea of the dangers and alarms of these years, and the great exertions made for the security of the frontier towns, may be had from the

^o Baits were immediately instituted against several persons by the Committee.

[†] Thomas Ayer married Ruth Wilford. Children,—Ruth, born 1695; Josiah, born 1698; Thomas, born 1699; Gibberd, born 1702; Ruth, born 1705, killed by Indians August 29, 1706. Ruth, the wife, was also killed at the same time. Ayer afterward married widow Blaisedell. Children,—Ruth, born 1711, died young.

[‡] Pike's Journal.

[§] Tradition.—Mirick.

large number of soldiers ferried across the Merrimack at a single place — Griffin's ferry, opposite the present village: — March 9, 1705, thirty men; July 1, 1706, forty-seven men; 6th, forty-five men and horses; 9th forty-one men; 15th, thirty-eight men and horses; June 4th, 1707, eleven men; 14th, forty-five men and horses; 30th, thirty-one men and horses; July 15th, thirty-nine men and horses; August 1st forty-five men and horses; 26th, thirty-nine men and horses; September 27th, thirty men and horses; October 24th, forty-four men and horses. In 1708, Griffin ferried across, at various times, one hundred and eighty men, and thirty-one horses. A company of "Centinels," under Colonel Saltonstall, was posted at Bradford, from May 20th to October 7th; and another at Andover for the same time.

No further damage was done by the enemy, until the next spring, when (May 22, 1707,) a small party killed and captured four persons at Oyster River. On the 24th of June, Joseph and Ebenezer Page, sons of Joseph Page of this town, were killed by the Indians. In August, another attack was made on the town, in which Nathan Simonds, of this town, and Jonathan Marsh, of Salem, were wounded.^o The particulars of these attacks on the town are now lost. In September, two persons were killed at Kingston and Exeter, and a party of Mohawks attacked the settlement at Oyster River, killing eight of the inhabitants, and wounding another.

For several months succeeding this, the enemy seemed to have forsaken the frontiers, and the inhabitants once more began to feel some degree of security. But, early in the spring of 1708, intelligence was carried to Governor Dudley, at Boston, that an army, consisting of eight hundred men, was about marching for some one of the frontier settlements. Upon the receipt of this, he "ordered guards in the most exposed places of both his provinces." A body of troops, under Captain Robert Coffin, patrolled from Kingston to Cochecho, and scouts were ordered to be kept out continually. Four hundred Massachusetts Militia were posted in N. H. Province. The guard sent to this town, consisted of about forty men, accompanied with three officers, from Salem,—Major Turner, (afterward Colonel, a principal merchant of that place, and for many years a member of the council), Captain Price, and Captain Gardner, and soon after their arrival, they were posted in the frontier houses and garrisons. The following account is copied from Mirick:—

"Early in the year, a grand council was held at Montreal, when an extensive engagement was agreed upon; which was to be joined by the principal Indians of every tribe in Canada, the Abenakis tribe, one hundred

^o State Archives, Vol. 3.

select French Canadians, and a number of volunteers, several of whom were officers in the French army, composing a formidable body of about four hundred men. The French were commanded by DeChaillons, and the infamous Hertel de Rouville, the sacker of Deerfield,^o and the Indians by La Perriere. The Indians were merciless, insolent and revengeful; but the French at that period equalled, and we had almost said, exceeded them in acts of wantonness and barbarity. When the former were weary of murdering "poor, helpless women and children"—when they were glutted with blood, it is said that M. Vaudreuil, then Governor of Canada, employed the latter to do it.†

To excite less surprise among the English, they divided their army into two bodies; the French with the Algonquin, the St. Francois, and Huron Indians, were to take the route by the river St. Francois, and La Perriere and the French Mohawks, were to pass by Lake Champlain. Lake Nickisipigue was appointed the place of rendezvous, and there they were to meet the Norridgewock, the Penobscot, and other eastern tribes.‡ These arrangements being completed, they commenced their march the 16th of July; but before the first named party had arrived at the St. Francois, a Huron was accidentally killed by a companion, which was considered by the tribe as an ill-omen, and that the expedition, though commenced under such favorable auspices, would certainly prove unfortunate. Strongly impressed with this idea, and not wishing to be connected with it if it should so prove, they deserted. The Mohawks then pretended that an infectious distemper had broken out among them, and that it would soon spread among the rest of the tribes, if they remained—and they also returned. M. Vaudreuil, when he heard of this, immediately sent word to the French officers to proceed, and fall upon some of the English settlements, even if they should be deserted by the Algonquin and St. Francois tribes. These, however, remained firm to their allegiance, and they continued their march; but when they arrived at Nickisipigue, their rendezvous, what was their astonishment at finding that the eastern Indians had broken faith with them.

It is said that their first design was to attack Portsmouth, and then, marching rapidly onward to other settlements, spread terror and desolation

^o Deerfield was desolated in the winter of 1704. The French and Indians were commanded by this same Hertel de Rouville, whose name will ever be coupled with infamy, assisted by four of his brothers; all of whom had been trained up to the business by their father, who had been a famous partisan in their former wars. They slaughtered forty-seven of the inhabitants, plundered the village, and set it on fire. They then retreated, carrying with them one hundred and twelve, as prisoners of war. Dr. Samuel Williams, the immediate descendant of one of the principal sufferers, and the accomplished historian of Vermont, has given an interesting account of the whole affair.

† Hutchinson. ‡ Ibid.

along the whole frontier. But being unable to accomplish this, on account of the unexpected desertions, they were obliged to modify their plan. Their whole force was now about 250, a small number when compared with that which started from Canada. Probably the French officers felt ashamed to return without effecting something, after they had been at so much trouble and expense; accordingly, Haverhill, a compact village, consisting of about thirty houses,^o was selected for the slaughter.

At the break of day, on the 29th of August, they passed the frontier garrisons undiscovered, and were first seen near the pound, marching two and two, by John Keesar,† who was returning from Amesbury. He immediately ran into the village and alarmed the inhabitants, who seem to have slept totally unguarded, by firing his gun near the meeting-house. The enemy soon appeared, making the air ring with terrific yells, with a sort of whistle, which says tradition, could be heard as far as a horn, and clothed in all the terrors of a savage war-dress. They scattered in every direction over the village, so that they might accomplish their bloody work with more despatch. The first person they saw, was Mrs. Smith, whom they shot as she was flying from her house to a garrison. The foremost party attacked the house‡ of Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, which was then garrisoned with three soldiers, and he, and a part of his beloved family, were suddenly awakened from their slumbers, only to hear the horrid knell for their departure. Mr. Rolfe instantly leaped from his bed, placed himself against the door, which they were endeavoring to beat in, and called on the soldiers for assistance; but these craven-hearted men refused to give it, for they were palsied with fear, and walked to and fro through the

^o Hutchinson.

† This Keesar, the son of John Keesar, who was killed when Mrs. Dustin was captured, was a very eccentric man, and a jack of all trades. He was said to be exceedingly proud of his proficiency in walking, leaping, and other manual exercises; and, if tradition may be relied upon, he was certainly a great walker and leaper; for it said that he walked to Boston and back again in one night, and jumped over a cart with two large pails full of milk in his hands. It was his custom to go from this town to Amesbury and pitch his tent on the side of a hill, where he worked at the trade of shoemaking, and lived in all respects, while there, like an austere hermit. Some say, that when he discovered the enemy, he was out to take in his horse, which, according to his custom, he had turned into his neighbor's field to feed. Others say they were discovered by one Hutchins, who was out to steal milk from his neighbor's cows.

Another account says that the slaughter might have been prevented had it not been for the agitation of a young man, who, intending to start very early that morning for a distant town, went up on the Common to catch his horse, and while there, discovered the enemy advancing toward the village. He immediately hastened to the town, but in his extreme agitation, he thought only of the safety of the young lady to whom he had paid very particular attention some time previous. It is said that he passed through a part of the village, went directly to the abode of his mistress, and concealed her in a pile of boards. He then, after seeing his own property safe, and which, perhaps, was all he possessed in the wide world, gave the alarm; but the attack had already commenced.

‡ Where Dr. Moses Nichols' house now stands.

chambers, crying and swinging their arms.^o Had they displayed but half the ordinary courage of men, no doubt they would have successfully defended the house. But, instead of that, they did not fire a gun, or even lift a finger toward its defence. The enemy finding their entrance strenuously opposed, fired two balls through the door, one of which took effect, and wounded Mr. Rolfe in the elbow. They then pressed against it with their united strength, and Mr. Rolfe, finding it impossible to resist them any longer, fled precipitately through the house, and out at the back door. The Indians followed, overtook him at the well, and despatched him with their tomahawks.[†] They then searched every part of the house for plunder, and also for other victims, on whom they might inflict their savage cruelties. They soon found Mrs. Rolfe and her youngest child, Mehitable, and while one of them sunk his hatchet deep in her head, another took the infant from her dying grasp, and dashed its head against a stone near the door.

Two of Mr. Rolfe's children, about six and eight years of age,[‡] were providentially saved by the sagacity and courage of Hagar, a negro slave, who was an inmate of the family. Upon the first alarm, she leaped from her bed, carried them into the cellar, covered them with two tubs, and then concealed herself. The enemy entered the cellar and plundered it of every thing valuable. They repeatedly passed the tubs that covered the two children, and even trod on the foot of one, without discovering them. They drank milk from the pans, then dashed them on the cellar bottom, and took meat from the barrel, behind which Hagar was concealed.[§]

^o Just what we might expect of such "hired boys" as Colonel Noyes had sent to defend (!) the town.—G. W. O.

[†] Another account says that he was killed by one of the bullets shot through the door, and this we believe is the prevailing opinion; but we feel confident that it is untrue. We know that it is hard for others, as well as ourselves, to give up a tradition which we have often heard repeated by our neighbors, and by our fathers; but in this case we think it must be done, if the truth is desired. When we first began to develop the affair, we felt confident, almost to a certainty, that he was killed through the door, because every body said so; and indeed, we had so wrote it, and read it to a friend of ours, who agreed with us on that point, at least he made no objections to it. But while examining other affairs, we were shown some extracts from the manuscript account of Rev. Abel Abbot, taken by him from the lips of Judith Whiting, and which has been before mentioned in this work. Mrs. Whiting was eight years old when the attack happened, and when she gave the account to Mr. Abbot, though very aged, her faculties were unimpaired; and she stated that he was shot through the elbow, fled through the house, and was tomahawked at the well. We place much reliance on her statement, and no doubt, the story of Mr. Rolfe's being killed through the door, arose from the wound which he received in his elbow. It appears to us very probable that it should.—*Mirick*.

[‡] Elizabeth, was afterward the wife of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, of Boston, and was the mother of the wife of Samuel Adams, the patriot. Mary became the wife of Colonel Estes Hatch, of Dorchester.

[§] "Her father's maid-servant hearing that the Indians were upon them, jumped from her bed, and with wonderful presence of mind, took two of the little daughters, who probably slept in the room with her, one 13 and the other 9, named Mary and Elizabeth, and fled with them into the cellar. There, under two large tubs, she concealed them, and then successfully concealed herself."—*Drake's History of Boston*.

Anna Whittaker, who was then living in the family of Mr. Rolfe, probably as a nurse, concealed herself in an apple-chest, under the stairs, and escaped unharmed.* But it fared differently with the cowardly soldiers. They earnestly begged for mercy, of their inhuman conquerors, but their cries were unheeded; and when the massacre was over, their bodies were numbered with the slain. We can have no pity for the fate of such contemptible cowards. A man who will shrink from danger at such a time, and in such a situation, while he holds the weapons of defence in his hands, should be ranked with the reptile, and ever be looked upon with scorn by the world. The names of such, should sink in oblivion, or survive as memorials of surpassing infamy.

The family of Thomas Hartshorne suffered as severely as that of Mr. Rolfe. He saw a party approaching to assault his house, which stood a few rods west of the meeting-house, and escaped out of it, followed by two of his sons, to call assistance; but all three were shot dead immediately after leaving it. A third son was tomahawked as he was coming out at the door. Mrs. Hartshorne, with that presence of mind which is a characteristic of her sex, when surrounded with danger, instantly took the rest of her children—except an infant which she left on the bed in the garret, and which she was afraid would, by its cries, betray their place of concealment, if she took it with her—through a trap door into the cellar. The enemy entered the house, and began to plunder it, but happily did not discover them. They went into the garret, took the infant from its bed, and threw it out of the window. It fell on a pile of clapboards, and when the action was over, it was found completely stunned. It lived, however, and became a man of uncommon stature, and of remarkable strength. His neighbors would frequently joke him, and say that the Indians *stunted* him when they threw him from the garret-window.†

One of the parties proceeded towards the river, and attacked the house of Lieutenant John Johnson.‡ Mr. Johnson and his wife, with an infant a

* From the following extract, it would seem that Anna Whittaker afterward claimed for herself the credit of saving the children. The above, however, has always been considered the correct version of the incident:—
"Brookfield, Sep 24, 1764.

On the 8th Inst. died after a few Days illness, Mrs Anna Heyward in the 74th Year of her Age, the Wife of Oliver Heyward Esq. She has left by a former Husband (John Hind) 13 Children, 82 Grand-Children, and 17 Great-Grand-Children, in all 112. She was very useful as a Mid-wife, and in her last sickness she had a most unshaken Trust in the Mercy of God, through the Redeemer. In her Youth, when the Savages invaded Haverhill, she saved two Children of the Rev Mr Rolfe's, by hiding them in the Cellar after the Indians had entered the House while they were glutting their Rage on the Parents: the two Indians followed her into the Cellar, yet such was her Presence of Mind, and Dexterity, that she conceal'd the Children and herself that they escaped their Notice; and they were the only Members of the Family at Home who survived the bloody Carnage."—From *Massachusetts Gazette*, Sept. 27, 1764.

† Abbott's MSS.

‡ Johnson's house stood on the spot now covered by the Exchange building, on Water Street.

year old in her arms, were standing at the door, when the enemy made their appearance. Mr. Johnson was shot, and his wife fled through the house into the garden,^o carrying her babe, where she was overtaken by the foe, and immediately despatched. But when she fell, she was careful not to injure her child, and it seemed as if her last thoughts were for its safety. The enemy, it appears, did not murder it, and it is somewhat remarkable that they did not; for they always took great delight in torturing and dashing out the brains of innocent babes. Perhaps it was because the mother was not alive to witness its agonies. After the massacre was over, it was found at the breast of its dead mother.†

Another party rifled and burnt the house of Mr. Silver, which stood within ten rods of the meeting house, and others attacked the watch-house, which was, however, successfully defended. Another party went to the house of Captain Simon Wainwright,‡ whom they killed at the first fire. The soldiers stationed in the chambers, were preparing to defend the house till the last, when Mrs. Wainwright fearlessly unbarred the door, and let them in. She spoke to them kindly, waited upon them with seeming alacrity, and promised to procure them whatever they desired. The enemy knew not what to make of this;—the apparent cheerfulness with which they were received, and the kindness with which they were treated, was so different from what they expected to meet with, that it seemed to paralyze their energies. They, however, demanded money of Mrs. Wainwright, and upon her retiring ‘to bring it,’ as she said, she fled with all her children, except one daughter who was taken captive, and were not afterwards discovered. The enemy, so soon as they saw how completely they had been deceived, were greatly enraged, and attacked the chambers with great violence; but the soldiers courageously defended them, and after attempting to fire the house, they retreated, taking with them three prisoners. In the mean-time, two Indians skulked behind a large stone, which stood in the field a few rods east of the house, where they could fire upon its inmates at their leisure. The soldiers in the chambers fired upon them, and killed them both. They were afterwards buried in the same field, a few rods south, and but a few years since, the water washed their skeletons from their places of repose.§

Two Indians attacked the house of Mr. Swan, which stood in the field now called White’s lot,|| nearly opposite to the house of Capt. Emerson.

^o Where the *Osgood Block* now stands. † Tradition.

‡ Captain Wainwright lived in a house which stood on the ground now covered by that of the late Captain Nehemiah Emerson’s, and directly opposite the Winter Street Church.—G. W. C. § Mirick.

|| *White’s Lot* was situated between White and Franklin Streets. Swan’s house was probably very near the present site of the Winter Street Church.—G. W. C.

Swan and his wife saw them approaching, and determined, if possible, to save their own lives, and the lives of their children, from the knives of the ruthless butchers. They immediately placed themselves against the door, which was so narrow that two could scarcely enter abreast. The Indians rushed against it, but finding that it could not be easily opened, they commenced their operations more systematically. One of them placed his back to the door, so that he could make his whole strength bear upon it, while the others pushed against him. The strength of the besiegers was greater than that of the besieged, and Mr. Swan, being rather a timid man, said our venerable narrator, almost despaired of saving himself and family, and told his wife that he thought it would be better to let them in. But this resolute and courageous woman had no such idea. The Indians had now succeeded in partly opening the door, and one of them was crowding himself in, while the other was pushing lustily after. The heroic wife saw that there was no time for parleying — she seized her spit, which was nearly three feet in length, and a deadly weapon in the hands of woman, as it proved, and collecting all the strength she possessed, drove it through the body of the foremost. This was too warm a reception for the besiegers — it was resistance from a source, and with a weapon they little expected; and surely, who else would ever think of spitting a man? — The two Indians, thus repulsed, immediately retreated and did not molest them again. Thus, by the fortitude and heroic courage of a wife and mother, this family was probably saved from a bloody grave.*

One of the parties set fire to the back side of the meeting-house, a new and, for that period, an elegant building. These transactions were all performed about the same time; but they were not permitted to continue their work of murder and conflagration long, before they became panic-struck. Mr. Davis, an intrepid man, went behind Mr. Rolfe's barn, which stood near the house, struck it violently with a large club, called on men by name, gave the word of command, as though he were ordering an attack, and shouted with a loud voice, "Come on! come on! we will have them!" The party in Mr. Rolfe's house, supposing that a large body of

* The account of this deed is received wholly from tradition. We heard it related by an aged and venerable gentleman, Captain Nehemiah Emerson, who has often heard it told by his grand-father, who then lived in the garrison of his father, Jonathan Emerson.—*Mirick*

The house of Nathan Simons was also attacked, and he was wounded in the arm, by a ball. Simons shot two Indians, when the others withdrew. From Sibley's *History of Union, Me.* we learn that there is a tradition in the Sibley family, that Samuel Sibley, from whom the settlers in Union are descended, was killed in this town at this time, while throwing water upon the meeting-house after it had been set on fire by the Indians. He belonged in Salem, and was probably one of the men under Major Turner at this time.—G. W. O.

the English had come upon them, began the cry of "The English are come!"^o and after attempting to fire the house, precipitately left it. About this time, Major Turner arrived with a company of soldiers, and the whole body of the enemy then commenced a rapid retreat, taking with them a number of prisoners. The retreat commenced about the rising of the sun. Meantime, Mr. Davis ran to the meeting-house, and with the aid of a few others, succeeded in extinguishing the devouring element; but it was mostly owing to his exertions, that the house was saved.

The town by this time was generally alarmed. Joseph Bradley collected a small party, in the northerly part of it, and secured the medicine-box and packs of the enemy, which they had left about three miles from the village.† Capt. Samuel Ayer, a fearless man, and of great strength, collected a body of about twenty men, and pursued the retreating foe. He came up with them just as they were entering the woods, when they faced about, and though they numbered thirteen or more to one, still Capt. Ayer did not hesitate to give them battle. These gallant men were soon reinforced by another party, under the command of his son‡; and after a severe skirmish, which lasted about an hour, they retook some of the prisoners, and the enemy precipitately retreated, leaving nine of their number dead.§

The French and Indians continued their retreat, and so great were their sufferings, arising from the loss of their packs, and their consequent ex-

^o Sketch of Haverhill.—*Saltonstall*.

† A short distance north of the house of Deacon Carleton, in the West Parish, and about half a mile north of the place where the subsequent skirmish took place.—G. W. O.

‡ The whole number is supposed to have been sixty or seventy.—G. W. O.

§ The spot where this skirmish took place, was the rise of land nearly west of the house of S. Eaton Esq., about half way between the Derry Road and the Parsonage Road, and south-east of Long Hill, in the West Parish. Among the enemy who fell at this place, were *Hertel* of Chambly, and *Vercheres*, both officers of experience. In this bloody affair, the renowned chief *Assacambuit*, or, as the French called him, *Nescambiousit*, fought side by side with the French Commander-in-Chief, and is said to have performed prodigies of valor with the sword presented to him by Louis XIV, of France, in 1708. The enemy had eighteen wounded; and three Indians, and five Frenchmen killed. *Assacambuit* was himself wounded in the foot by a shot.

Smith, in his *History of Canada*, (Quebec, 1815, Vol. 1, p. 165,) gives the following account of this memorable attack on the town:—"The French army pushed on to the attack of a village, called Haverhill, in which was posted fifty soldiers, sent by the Governor of New England, in consequence of the information of the approach of a French force. The Village was attacked at day break, on the 29th day of August, was well defended by a small party of troops and by the inhabitants; at length overpowered by numbers, the French took possession of it, having killed not less than one hundred men, and carried several into captivity. The French, on their return were pursued, and overtaken just as they were entering the woods, an action ensued which lasted about an hour, when the English were defeated and several were killed. The French loss, amounted only to eight men killed and eighteen wounded; among the slain, were two officers, *Hertel de Chambly*, *Beauville's* brother, and *Vercheres*."—G. W. O.

posure to famine, that many of the Frenchmen returned and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and some of the captives were dismissed, with a message that, if they were pursued, the others should be put to death. Perhaps, if they had been pursued, nearly the whole of their force might have been conquered; for the Governor, in his address to the Assembly, says, "we might have done more against them if we had followed their tracks." As it was, they left thirty of their number dead, in both engagements, and many were wounded, whom they carried with them. The French, when they returned, reported very differently from this; they said that they "faced about, and that our people, being astonished, were all killed or taken, except ten or twelve, who escaped."

The inhabitants were now left to perform the sorrowful office of burying their dead—and it was a sorrowful one indeed. The day was somewhat advanced when the battle was over, and it being extremely warm the interment was necessarily hurried. Coffins could not be made for all, and a large pit was dug in the burying ground, in which several of them were laid. Some of those who fell in the last engagement, it is presumed, were buried on the spot.

The following is a list of the slain who belonged to this town; perhaps it is not full, though we have taken great pains to make it so:—Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, his wife and one child; Mrs. Smith, Thomas Hartshorne and three sons; Lieut. John Johnson and his wife, Catharine; Capt. Simon Wainwright; Capt. Samuel Ayer; John Dalton; Ruth Ayer, wife of Thomas Ayer, and one daughter; and Ruth Johnson, wife of Thomas Johnson. The whole number is sixteen. We have not been able to collect the names of those who were taken prisoners, or the exact number. Mr. Pike, in his Journal, says that the enemy 'killed and carried away 33 persons, and burnt several houses.' Mr. Hutchinson says 'about forty' were killed and taken prisoners; perhaps the truth would fall between. A daughter of Capt. Simon Wainwright, who was not so fortunate as to escape with her mother, when she fled with the rest of her children, was made prisoner; and in 1710, her mother, Mary, petitioned the General Court to redeem her. The following is her petition:—

"Haverhill, 29th April, 1710.

To his Excellency, Joseph Dudley, Captain-General and Governor in chief, &c., &c., to the Honorable council and General Assembly now mett; the petition of Mary Wainwright sheweth that, whereas my daughter hath been for a long time in captivity with the French of Canada, and I have late reason to fear that her soul is in great danger if not already captivated and she brought to their way; therefore I humbly intreate your

Excellency, that some care may be taken for her redemption before Canada be so endeared to her that I shall never have my daughter more. Some are ready to say that there are so few captives in Canada that it is not worthe while to put the country to the charges for them; but I hope your Excellency, nor any other good, judicious man, will think so; for St. James has instructed us, as you may see, chapter 5, v 20—Let him know that he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins. This is all I can do at present, but I desire humbly to begg of God that he would direct the hearts of our rulers to do that which may be most for his glory and for the good of his poor distressed creatures, and so I take leave to subscribe myself your most humble petitioner,

Widow Mary Wainwright.

In the house of Representatives read and recommended 12th June."

One of the soldiers, Joseph Bartlett, stationed at Capt. Wainwright's house, was also taken prisoner; ° he was a native of Newbury, was born 18th November, 1686, taken prisoner 29th August, 1708, returned 8th November, 1712, and died 1754, aged 68. After his return, he published a narrative † of his captivity, and perhaps the History of Haverhill will not be deemed an improper place to give a short account of him.

'In the year 1707—says the narrative—in November 1, Joseph Bartlett was pressed and sent to Haverhill. My quarters were in the house of Capt. Wainwright, [wright.] August 29, 1708, there came about 100 French and 30 Indians ‡ and beset the town of Haverhill—set fire to several houses; among which was that of Capt. W.' After the enemy entered the house, they took him and another soldier, named Newmarsh, and the daughter of Mrs. Wainwright, prisoners. Soon after the different parties commenced their retreat, they knocked one of their prisoners in head, named Lindall, a soldier belonging to Salem. He then says: 'They then marched on together, when Capt. Eaires (Ayer,) with a small company waylaid and shot upon them, which put them to flight, so that they did not get together again until three days after.' Bartlett said that he was first taken by the French, but after the battle they gave him to the Indians. The three first days they travelled hard.

He was compelled to carry a heavy pack, and travel with his hands tied behind him. A part of the time he was led by an Indian, who carried a hatchet in his hand and a pistol in his girdle, with a cord tied about his

° John Giles, of Lynn, one of Major Turner's soldiers was wounded in the attack.

† We have never seen but one copy of this narrative, and that was obtained for us by John Farmer, Esq., of Concord.

‡ Most of the accounts agree in stating that there was about two hundred and fifty of the enemy.

neck. On arriving at Lake Winnipiseoge, the French and Indians parted. The latter crossed the Lake; but before they reached the opposite shore, they killed a bear which was swimming in the water, towed it to the shore and cooked it. They then fared sumptuously, and remained in that place about a day and a half, when they proceeded on their journey, and travelled five days, with scarcely any other sustenance than pounded corn. Having arrived at a river, the Indians made some canoes in a day and a half, when they sailed down the stream three days, eating nothing for four, but a few sour grapes and thorn plums. They then killed a hawk and divided it among fifteen—the head fell to the share of Mr. Bartlett, which, he says, “was the largest meal I had these four days.” From thence they proceeded to Chamble, and on their passage they met with some Indians who gave them a little corn and a few pumpkins. He there saw an Englishman, named Littlefield, taken from Wells. The Indians shaved the hair from one side of his head, greased the other, and painted his face. They then started for Montreal, and when they arrived, he was examined by the Governor, and from thence went to the house of a Roman Catholic Priest, where he lodged over night. The next morning they started for an Indian fort, nine miles distant. When about half way, they came to a fire, surrounded by ‘fifteen men and thirty boys,’ where they held a consultation about burning him; but before it was closed, the Indians, who owned him, and the boys, marched away. Soon as they arrived at the fort, they began to abuse their prisoner—a squaw cut off his little finger, and another beat him with a pole. The Indians danced and sung all night, and invited him to join them, but he refused; they pulled him into the ring, however, and he went once round it. An Indian then came to him, and, after making a long speech, gave him to an old squaw, who took him to her wigwam. In February next, he went to live with a Frenchman, named Delude, and remained with him until Sunday, October 5, 1712, when he started to return to his friends in Newbury, and arrived on the 8th of November, after a captivity of four years, two months, and nine days.

After his return, the General Court ordered that ‘the sum of £20. 15s. be allowed and paid to Joseph Bartlett in full of his petition of charges and expenses to obtain his liberty from the Indians, being taken prisoner by the Indians at Haverhill when in her Majesties service in the year 1708, and for his support during four years captivity and for the loss of his arms.’

Mr. Pike, in his Journal, says that ‘many soldiers belonging to Salem, were here slain.’ Among them was William Coffin, who distinguished

himself for his bravery; and soon after, his widow petitioned the General Court for relief, when it passed the following resolve:—

‘Nov. 3, 1703.—Resolved that the sum of £5 be allowed and paid out of the publick Treasury to the Petitioner, Mrs. Sarah Coffin, on account of the remarkable forwardness and courage which her husband, William Coffin of Salem, distinguished himself by, in the action at Haverhill where he was slain.’

Mr. Rolfe, his wife and child, were buried in one grave, near the south end of the burial-ground. A single monument was erected to their memory, on which was chiselled an inscription for each; but the hand of time has been rough with them—they are overgrown with moss, and the epitaphs are now almost illegible.^o

The following is the epitaph of Mr. Rolfe:—

‘Clauditur hoc tumulo corpus Reverendi pii doctique viri, D. Benjamin Rolfe, ecclesiae Christi quae est in Haverhill pastoris fidelissimi; qui domi suae ad hostibus barbare trucidatus. A laboribus suis requievit mane diei sacrae quietis, Aug. XXIX anno domini, MDCCVIII. Aetatis suae XLVI.’†

This worthy man was born at Newbury, 1662, and graduated at Cambridge, 1684. He seems to have been a pious and upright man, ardently devoting his time and talents to forward the cause of his Saviour. He was respected and beloved by his people, and we cannot learn that any difficulty arose between them, after his settlement.

The grave-stones of Capt. Ayer, Capt. Wainwright, and Lieut. Johnson, are nigh to Mr. Rolfe's but are considerably damaged, and their inscriptions have become nearly illegible.

^o In 1847-8, a neat and substantial granite monument was erected over the grave of Mr. Rolfe, by the Ladies, who were then making much needed improvements in the “Old Burying Ground.” The monument stands about six and one-half feet high, is of Concord, N. H., granite, and was finished at the establishment of Mr. F. A. Brown, in this town. It bears the following inscription:—

“Enclosed in this tomb, is the body of a man, pious, learned and reverend, BENJAMIN ROLFE, a most faithful Pastor of the Church of Christ in Haverhill; who was barbarously slain by the Indians at his own house. He rested from his labors on the morning of the Sabbath, the 29th of Aug in the year of our Lord 1708, and of his age the 46th. (On the second side) Mrs Mchitable Rolfe, aged 44 yrs. Mchitable Rolfe, aged 2 yrs. Were slain Aug 29, 1708. (On the third side) Capt Samuel Ayer, Capt Simon Wainwright, Lieut John Johnson, were slain, with thirteen others, Aug. 29, 1708. (On the fourth side) *Clauditur hoc tumulo corpus reverendi, pii, viri, Benjamin Rolfe, ecclesiae Christi quae est in Haverhill, pastoris fidelissimi; qui domi suae ab hostibus barbare trucidatus.*

E laboribus suis requievit mane diei sacrae quietis Aug XXIX Anno Domini MDCCVIII Aetatis suae XLVI.”

Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, married Mchitabel Atwater, March 12, 1693-4. Children.—Mary, March 9, 1695; Benjamin, September 2, 1696; John, July 2, 1698, died August, 3, 1698; John and Elizabeth, twins, September 1, 1699, (John died September 18, 1699); Francis, January 16, 1708.—G. W. O.

† “Enclosed in this tomb is the body of the reverend, pious, & learned Benjamin Rolfe, the faithful pastor of the Church of Christ in Haverhill; who was barbarously slain in his own house by the enemy. He rested from his labors early on the day of sacred rest, Aug 29, 1708, in the 46th year of his age.”

Capt. Ayer was slain in the last engagement, before the reinforcement arrived. He was shot in the groin, and being a large, robust man, bled profusely. When his son arrived, he was told that his father was killed, and the informant pointed him out. He looked at the corpse a while, as it lay on the grass, all covered with blood, and told his informant that that person could not be his father, for he (meaning the person slain,) had on a pair of red breeches. Capt. Ayer was one of the Selectmen, a Deacon of the church, and one of the most worthy, active and intelligent citizens of the town. He lived near the house of Capt. John Ayer, 2d ° Lieut. Johnson was also a Deacon of the church, and was an active and useful citizen. He is supposed to be descended from Capt. Edward Johnson, the author of the '*Wonder Working Providence of Zion's Saviour*' in New England, and who, in company with Jonathan Ince, of Cambridge, and Sergeant John Sherman, of Watertown, surveyed the northern bounds of the Patent of Massachusetts, in 1652.

Captain Wainwright came from Ipswich; he had two brothers, John and Francis. His father, whose name was Francis, came from Chelmsford, in England, when a boy, and died about 1690. He is particularly noticed in the Pequot war, where he was simultaneously attacked by two Indians, and while defending himself broke the stock of his gun; he then used the barrel, and finally killed them both.

Captain Wainwright was a high-minded and influential citizen. He was supposed to be very rich, and there is a tradition which states that he had a large chest filled with dollars—and that he offered a man the whole if he would extract one of them with his fingers. The man "pulled and tugged," as our informant said, with all his strength, but alas! the thing was impossible, and he was obliged to leave it, and be satisfied with only looking at the precious stuff. It was also said that he buried much of his money, and a part of the field south of Captain Nehemiah Emerson's house, has been dug over, for the purpose of finding it. The large oak-tree, near Little River, has been twice dug around for the same object, within the remembrance of many of our citizens; but the tantalizing dreams of the "money-diggers," it is believed, were never realized."†

The 29th day of August, 1708, will ever be remembered by the inhabitants of Haverhill, as that of the last, and the most formidable attack

° Near the west end of Plug Pond.

† The field here alluded to is now almost completely covered with dwelling houses, it being that part of the village bounded by Little River on the south and west, Winter Street on the north, and the easterly line of the lots on the easterly side of Emerson Street on the east. The old oak-tree is yet standing, near the south west corner of Emerson Street.—G. W. C.

made upon the town during the long years of troubles with the Indians and their allies.

There was an alarm in the town on the night of the 25th of the following month, but, fortunately, no attack was made. Colonel Saltonstall, in a letter to the Governor and Council, under date of the 27th, informs them "that a party of the enemy, to the number of about thirty, were discovered in the town on Saturday night, but that he soon gave the alarm, drew a number of soldiers together, and had repelled and driven them back without suffering any loss."

The *Boston News Letter*, of October 4, (1708,) thus alludes to the affair:—"In our last we mentioned a second attempt upon Haverhill; it issues thus; that some few sculking Indians were discovered in the Town in the night, and the alarm being made, they were soon frightened, and drew off without doing any mischief."*

The distressed condition of the town after this terrible visitation, induced them to petition the General Court, for an abatement of their taxes,—which was granted. The following was their petition:—

"The Petition of Ye Subscribers humbly sheweth.

That whereas ye Righteous and Holy God hath been pleased in ye dispensation of his Providence to suffer ye Enemy to break in upon us, & by their violent Assaults & Depredations to make desolate several of ye best of our habitations in Haverhill, Damnifying us to ye value of about 1000: lb beside (which is more) loss of lives, thereby reducing us to great extremity and distraction, discouraging of hearts of many amongst us who are upon designs & endeavors to remove, whereby our condition is rendered in some measure comparable to yt of David's & ye men with him when Ziklag was Spoiled. Considering also in conjunction therewith ye extreem charges we must be exposed unto (if our town stands) in building strong Garrisons. Now settling a Mimister. The great obstructions against carrying on our dayly occasions, with other difficult circumstances attending us too tedious here to enumerate. We makbold to spread our case before Yor Honrs supplicating your Heedful & compasionate Regards thereto, so far to Alleviate us, as to grant unto us a Release from yt part of ye Tax to her Majesty wh is set upon us this year. And hoping yt of yr wonted Clemency & Candor you will not pass by our Sufferings & Sorrows as those yt are unconcerned. We beg yr favor & pardon, & Leave

* The only other losses by the Indians this season, were the following:—May 8th, four captured at Exeter, and one killed at Oyster River; July 22d, three killed and two captured at the latter place, four children captured at Exeter, and two killed and the same number captured at Kingston.

to say, yt your Gratification of our request will strengthen those bonds of obligation to Duty & Service which are already upon us who freely subscribe ourselves

Yor Humble Servts & petitionrs.

Haverhill
Dated Octobr
18 1708.

Selectmen
of Haverhill { Jonathan Emerson
Jonathan Eatton
William Johnson."

The Court ordered the sum of thirty pounds to be abated from their tax. September 15th, (1708) a meeting was called to see about a new minister, and a committee was chosen to supply the pulpit, "for the present, & for the coming winter." The committee engaged a Mr. Nicholas Seaver, who preached regularly until the next February, (7th) when a meeting was called "about a minister, as Mr Seaver's time was near out that he promised to stay." The town formally thanked Mr. Seaver for his pains and labor in the work among them; desired his continuance and settlement; and chose a committee to confer with him about the matter. March 1st, another meeting was called, at which it was voted to pay Mr. Seaver annually twenty pounds in money, and forty pounds in corn, as money, if he would settle in the town.

Two weeks afterward, they voted to add one hundred pounds in money to their former offer, "to be improved by him in settling himself with a house," and allow him the use of all the parsonage land. This was indeed a very liberal offer, and the fact that but four persons dissented from it, shows that Mr. Seaver was highly esteemed by the people of the town.

June 14th, another meeting was held to see about settling Mr. Seaver, at which the town voted to give him four contributions annually, and twenty cords of wood, in addition to what they had previously offered him. They then adjourned to the 21st, when Mr. Seaver's proposals were received, read, and declined. The records do not inform us what his proposals were.

Mr. Seaver did not continue to preach in town after his proposals were declined. He was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Brown, who gave such complete satisfaction to the church and the people, that "At a church meeting in Haverhill, Voted that the thanks of this church be returned to the Rev. Mr. Richard Brown for his labors with us in the work of the ministry hitherto, and that they desire his continuance with us still in that work in order to a settlement. And by a unanimous vote, not one person then present dissenting the Rev. Mr. Richard Brown was made choice of to be their minister and Pastor if he may be obtained."

This is the earliest record now preserved of a *church meeting* in the town.

The same day, a town meeting was held, at which it was unanimously voted to "concur with the church" in its selection of Mr. Brown for a minister, and a committee was chosen to treat with him, and also to treat with the administrator for the purchase of the late Mr. Rolfe's house.^o

December 7th, the committee reported upon the latter proposition, and the town voted to purchase the house. The price paid for the house, and all his land, was three hundred pounds.

At this meeting, fifteen persons† had liberty "to build a seat to sit in, in the hind seat of the meeting house, in the west gallery, they also promising that they would not build so high as to damnify the light of them windows at the said west end of the said west gallery," *provided* they made up the number of twenty persons to sit in said seat.

At the next meeting, eight others‡ had leave "to build a pew in the hinder seat of the front gallery;" and thirteen young ladies§ were granted permission "to build a pew in the hind seat in the east end of the meeting house gallery," *provided*, as in the first mentioned case, they did not "damnify or hinder the light."

The following is equally curious:—"John White desiring leave to set up a shed on the outside of the window at the west end of the meetinghouse to keep out the heat of the sun there, it was readily granted." (Query,—Were window curtains then unknown?)

Another Commoners' meeting was held in the spring of this year, (1709) at which John White, the Town Clerk, was chosen "Proprietors Clerk," and it was decided to hold a meeting on the first Tuesday in April, annually. From the record of this meeting it appears, that at the first meeting, the previously chosen committee had reported the names of all those who were entitled to vote as proprietors of the common land. The same person being clerk for the town, and also for the Commoners, the record of their meetings was kept in the town's book of records until April 13th, 1713, when they commenced keeping them in a separate book, and so continued to keep them, until they ceased to meet, as such.

^o Mr. Brown, for reasons not given, declined to accept the call to settle in town. He preached here twenty-four Sabbaths, and was succeeded by Rev. Joshua Gardner.

† Nathaniel Merrill, Samuel Roberts, Henry Sanders, John Corlist, Joseph Hutchins, Nathaniel Clement, Samuel Watts, Nathaniel Merrill, Jr., John Mulkin, William Smith, John Silver, Thomas Silver, John Rewy, Ephraim Roberts, Jr., William Whittier.

The following afterward joined with them:—Samuel Haseltine, Edward Carleton, Abel Merrill, Nathaniel Emerson, Jr., John Lad.

‡ John Ela, Samuel Ela, Ebenezer Katton, Robert Slackman, Samuel Peaty, Jonathan Clark, Samuel Carrier, Jr., Hope Rogers.

§ Abigail Duston, Abigail Mitchell, Abigail Lad, Mary Corlis, Elizabeth Watts, Mary Mitchell, Sarah Peaty, Elizabeth Simons, Susannah Hartshorn, Abiah Clement, Abigail Simons, Bethiah Bodwell, Sarah Merrill.

With the following, from *Mirick*, we close our record of this year:—

“The house of Col. Richard Saltonstall was blown up by a negro wench, on the night of the 29th of March. In Mr. Pike's journal, it is mentioned thus:—‘Colo. Saltonstall's house blown up by negroes 29th March, 1709. Though many lodged that night in the house, yet nobody hurt. A marvellous providence.’ Tradition has hoarded many stories concerning this affair, some of which are extremely ridiculous. The following, it is believed, is a true statement of the case. It appears that the Col. had severely corrected the wench, some time previous, for misbehaviour, and ever after, she cherished a feeling of hatred toward him, and determined to take signal revenge. In the dead of night, on the 29th, when the house was wrapped in a profound stillness, she carried a quantity of powder into the room, directly under that which was then occupied by the Col. and his wife. Having fixed a long train and connected it with the powder, she dropt a match upon it and fled precipitately to the farm-house, which stood but a few rods distant. She had scarcely secured herself, when the powder went off with a tremendous explosion, and nearly or quite demolished the house. The Col. and his wife were thrown in their bed some distance from the house, without receiving any injury. The soldiers stationed in the house, were scattered in every direction, but happily, no lives were lost. The Col., after recovering from his surprise, went directly to the farm-house and found his servants all up, excepting this wench, who feigned sleep. He suspected and charged her with the deed, but it could never be proved.”

CHAPTER XV.

1710 to 1722.

At a meeting of the town, May 15, 1710, it was unanimously voted, to invite Rev. Joshua Gardner to settle in town, and, at the same time, the thanks of the town were tendered him "for his labors hitherto."

We find nothing more about his settlement, until October, when a church meeting was held, to consider the matter, at which he was unanimously made choice of; and, at a town meeting, the same day, this action of the church was unanimously concurred in. The salary voted him was seventy pounds per annum, payable "one half in good passable money, & the rest in good merchantable corn, at money price, or in good passable money, & the use of all the Parsonage Housing & lands & meadows."

This offer, though not so large as the one made Mr. Seaver, seems to have been satisfactory to Mr. Gardner, as may be seen from the following letter, which was read at a town meeting December 11th, and "very well accepted":—

"To the church and inhabitants of Haverhill.

Dearly beloved in Christ

Being informed by your Committee that it is your unanimous desire that I should settle with you for the carrying on the work of the ministry among you; and also what you have freely voted to do for my maintenance: I have taken the matter into consideration, and advised with my friends upon it, who universally encourage me to accept the invitation. Therefore apprehending that providence does as it were thrust me forth into his harvest, and finding a greater inclination & more encouragement of late to enter upon the work than formerly, my thoughts are, I am bound in duty to give up myself to the service of Christ in the work of the ministry among you fearing if I should do otherwise God would be displeased with me.

I do therefore hereby declare that I do cheerfully, and that not without a sense of my own insufficiency for so great & solemn a work, endeavouring to place my entire dependence upon God for direction & assistance to carry it on—accept your invitation on the terms you propose.

Thankfully acknowledging your kind acceptance of my labors with you hitherto; likewise your respect & love shown me in your late invitation & proposals; earnestly begging your prayers to God for me that he will abundantly

dantly furnish me with all needful qualifications for the work I trust he is calling me unto; and that I may come unto you in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ.

I take leave to subscribe myself your brother in Christ

Joshua Gardner."

Mr. Gardner was ordained the 10th of January, 1711, the town paying all the expenses of the occasion, — amounting to twelve pounds.

Though the town had not been troubled by the Indians for above two years, yet they did not think it prudent to relax their vigilance, — at least, so far as their means of defence were concerned. Their garrisons, and houses of refuge, were kept in complete order for occupation at a moment's notice, and the parsonage house was repaired and *fortified*.*

A large company of soldiers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Saltonstall, were also kept constantly armed and equipped, and exercised in the town; and, that these soldiers might be the better prepared for every emergency, the General Court (June 19. 1710,) ordered them to be supplied with *snow shoes*. Snow shoes were also supplied to the whole of the North Regiment of Essex. The names of the snow shoe men in Haverhill, were

Thomas Whittier,	John Page, Jr.,	Stephen Emerson,
John Eaton,	Nathan Simons,	Stephen Johnson,
Joseph Emerson,	John Webster,	Jonathan Hendrick,
Christopher Bartlett, Jr.,	Daniel Lad, Jr.,	Samuel Huckins,
Joseph Bond,	Jonathan Eastman,	Adam Draper,
Anthony Colby,	Samuel Robards,	Richard Whittier,
Nathaniel Duston,	James Ayer,	John Watts,
Samuel Dow,	Edward Ordway,	Stephen Davis,
Ephraim Davis,	Elisha Davis,	Robert Peasly,
Jonathan Eaton,	William Davis,	Joshua Padington,
Job Eaton,	Abraham Whittiker,	Samuel Ayer,
John Ela,	Jonathan Simons,	William Whittaker,
Peter Green, Sen.,	Robert Hunkins,	John Heseltine,
Ephraim Gile,	Joseph Bradley,	William Johnson,
Matthew Harriman, Jr.,	Ephraim Robards,	Abraham Bradley,
Josiah Heath, Jr.,	John Heath, Jr.,	Samuel Davis,
John Hutchins, Jr.,	Benjamin Page, Jr.,	Thomas Johnson,
Andrew Michel,	John Shepard,	John Stevens.
John Marsh,	Nathaniel Smith,	

* The expense of repairing the parsonage was eleven pounds fourteen shillings and six pence. Among the items in the bill we find—Clear white pine boards, at five shillings and eight pence per hundred; plank, at seven shillings per hundred; labor, at three shillings per day; and large board nails at one shilling and four pence per hundred. Among the bills of the year, we find one for a barrel of cider for the minister, the price of which was five shillings and six pence; and one for the services of the Town Clerk for the past year, *ten shillings*.

At the annual meeting for 1711, the Selectmen were ordered to hire a Grammar School master, who was "to move quarterly to such places as the Selectmen agree to, as shall be most convenient for the inhabitants of the town." It seems that no school-master could be found who would move quarterly, and after trying for six months to hire one, another meeting was called, and a proposition submitted that the town pay a teacher five pounds to keep a school one quarter at the school-house. This was voted down immediately,—probably by those who lived at a distance from the village, and who desired to share with the villagers in the advantages of such a school, as will appear hereafter.

From the bills approved this year, we learn that Obadiah Ayer kept a school half a year in 1710, for which he was paid fifteen pounds. He also kept this year, the same length of time. It was not, however, what they called a Grammar School, as only "reading, writing and cyphering" were included in the list of studies.

Some idea of the extent, as well as location, of the *Cow Common*, as first laid out, may be formed from the following vote of the Commoners, April 3, 1711:—

"Voted and granted that the Cow Common may be fenced in from the Pond Bridge & so by Ephraim Guile's, and as far as the river runs by Ephraim Roberts sawmill, and so to Tho Duston's:^o Those that fence it in to set up convenient gates for passage with teams; one at the Pond Bridge, one at Ephraim Guile's, one at Tho Duston's, one gate by Samuel Smith's house, another by Stephen Dow's on the Wid: Bromege's, and another, if need be, at the lane by Jonathan Emerson's: This Common to be improved by those that fence it in, & not others, for the feeding of cows, sheep, & riding horses, & no other cattle, for this year & until the Commoners shall take further order."

A meeting of the Commoners was called October 15th, to consider about making some more stringent regulation in relation to the "transporting of timber, staves, and firewood" out of town. The vote of the town, passed in 1674, being read, it was declared that it could not well be mended, and therefore nothing further was done.

John Swett, a native of Newbury, was this year appointed ferryman at the Rocks;—hence the name of "Swett's ferry." It is believed that there were then no more than two houses at that place; and, indeed, the whole town had increased but very little, if any, in population, during the last

^o That is, the fence followed the stream from the outlet of the *Great Pond*, around to Tho Duston's,—or near the junction of *Fishing* and *Little Rivers*.

thirty years. Strangers would not move into it, on account of the danger arising from the Indian war, and it is probable that those who sickened and died, and those who were slain by the enemy, nearly equalled the births.

The only damage done by the Indians this year, was at Cocheeco (Dover) in the spring, when five persons were killed. But the constant fear of them caused a strong force to be kept in the frontier towns. As late as August 27, 1712, a foot company of fifty men was ordered to be raised, and posted at Haverhill.

At the annual meeting for 1712, several persons^o applied for an abatement of their taxes for the ministry, and the school, on account of the great distance they lived from the Town, and the difficulty they met with in coming. The town voted to abate one half of their ministry rates.

This year the town was again presented for being destitute of a school-master, and on the 12th of May, Nathaniel Haseltine was chosen to appear at the Court of General Sessions, held at Salem, to answer it. Nothing further was done in this matter until the following March, when the town refused to give the Selectmen power to hire a school-master, and thus the subject rested until June, when a meeting was called to see what should be done about schools in town.

By a law of 1700, every town of fifty families and upwards was required to be constantly provided with a school-master to teach children to read and write; and every town of one hundred and fifty families was required to have a free grammar school, where youth could be instructed "in such grammar learning as may fit them for admittance into the college."

Previous to this time, there had been but one place in town for a school—in the village—and, as a matter of course, those who lived in distant parts of the town could have but little benefit from it. That this disadvantage was felt, is seen from the vote, in 1711,—to engage a school-master who should "move quarterly." But now the question assumed a more definite form. Petitions were received from several of the inhabitants,[†] for a school house in the northwest part of the town, near Job Clements' at the town's cost, and a school one quarter of a year, "that they might have the benefit of having their children brought up to learning as well as the children of those that live in the center of the Town;" and also

^o Henry Bodwell, John Gutterston, Thomas Austin, Joshua Stephens, Robert Swan, John Cross, William Cross, Robert Swan, Jr., Joshua Swan. These all lived in that part of the town now Methuen.

[†] Joseph Emerson, Mathew Herriman, Job Clements, Joseph Heath, John Stephens, Aaron Stephens, Ephraim Roberts, Josiah Heath, sen., Benjamin Emerson, Joseph Johnson, Samuel Worthen, James Heath, Thomas Johnson, William Whitaker, John Simons, Josiah Heath.

from several of the inhabitants in the north-easterly part of the town,^o for a school-house and school "near the house of Mr John Whittier, on the common, between the two bridges, & between the house of Danl Ela, and the Country road." Both petitions were granted; and the selectmen were ordered to provide a school-master: and a committee was chosen to build the school-houses immediately. The latter were to be "20 ft long, 16 ft wide, & 8 ft stud, & furnished so as may be comfortable & convenient."

Mr. Ayer kept the school in the town this summer, and a Mr. Stedman, of Cambridge, kept the succeeding fall and winter.

Hostilities having ceased in Europe early in this year, the Indians again expressed a desire for peace, and a treaty was entered into with them at Portsmouth, which was attended by delegates from the tribes on the St. John, Kennebeck, Ameriscoggin, Saco, and Merrimack, and articles of pacification were duly signed July 13th, 1713, and were formally confirmed, with loud demonstrations of joy, by a great body of Indians who were assembled at Falmouth, waiting the result. Thus was peace once more permitted to smile on the New England frontiers.

By the terms of this treaty, the English were allowed to enter upon their former settlements, without molestation or claim on the part of the Indians, while to the latter was reserved the right of hunting, fishing and fowling, as freely as they enjoyed in 1693; and government was to establish convenient trading houses for the Indians, where they might obtain their supplies without the fraud and extortion which had been practiced in former years.† The next spring, a ship was sent to Quebec, to exchange prisoners.

Among the town votes of 1713, we find one in which the selectmen and constables were ordered "to regulate the conduct of disorderly boys on the Sabbath, in the meeting house." From this it is evident that boys were—*boys*, as long ago, at least, as the time of our great-grand-parents.

At the annual meeting in 1714, Robert Swan petitioned for permission to keep a ferry near his house, but the town declined to grant the request.

Another petition was received at this meeting for permission to build a "women's pew" in the meeting house.‡ The place proposed was "the hind seat in the women's gallery." The matter was left with the Selectmen.

^o John Sanders, Robert Hastings, Anthony Colbie, Joseph Whittier, James Sanders, Robert Hopkins, *Wentworth* Samuel Currier, John Currier, John Page, Jr., Robert Hastings, Jr., Jonathan Peasly, Benjamin Page, Jr., Daniel Ela, Benjamin Page, Sen., Abraham Page, Thomas Johnson, Jr., Joseph Grely, John George, John Eleh.

† Hutchinson estimates that, "from 1675 to 1713, 5 to 6000 of the youth of the country had perished by the enemy, or by distempers contracted in the service."

‡ The petition was signed by Hannah Simons, Elizabeth Currier, Hannah Batton, Judith Batton, Mabethable Gulle, Ruth Dow, Abigail Dow, Sarah Johnson, Sarah Haseltine, Hannah Heath, Sarah Gulle.

A petition was also received for a school-house in the northwesterly part of the town, "between Hog-hill and the brick-kill bridge;" but "very few if any persons voted for it," and the request was therefore denied.*

At this meeting, the Selectmen were "desired to seat the *negroes* in some convenient place in the meeting-house, if they can." This appears to have been the origin of the "negro pew," in this town; and it is worthy of note, that the practice thus inaugurated, continued so long as there were negroes in the town,—a period within the memory of many persons now living.

In this connection, we give the following synopsis of the history of slavery in Massachusetts. We condense it from the reply of Dr. Belknap of Boston, to Judge Tucker of Virginia, in 1795.†

Samuel Maverick resided on Noddle's Island when Winthrop came over in 1630. He had a fort and four great guns. John Joselyn, who came to New England in 1638, mentions Mr. Maverick's *negro woman* and a *negro man*, and "another negro who was her maid," and that "Mr. Maverick was desirous to have a breed of negroes." He understood that the negro woman "had been a queen in her own country," &c.

The laws enacted between 1630 and 1641, make mention of *servants* and *masters*, *man-servant*, and *maid-servant*; in 1645 mention is made of *negroes* "fraudulently and injuriously taken and brought from Guinea" by Captain Smith to Piscataqua. About the same time (1645) a law was made "prohibiting the buying and selling of slaves, except those taken in lawful war, or reduced to servitude for their crimes by a judicial sentence, and these were to have the same privileges as were allowed by the law of Moses." In 1649 it was enacted—"If any man *stealeth* a man or man-kind, he shall surely be put to death. Exodus xxi—16."

In 1675-6-7 some Indians, who had submitted to the government, joined against the English in Phillips war. Those taken in arms, were adjudged guilty of rebellion. Some were put to death, but most of them were sold into slavery in foreign countries. Some of these latter found their way home, and joined with the hostile Indians in a succeeding war, in revenge.

African trade was never prosecuted, in any great degree, by merchants of Massachusetts. Negroes were probably introduced via trade with Barbadoes. In 1703, a duty of four pounds was laid on every negro imported. Not over three ships a year ever engaged in the African trade.

* The names of the petitioners were—Peter Green, Jotham Hendrick, Nathaniel Peasey, Samuel Clements, James Sanders, Peter Green, Jr., John Page, John Matton, Matthew Herriman, Jr., Joseph Peasey, Abraham Page, Henry Sanders.

† From Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. 4, 194.

Rum was the main spring of it. Slaves purchased in Africa were chiefly sold in the West Indies, or Southern colonies. When the markets were glutted, and prices low, some were brought here. Very few *whole cargoes* ever came. One gentleman remembers only two or three:—One thirty to forty years ago, which was mostly children. Rhode Island did much more of this than Boston. Some of their vessels, after selling prime slaves at the West Indies, brought the remnant to Boston. Boston is the only seaport in Massachusetts ever concerned in the business. About the time of the stamp act, the trade declined, and in 1788 was prohibited by law.

The causes of its declension were,—it required large capital—was hazardous—was never supported by popular opinion—the voice of conscience was against it—those engaged in it, in their last hours bitterly lamented it—the laboring people complained of the blacks, as intruders—the inconsistency of pleading our own rights and liberties, while we encouraged the subjugation of others.

There was never anything like a census before 1763, and it was not then very accurate. It was very unpopular. The second was in 1776; the third in 1784.

In 1763 there were in Mass. 5,214 blacks, or 45 to 1 of population.

1776	"	"	5,249	"	"	65	"	1	"	"
1784	"	"	4,377	"	"	80	"	1	"	"

In 1790, (first United States Census) there were in Massachusetts and Maine, six thousand blacks and Indians—about two thousand were *mixed* and blacks. Slaves were most numerous previous to 1763. Prince Hall, a very intelligent black man, aged fifty-seven years, thinks slaves were most numerous about 1745. Boston contained one-fourth part of all of them. In country towns, he never heard of more than three or four on a farm, except *one*, which had sixteen, and "it was a distinguished singularity." They were employed as rope-makers, anchor-smiths, ship-carpenters, and in families, as servants.

Negro children were always reckoned incumbrances, and when weaned, were given away like puppies. The negroes were inventoried and taxed as ratable property. Some of them purchased their freedom; and some were liberated by their masters. The law was against manumission, unless the master gave bonds for maintenance in case of sickness, or decrepitude. Negroes were forbidden to strike a white man, on pain of being sold out of the province. If found out after nine o'clock, P. M., they were sent to the House of Correction. Inter-marriage was prohibited, under severe penalties.

The controversy about slavery began about 1766, and was warmly continued till 1773, by newspaper articles, pamphlets, speeches, &c. The Quakers helped the cause along. In 1767, an attempt was made in the legislature to discourage the slave trade, but it failed; and again, in 1773, on petition from the negroes. In 1774, an act was passed by the Assembly, to prevent importation; but it was vetoed by Governor Hutchinson. After the adoption of the Constitution of 1780, which declares "all men free and equal," many asked for, and obtained their freedom. Some took it without leave. Many aged and infirm continued in the families where they had lived. In 1781, an indictment was found against a white man in Worcester County, for assaulting, beating, and imprisoning a black. He was tried in the Supreme Judicial Court, in 1783. His *Defence* was, that the black was his slave, and the beating, &c., were necessary correction. The *Answer* was the foregoing clause of the Constitution. The judges and jury decided that he had no right to beat or imprison the negro, and he was found guilty and fined forty shillings. This was the death-blow to slavery in Massachusetts.

We believe that the earliest distinct allusion to "servants" we have met with in the records or traditions of this town, is the record of the death of "Hopewell, an Indian Servant of John Hutchins," in 1668. The next, is found in the account of the remarkable preservation of Rev. Mr. Rolfe's children, by his "negro woman," Hagar, in 1708. Hagar "owned the covenant, and was baptized," with her children, (two sons and one daughter) by Rev. Mr. Gardner, in 1711. In 1709, the house of Colonel Richard Saltonstall was blown up, by "his negro wench," whom he had previously "corrected." In 1723, Rev. Mr. Brown had an Indian servant, as may be seen from the following entry in his book of church records: — "Baptized Phillis an Indian Girl, Servant of John & Joanna Brown." In 1728, Mr. Brown baptized "Mariah, negro servant of Richard Saltonstall." In 1738, Rev. Mr. Bachellor baptized "Celia, Negro child of John Corliiss." In 1740, he baptized "Levi, Negro child of Samuel Parker." In 1757, he baptized "Dinah, negro child of Samuel Haseltine;" and, also, "Lot & Candace, negroes belonging to Richard and Martha Ayer." In 1764, he baptized "Gin, negro Girl of Peter Carleton." Mr. Bachellor had himself a negro servant, as we find, in the church book of records of the West Parish, under date of March 24, 1785, the following entry among the deaths: — "Nero, servant to ye Revd Mr Bachellor." There is a tradition that he had a negro named "Pomp," who is said to have dug the well near the old meeting-house. As the story goes, just before setting out for an exchange with a distant minister, Mr. Bachellor

set Pomp at work to dig the well, and gave him positive instructions to have it done by the time he returned. Pomp labored diligently, and with good success, until he came to a solid ledge. This was too hard for his pick and spade, and poor Pomp was greatly perplexed. His "maasa" had directed him to have the well done when he returned, but how to get through the solid rock was more than Pomp could tell. While in this dilemma, a neighbor happened along, who advised that the ledge should be blasted with powder, and kindly instructed Pomp how to drill a hole for the blast. The latter, much pleased at the prospect of getting his job finished in season, worked vigorously at his drill, and soon had a hole nearly deep enough, when he suddenly struck through the ledge, and the water commenced rushing up through the hole with such force, that he was obliged to scramble out of the well as fast as possible, to escape drowning. It is said that the well has never been dry since.

From Rev. Mr. Parker's book of church records, in the East Parish, we find that, in 1750, he "baptized Jenny, the Servant child of Joseph & Mary Greelee;" in 1758, "Phillis, the negro child of Ezekiel and Sarah Davis;" and, in 1764, "Mercy, the negro child of Seth & Hannah Johnson."

From the official census of 1754, we find that there were then in this town sixteen slaves, "of sixteen years old and upwards." In 1764, the number was twenty-five.

From a partial file of the town valuation lists, from 1750 to 1800, we learn that the following persons in this town owned slaves. It is worthy of note, that with the very few exceptions noted, but one negro was owned by each person:—

1753. John Cogswell, John Dimond, Benj Harrod, John Hazzen (2), Col Richd Saltonstall (2), Wm Swonten (2), John Sawyer, Saml White. These were all in the First Parish.

1754. In the East Parish, Joseph Greelee, Wm Morse, Amos Peaslee, Timothy Hardey.

1755. In the First Parish, John Cogswell. In the West Parish, John Corlia.

1759. In the First Parish, Moses Clements, Samuel White, Samuel White Esq, Thos West. In the West Parish, Joseph Haynes.

1761. In the West Parish, Samuel Bacheller, Joseph Haynes,

1766. In the First Parish, Moses Clements, Nathl Cogswell, James McHard, Samuel White, Samuel White jun (2), John White.

➤ 1769. In the East Parish, Dudley Tyler.

1770. In the First Parish, Moses Clements, James McHard,^o Samuel Souther, Saml White, Saml White jun (2), John White.

1771. In the First Parish, Jona Webster, Saml Souther, John White, Saml White Esq,† James McHard, Moses Clement, Enoch Bartlett. In the East Parish, Dudley Tyler.<

1776. In the East Parish, Wm Moors, Dudley Tyler.< This is the latest date we find "negroes," or "servants," entered in the valuation lists in the town.

In one list, the date of which is lost, but which was apparently somewhere between 1750 and 1760, we find the following:— Robert Hutchins, Moses Hazzen (2), Robert Peaslee (2), John Sanders, John Sweat, Saml White, Saml White jun, Christ: Bartlett, John Clements, Joseph Harimin, Joshua Harimin, Eadmun Hale, Daniel Johnson, Jona Roberds, Wm Whitiker.

We are informed by Mr. James Davis, that his father, Amos Davis, of the East Parish, owned two negroes named Prince and Judith, whom he purchased when young, in Newburyport. The bill of sale of them is still preserved in the family. Prince married a white woman, and, after securing his freedom, removed to Sanbornton, N. H., where he has descendants still living. Judith remained in the family until her death.

Deacon ——— Chase, who lived in the edge of Amesbury, not far from the Rocks' Village, also owned a negro, named Peter, who is remembered by many persons now living. After the death of his master, he passed into the possession of a Mr. Pilsbury, with whom he lived until his death. William Morse, of the East Parish, had a negro servant, named Jenny. We also learn of one in the family of Job Tyler in the same Parish.

From the town records, we learn, that in the month of September, 1714, there was a "great fire in the woods, whereby the hay was in general & great danger." We presume that a large part of their hay was usually stacked in the meadows, where it was cut, until wanted for feeding out in the winter, and it was these stacks which were thus endangered. The danger was so great, that but few of the inhabitants could leave home to attend town meeting, and it was therefore adjourned.

In the records of this year, (1714) we find the first allusion to Stocks, in the form of an item in a bill:—"iron for the Stocks, 3s. 10." Judging from the cost of the iron they were either the first Stocks in town, or, at any rate, *new ones*.

^o The name of this negro was "Jenny."—*Tradition*.

† At a town meeting, September 22, 1795, a committee was chosen to assist "Salem, a black man, late a servant of Samuel White," who had become chargeable to the town. Many now living remember "Old Salem," who lived on the bank of the river, nearly opposite the foot of Kent Street.

In October, the bounds of the town were renewed, by Samuel Danforth, a son of the person who first surveyed them. The following is his report to the General Court:—

“Oct. 25, 1714. At the request of the Selectmen of Haverhill to renew the bounds of their town: I began at Merrimack River upon Denisens where it was asserted by Lieut Stephen Barker & Robert Swan, and Henry Bodwell of an old marked tree, & run north by a line of marked trees & heaps of stones to the north angle of the town, which was a great heap of stones; This line we renewed well: then I run southeast by a line of marked trees to the eastward side of Cedar Swamp; & this line we renewed until we came to a white oak tree marked with the letter X: and another tree marked H: and we found several of the trees on both lines marked with the letter H. Then I began at Holt's Rock's at Merrimack River & run northwest until I met with the line I left on the eastward side of Cedar Swamp: and I found one great pillar of stones upon the line near the old Dam. I find these two lines according to the return that my honored father made to the General Court; and the Selectmen and several others assisted me in said work.

Samuel Danforth Surveyor.”

Though highway surveyors had been regularly chosen by the town, since 1693, and had been appointed by the Selectmen for many years previous to that time, yet we find no record or hint that money had been expended by them, or work done, except upon three or four bridges, until the year 1715, when “Jotham Hendrick, surveyor,” was allowed six shillings for “mending the highway.” As the smallest matters of town expense were recorded, we are confident that if any work or money had been expended upon the roads previous to this time, the records would surely contain some hint of the fact. As they do not, we feel safe in saying that the town did not, as such, expend a penny, or a day's labor, upon its roads, except for bridges, *during the first seventy-five years of its settlement!* Subsequent to this date, highway expenses are regularly mentioned.

At the annual meeting in 1715, the town voted that Mr. Gardner might have a weekly contribution if he desired it, so that he might have some money “before the town rate was raised for him.” At the next annual meeting (1715–16) a committee was chosen to join with him in leasing the Parsonage farm for twenty years, “if he live so long.” Two weeks afterward, Mr. Gardner was dead, and a town meeting was held (March 28) to see about finding some one to take his place.

Mr. Barnard, his second successor, in a sermon, thus speaks of him: —
“Mr. Gardner, who is warm in the hearts of a few of you to this day, was

soon ripe for heaven, according to the account which was handed down of him. He was not suffered to remain long by reason of death. Neither prayers nor tears could detain him from his inheritance above. In a few years he finished his course with joy."

The following epitaph is taken from the simple monument raised to his memory:—

"Rev. Joshua Gardner died March 21, 1715, a man good betimes and full of the Holy Ghost and faith, of an excellent temper, of great integrity, prudence and courage—pastor of the church in Haverhill five years—who, having faithfully improved his talents, fell asleep in Jesus, and went triumphantly to receive his reward in heaven."

After his death, the town voted to pay the expenses of his funeral, which amounted to thirty-four pounds nine shillings and six pence.^o

A petition was this year presented to the town, signed by thirty of the inhabitants, desiring that the obstruction in Merrie's Creek, and the Fishing, or Little River, might be removed, "so that a free passage for the fish might be obtained." The petition was granted.

From the records of the same year, we learn, that the "Town's old book of grants and orders" was lost, and a committee was chosen to see if they could find it. From the bill presented by the committee the next year, it appears that they spent three days each in the business; that Captain White, the Town Clerk, attended on the committee two days; and that James Sanders made one journey to Salem to enquire after it, and another journey to "Sandige" to "enquire after and bring home the old town books." The whole expenses were four pounds, sixteen shillings. The books were ordered to be delivered to the Town Clerk. The town had once before refused to allow these books to be kept by that officer, but having thus narrowly escaped a total loss, they wisely concluded they would be safest in his hands.

After the death of Mr. Gardner, the pulpit was occupied by various ministers, among whom was Mr. Jonathan Cushing, and Mr. Robert Stanton. At a church meeting, held July 27th, 1716, to choose a minister, Mr. Cushing received twenty out of thirty-five votes; and at a town meeting, the same day, he received one hundred and two out of one hundred and thirty-six votes.† The town then voted to offer him the same that they had paid Mr. Gardner.

^o William White made a journey to Boston to get supplies for the funeral. Among the items of expense, was "one bbl cyder." Joshua Gardner married Mercy Pike, November 23, 1711. Children,—Samuel, December 9, 1713; Nathaniel, August 27, 1715.

† As our ancestors were always out in full force upon all such occasions, the above, we think, is very near the full number of church members and voters in the town at this time.

It seems, however, that the minority, who had all voted for Mr. Stanton, were not merely in favor of the latter, but were opposed to Mr. Cushing; and, November 28th, a meeting was called to hear the report of the committee chosen to treat with Mr. Cushing, and "to hear what those persons have to allege against his settling here that are uneasy under his ministry."

The result was, that a Committee was chosen to consult the Rev. Mr. Leverett and Rev. Mr. Brattle, of Cambridge, as to the best course to be pursued. According to their advice a Committee was chosen to treat with a Mr. Fiske, who had preached in town several times since the death of Mr. Gardner. But it seems that they could not unite peaceably upon Mr. Fiske, and recourse was again had to Cambridge for advice.

January 22d a meeting was called "to hear the advice of the Rev. Mr. Leverett, & Mr. Brattle." The record does not say what their further advice was, but from the following, which was the first vote passed at the meeting, we presume they recommended a day of fasting and prayer:—

"Voted that the Revd Mr Moody, Mr Parson, Mr Wise of Chebacco, Mr Wells, Mr Tappin, & Mr White be desired with the Revd Mr Barnard, Mr Cushing, Mr Symes, & Mr Tufts, in keeping a day of humiliation, to seek for wisdom of heaven in our great affairs, on Wednesday the sixth day of February next."

A Committee was chosen to invite the above named ministers, and receive their advice in the matter, and also to make provision for their entertainment on the day of the Fast.

The result of the fast, was, that the Rev. Joseph Parsons, of Lebanon, was selected by the church for their minister.

The church having made choice of Mr. Parsons, a meeting of the town was called, May 28, to consider the matter. As "a great many people were unsatisfied about his leaving his church" at Lebanon,^o several papers were read in the town meeting; among them the determination of a Council acquitting him "from crimes laid to his charge," and declaring their approbation of his removal. The town voted that they were satisfied, and, by a vote of sixty-five to forty-eight, chose him to settle here as minister, offering him a salary of one hundred pounds, besides the use of the Parsonage lands and buildings. The minority, however, were so strongly opposed to his settlement, that, at a meeting called in the following August, (13th) the town, with but one dissenting voice, reconsidered the vote.

October 30, a meeting was called, "to forgive all past offences that have been given among us, concerning the settlement of a minister, and agree in

^o Mr. Parsons was now preaching in Haverhill.

love and peace to consider & agree upon a suitable person to carry on the work of the ministry among us." The moderator, Ephraim Roberts, proposed that all who wished to signify "their desires for peace and love one towards another, & for the sending for a minister to preach with us," should move to the east end of the meeting-house. They all moved to the east end, except three or four persons. The meeting then adjourned.

Another meeting was held November 12, but, after "considerable discourse" it adjourned without accomplishing anything, and the year closed without the settlement of a minister in the town.

Sunday, October 21, 1716, was what is called "a dark day." It was so dark that candles were lighted at noon. Stephen Jaques, of Newbury, in his diary, says:—

"On the sabbath day about eleven of the clock in sarman time it grue so dark that one could not see a parson from one end of the metting hous to the other except it was against a window, nor could know another four seats off, nor read a word in a psalm book. It continued near half an hour. Sum ministers sent for candels, sum set still, till it was lighter. Sum was ready to think the world was at an end; all seemed to be consarned. It was a time when ye air was very full of smoke. It came dayly down when it was a south west wind, the wind being now as I remember at est, which might bring ye smoak back, & dark clouds pass over, as it being cloudy weather. I was an cie witness of this myself."

The winter of 1716-17, is memorable for the unusual quantity of snow that fell between the 18th and the 24th of February. In these storms, the earth was covered with snow from ten to fifteen feet, and, in some places, even twenty feet deep. Many one story houses were entirely covered, and, in many places, paths were dug from house to house, under the snow. Visits were made from place to place by means of snow shocs,—the wearers, in many cases, stepping out of their chamber windows on to the snow. In this manner, one Abraham Pierce, of Newbury, paid a visit to his "ladye love," and was the first person the family had seen abroad for more than a week. Cotton Mather has left a particular account of this "great snow," and the many marvels and prodigies attending it.

The town were yet without a settled minister, and, at one time, it seemed doubtful whether they would very soon be able to unite upon any one to settle among them. But the cloud of dissention at last blew over, and at a meeting held early in February, 1718, "Mr Samuel Chickley" was unanimously made choice of for their minister. Two months afterward, (April 23) he received a formal call from the town, accompanied

• Chickley.

with the offer of one hundred pounds salary, and the use of all the Parsonage land east of sawmill river.^o For reasons not given, Mr. Checkley declined the offer.

The successor of Mr. Checkley, as occasional minister, or candidate for settlement, was Mr. John Brown, of Little Cambridge, (now Brighton) who pleased the people so well, that in October they unanimously invited him to settle among them, and offered him the same salary that they had previously voted to give Mr. Checkley. Mr. Brown accepted the invitation, and was ordained on the 13th of the next May, (1719.)

Mr. Brown graduated at Cambridge, in 1714. He married Joanna Cotton, daughter of Rev. Rowland Cotton, of Sandwich, an "eminently pious and worthy Lady." They had ten children, six sons and four daughters. Four of the sons were educated at Cambridge. John graduated in 1741, and was ordained in Cohasset. He died 1792, aged sixty-nine. Cotton graduated in 1743, was ordained at Brookline, on 26th of October, 1748, and died 13th of April, 1751. Dr. Cooper notices him as one who "had raised in his friends the fairest hopes, and given them just reason to expect in him one of the brightest ornaments of society, and a peculiar blessing to the church." Ward graduated in 1748, and died the same year. Thomas graduated in 1752, and was a minister at ^{eld} Stroudwater. He died in 1797. His eldest daughter married John Chipman, Esq., of Marblehead; another, a Mr. Dana, of Brookline, and a third Rev. Edward Brooks, of Medford, formerly minister at North Yarmouth.†

The ferry, established in 1711, at Holt's Rocks, and kept by John Swett, was this year (1718) granted by the General Court to Haverhill and Newbury for the term of forty years. In answer to Mr. Swett's petition, this town granted him all its right in the ferry, if he would engage to carry the inhabitants over the river "for a penny a single person and four pence for a man and horse."

We notice that, with the exception of two years, the bounty of twenty shillings on wolves had been annually voted up to this time. The number of these troublesome animals in the vicinity may be judged from the fact that in 1716, five full-grown ones were killed in town. The bounty was continued for many years after this time.

^o The reason given for not including the parsonage land west of the above river, was, — "not knowing but what they may in some convenient time settle another minister there."

† The following is from the Town Records: — John Brown, m Joanna Cotton. — Ch. — Elizabeth, Oct 26, 1721; Martha Feb 6, 1723, d Oct 5, 1736; John, Mar 9, 1724; Nathaniel, Sep 30, 1725, d Oct 21, 1736; Cotton, Jan 21, 1736; Ward, July 10, 1738; Meriel, July 5, 1730; Abigail, —; Thomas, May 17, 1734; Samuel, Sep 17, 1736, d Nov 8, 1736; The Rev. John Brown, died Dec. 2, 1742. "Phillis, an Indian servant" of Mr. Brown's, d Apl 22, 1739.

The first mention we find of a *deacon* in town, is in the records of 1717. when "Deacon John Haseltine" was chosen moderator of one of the meetings about a minister. A few weeks later, we find "Deacon White" (John) among the names. These two, then, were undoubtedly the active church deacons at this time. Deacon Haseltine was moderator of all the meetings called to see about a minister at this period, but not of other town meetings. Deacon White's seems to have been the usual stopping place for those who supplied the pulpit while there was no settled minister in town. The celebrated George Whitefield, who visited the town twice during his well known labors in the vicinity, was, on both occasions, the guest of Deacon White. Whitefield did not preach in town on his first visit, as strong objections were made to allowing him the use of the meeting-house; but, on his second visit, he preached to a large congregation of people in the open air, opposite the Deacon's house, on Mill Street. So strong was the prejudice against Whitefield, that the authorities of the town, hearing that he was to preach, sent him a warning to depart out of the town. Instead of complying with their request, he read their letter at the close of his afternoon discourse, and observing "Poor souls! they shall have another sermon," proceeded to give notice that he should preach at the same place, *at sunrise*, the next morning. He kept his word, and addressed a large audience.

The following brief notice of the first settlement of Londonderry may not be considered inappropriate in this place, for reasons which will afterward appear.

On the 14th of August, 1718, there arrived in Boston five ship-loads of emigrants from the north of Ireland.^o They were descendants of a colony which went from Argyleshire, in Scotland, about the middle of the seventeenth century. They were rigid Presbyterians, and fled from Scotland to avoid the persecutions of Charles I. Soon after their arrival in New England, they petitioned the Assembly for a grant of land, and obtained liberty to make a settlement of twelve miles square in any of the unappropriated lands to the eastward. Twenty families of them sailed for Casco, where they remained until spring, when, not finding land which pleased them, most of them embarked for the Merrimack. They reached Haverhill April 2d, and while here, hearing of a fine tract of land about fifteen miles distant, called *Nutfield*, from the abundance of chesnut, butternut, and walnut trees, which distinguished its forests, the men left their

^o There were one hundred and twenty families in all.

families in Haverhill, and went to view Nutfield. Being well pleased with the location, and finding it unappropriated, they concluded to take it up. Having selected a spot, and built a few huts, they returned for their families, with whom they finally arrived at Nutfield April 11, O. S., 1719. There were sixteen families of them. In 1720, they purchased the Indian title, and, although it was long a frontier town, they were never molested by the Indians. In 1722 their settlement was incorporated by the name of Londonderry,—from a city in the north of Ireland, near which they had formerly resided.

These settlers introduced the culture of the potato,—a vegetable till then unknown in New England,—and also the manufacture of linen cloth.^o

Potatoes were first raised in the garden of Mr. Nathaniel Walker, of Andover, and gradually, but very slowly, found their way into general cultivation. They are first mentioned in Newbury, in 1732; in Lynn, 1733; in 1737, Rev. Thomas Smith, of Portland, says "there is not a peck of potatoes in the whole eastern country." So late as 1750, if any person raised so large a quantity as five bushels, great was the inquiry among his neighbors as to how he could dispose of the enormous quantity. They were first planted in this town by William White, who raised four bushels; but he knew not how to make use of so large a quantity, and gave many of them to his neighbors.

Rev. Mr. Parker, in his *History of Londonderry*, gives the following interesting account of their first cultivation in Andover:—

"Previous to a permanent settlement at Londonderry, some of these people resided a few months at Andover, Mass., and on taking their departure, a few potatoes were left with one of the families there, for seed. The potatoes were accordingly planted; came up, and flourished well; blossomed and produced balls, which the family supposed were the fruit to be eaten. They cooked the balls in various ways, but could not make them palatable, and pronounced them unfit for food. The next spring, while ploughing their garden, the plough turned out some of the potatoes, of great size, and thus discovered to them their previous mistake."

At the annual meeting of this town, in 1719, it was voted "to make all the inhabitants of this Town proprietors in Common lands according to the charges they have borne in the town in the time of the war;" and a committee was chosen "to examine what every man paid to the rates in the time of the war in this town." We do not learn that this proposition was finally carried out.

^o Belknap, Hist. N. H.

The proceedings of the "Commoners," in holding separate meetings, and taking the management of the common lands into their own hands, was not entirely satisfactory to all the inhabitants, and, early in June, 1719, "upwards of twenty of the Inhabitants & Freeholders" petitioned the selectmen to call a town meeting "to prevent the disposing of any more of the common-lands belonging to said Town by a few men contrary to a former vote of said Town;" and also, "to choose a committee to prosecute any that have or shall encroach upon any of the lands, at the Town's cost." The selectmen refused to call such a meeting, and a warrant was thereupon issued by "Joseph Woodbridge Justice of the Peace."

Nothing was done at the meeting thus called, except the dismissal of all committees previously chosen by the town, and the choice of a new committee, to prosecute encroachers upon the common lands of the town. From these proceedings, it will be seen, that the non-commoners were determined to try their strength with the commoners, and the consequence was that the town soon became the seat of warm contentions, and disputes. At the time of the last named meeting, the feeling ran so high, that the commoners were refused the key of the meeting-house, and after organizing their meeting at its door, they adjourned to the tavern of James Pecker, where several subsequent meetings were also convened.

In July of this year, Stephen Barker, Henry Bodwell, and others, petitioned the town "to grant or set them off a certain tract of land lying in the township of Haverhill that so they might be a township or parish," but their request was denied.^o

At the next March meeting, the following petition was presented:—

"Whereas there is a certain tract of land in the West end of Haverhill containing Fifty or Sixty acres, lying on the south and south west of a Meadow commonly called bare meadow, which land, together with a piece of land lying on a hill called meetinghouse hill, in times past reserved by our forefathers for the use of the ministry, might in hard times make a convenient Parsonage; if by the blessing of God, the gospel might so flourish amongst us, and we grow so populous, as to be able to maintain and carry on the gospel ministry amongst us.

We therefore humbly pray that you would take into consideration the circumstances we are in, & the difficulty we may hereafter meet with in procuring a privilege for the ministry; and that you would grant, & settle & record the above said lands in your Town book, for the above said use,

^o The petitioners lived in that part of the town now Methuen.

& you will gratify your humble petitioners and oblige us & our posterity to serve you hereafter in what we may.

Joshua Swan,	Thos Johnson,	Thos Whittier,
Henry Bodwell,	Edwd Carleton,	Ephraim Clark,
Henry Bodwell jun,	Saml Hutchins,	Thos Whittier sen,
Danl Bodwell,	Elisha Davis,	Mathw Harriman,
Jas Bodwell,	John Hastings,	Saml Smith,
Thos Massar,	John Gutterson,	Saml Currier,
James Davis,	John Lad,	Jona Clark,
Abiall Masser,	James Sanders jun,	Stephen Barker,
Henry Sanders,	Wm Whittier,	John Sanders."

"This petition was granted according to the proposals therein made," and in July a committee was chosen to lay out the land.

This spring (1720) the dispute between the commoners and non-commoners again came up for consideration, and at the annual meeting, the town unanimously voted to make the following proposal to the commoners:

"That the inhabitants or non-commoners so called, should have their right in all the Common or undivided lands in said Haverhill, lying on the West side of the way from William Johnson's to Jonathan Cloughs, in proportion with the Commoners according to the rates & taxes they have borne from the year 1694 to the year 1714."

"Nathan Webster was chosen to prefer this request to the Commoners or Proprietors of the Common land in Haverhill."

At an adjourned meeting, May 29, "The Commoners answer to the Town's proposal was brought into the Town meeting & read; and the Commoners therein signify to the Town that they can't see reason to grant their proposals at present."

Upon this, the non-commoners appear to have decided to do as they pleased with the lands in dispute, as the very first vote at the next meeting, was, to "sell some common-land to pay the Towns debts or charges;" and the second was as follows:—"Voted and granted that that tract of land lying beyond Hoghill mill that lyeth within our Township not intruding on the fourth division land shall be laid out to those men that have been out in long marches in the time of the war, and to others of the inhabitants of this Town, that will make speedy settlement on the same."

A committee of five was chosen to lay it out forthwith, in fifty acre lots.

At the July meeting, Ann Pecker petitioned for liberty to build a small pew in the meeting-house, "as through my infirmity and weakness, by reason of my age I cannot sit comfortably in the meetinghouse, during the time of divine service, the seat being so very narrow." Her request was

granted, and also one from Richard Hazzen, who preferred a similar request, as he had "no place to sit but upon courtesy of Mr Eastman or crowding into some fore seat, too honorable for me."

Samuel Haseltine was granted a piece of common-land, for his work in "enlarging the galleries of the meeting-house;" and various other grants and sales of common-land were also made at the same meeting. The town seem to have renewed the business of disposing of these surplus lands in good earnest. At the next meeting they voted to "defend the land that they have sold or shall sell," and also to "bear all the charges that any man or men shall be put to, to defend the land that he hath bought or shall buy of the Town, by any suits in law until the title of said land shall be tried out."

In October, a meeting was held to see about the town's proportion of the £50,000 "Bank money" granted by the Great and General Court in 1720. Trustees were appointed to receive it, and were directed to lot it out to individuals, inhabitants of Haverhill, in sums of £10 to £20, at five per cent. interest, payable annually.

This year, there was a new "seating of persons in the meeting-house." The magnitude of the undertaking may be judged from the fact that it took the committee four days to do the job. As before, a second committee were appointed to assign seats for the first committee.

At an adjourned meeting, December 11th, the following important action was taken in relation to the common lands in town:—

"Voted and granted that the common land in Haverhill except the Cow common and the land beyond Hoghill mill, shall be laid out into rate lots, according to the Charges or Rates that every person in this town has paid from the year 1692 to 1712, except those persons that removed out of the Town in the time of the war; & excepting some land to make good old grants, if any do appear to be justly due from the Town."

"Voted and granted that every five pounds that has been paid in public charges or rates in this Town by any persons within the time above mentioned, shall draw one acre of land in the rate lots; and so proportionably according to what sum they have paid within the time above prefixed."

A committee was chosen to take an account of the rates paid during the years specified, and also one to lay out the land according to the above votes.

During this time the commoners were not by any means idle. At a meeting in January, (Jan. 2, 1721) Samuel White and William White were granted permission to set up a grist-mill and fulling-mill on Sawmill River. The reason given for desiring to move their mill from Mill Brook to the above place, was,—the scarcity of water during a part of the year at Mill Brook.

At the same meeting, a fifth division of land was ordered, which was to include all the undivided lands in town, except the cow-common.

At a meeting in February, "the island or islands just above Spicket Falls" were sold to Asa and Richard Swan, for £2, 10 s.

At a meeting in June, the following interesting petition was presented :—
"Haverhill June 26, 1721 :

To ye commoners or proprietors of ye common lands in Haverhill:
Ye petition of Ebenezer Eastman of ye sd Town humbly sheweth yt for as much as Trading by sea is one way whereby I expect to gett my living and furnish out my good neighbors wth many such nessisarys of life as are most convenient, and ye Incouragment of shipping being of very great consequence and a great Interest to this Town as well as my own, I would humbly request yt I may have liberty to erect a wharff some what above ye house where I now dwell yt soe navigation may be promoted, and yt Thereby ye whole Town of Haverhill as well as my self may receive an Annuall Income Thereby and you Infinitely oblige your humble petitioner
Ebenezer Eastman."

Ebenezer, son of Phillip Eastman, was born in Haverhill, February 17, 1681. His father was the person already mentioned as having been taken captive at the same time with the wife and children of Thomas Kimball, of Bradford; and whose house and buildings were burned by the Indians, in 1698.

From his youth, Ebenezer had been inured to hardship. At the age of twenty-one he joined the regiment of Colonel Wainwright in the expedition against Port Royal. In 1711, when the British fleet, under Admiral Walker, destined against Canada, arrived at Boston, Eastman, then about thirty years of age, had command of a company of infantry, which embarked with others in one of the transports.

In going up the river St. Lawrence, they encountered a violent north-east storm, in which eight or nine of the transports were wrecked and about one thousand men lost.*

The following anecdote is related of Captain Eastman:—As night came on, the orders were that all the transports should follow the admiral's ship, which had a large light hoisted at mast-head for a signal. Captain Eastman was somewhat acquainted with the navigation of the river, having sailed up and down before. In the night, the light of the admiral's ship was not to be seen, and at the time when the fleet were doubling a very dangerous and rocky point. When the admiral's ship had fairly doubled

* Holmes' Am. Annals.

the point and got into line, the light appeared in such a position as to draw the line of ships directly on to that dangerous point. Aware of the danger, Captain Eastman went to the commander, informed him of the peril, and begged him to alter the course of the vessel; but, being then under the influence of liquor, the Captain positively refused to do so, saying he "would follow his admiral if he went to h—l." "Well," said Captain Eastman, "I have no notion of going there, and if you wont alter the course of the vessel, *I will*." "If you do," replied the Captain, "your head shall be a button for a halter the next morning." Informing his company of their danger, and relying on their support, Captain Eastman ordered the Captain below, and the helmsman to change his course. Thus they escaped the wreck which befel other vessels of the fleet. The next morning, the humbled Captain on his knees acknowledged his deliverer and begged his friendship. On the following day, the admiral came on board, and on seeing Captain Eastman, abruptly asked: "Captain Eastman, where were you when the fleet was cast away?" "Following my admiral," replied he. "Following your admiral!" he exclaimed; "you Yankees are a pack of praying devils — you saved yourselves but sent my men to h—l."*

Soon after his return, Eastman entered with zeal into the projected settlement of Penacook, and was one of its most influential, persevering and useful citizens. He married, March 4, 1710, Sarah Peaslee, of Haverhill, daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Peaslee.

Among the many traditionary anecdotes, it is related that soon after settling in Penacook, Eastman made a journey to Haverhill, on horse-back, purchased a barrel of molasses, and contriving what was called a *car*, — formed with two shafts, one end of which was fastened to the horse and the other dragged on the ground — lashed on his barrel of molasses, and proceeded on his journey homeward, along the path through the wilderness. He got along very well until he came to the Soucook River. After crossing, the hill was very steep, and the horse would frequently stop to rest a few moments. Having nearly reached the top of the hill, the rigging gave way, down went his barrel of molasses at full speed, and, striking a tree, was dashed in pieces. "Oh dear!" exclaimed the Captain, "my wife will comb my head — yes, and harrow it too!"†

Captain Eastman went to Cape Breton twice — the first time, March 1, 1745, in command of a company, and was present at the reduction and surrender of Louisburg, June 16th. He returned November 10, 1745. Early the next year he went again, and returned home July 9, 1746. He

* Bouton's Hist. Concord. † Bouton.

died July 28, 1748, and his descendants are to this day among the most prominent and influential citizens of Concord.

This petition of Captain Eastman, is the first mention we can find of the commerce of Haverhill, or "trading by sea;" though it hardly seems probable that he was the pioneer in that direction. And yet, there are strong reasons for believing that he was the first *who made it a business*. The sugar and wine, for Mr. Gardner's ordination, were brought from Boston, on horseback, by Deacon White; the lime for plastering the parsonage house, in 1719, was hauled from Newbury, by oxen; and the nails for the watch-house were brought from Ipswich, on horseback. These small matters, and many similar that might be mentioned, taken in connection with the silence of the records, in regard to the navigation of the Merrimack, favor the supposition, that, up to this time, but little use had been made of the river for commercial purposes.

The lots in the fifth division of land, were drawn November 20th, 1721, and, as showing who, or rather whose representatives, were the *commoners* at this time, the list is well worth inserting in this place:—

"The first lot to Jno Ayer	27—Jno Dow purchased from mr
2—Mr clemens Executors	Coffins Right
3—Mr Joseph Jewitt	28—peter Ayer
4—Jno page	29—Richard Singletery
5—Thomas Davis	30—Jno Ayer
6—Jno williams sen.	31—Jno Hutchins
7—Robert Ayer	32—wm Simons on the Right of Jno
8—James Davis jun	Davis
9—Tho Whittier	33—Rob Swan
10—John Johnson	34—Jno chenary
11—Thomas Sleeper	35—proprietors
12—Henry palmer	36—Richd littlehale
13—Willm Holdridg	37—Tho Eatton
14—Stephen Kent	38—To nathll Ayer on his father Jno
15—proprietors	Ayers Right
16—Samll Guile	39—Edward clark
17—To Robt clement or Jno clemt	40—Danll lad
Right	41—James Davis sen
18—Georg Brown	42—James fisk
19—Matthais Button	43—Georg Corliass
20—Danll Hendrick	44—John Eatton
21—proprietors	45—Bartholl Heath
22—obadiah Ayer on his father Jno	46—Theophilas Satchesell
Ayers Right	47—proprietors
23—Wm white	48—hew sherratt
24—Tho linforth	49—Abraham Tyler
25—Mr Jno Ward	50—To James pressess Right."
26—Joseph peasly	

The fact that all these names, except seven,^o are to be found in the records within three years from the date of the Indian deed, and before the town was incorporated, shows most clearly who were at this time, considered to be the proprietors of the undivided lands in the town. They were *the heirs and assigns of the original purchasers*. Those to whom lands had been granted since that time, were considered to have no further rights than had been granted them. That is, *they could only claim the amount of land that the proprietors had specifically granted them*. "The inhabitants of Pentucket," — their ancestors, — had purchased every foot of the territory covered by the Indian deed, and their heirs and assigns were therefore the sole proprietors of it. Grants and sales made subsequent to the original purchase, by the proprietors as a body, did not include an interest in the remaining undivided lands, but only affected the title to the particular lands thus alienated. This seems to us to be the position taken by the "commoners," or "proprietors," at this time.

The "non-commoners," or "legal voters" in the town, on the other hand, seem to have taken the ground, that the territory having been originally granted to the inhabitants of the town generally, all the common or undivided lands remaining at any time, *belonged to all who were legal inhabitants, or voters*, at the time *the town* should please to dispose of them. It mattered not whether one had been an inhabitant, or legal voter, one day or fifty years; it was sufficient if he was entitled to vote in town affairs at the time the disposal of the undivided lands came up for consideration. If he was so entitled, he had an equal interest, or proprietorship, in such lands, with each and every other inhabitant of the town at the time.

These widely different and opposing conclusions, furnish a key to the long, and, at times, warm controversy, carried on concerning the undivided lands in the town.

The loss of the town's books, which we have before noticed, is doubtless to be accounted for by this controversy. When the books were finally recovered, it seems that they were in a mutilated state, and caused a great deal of trouble in the copying. At the annual meeting in 1721, it was voted "that there shall be a committee chosen to prefer a petition to the General Court for redress, in behalf of the damage that the town sustained by the town-books being part of them cut and torn out." That is, they desired to know how they could obtain redress for the injury done to the books.

^o Joseph Jewitt, Thomas Whittier, John Johnson, Thomas Sleeper, Thomas Linforth, Thomas Bolton, James Pressey.

Perhaps we cannot better close this chapter, than by giving a brief account of the introduction of tea into New England, which occurred about this time.^o

The first tea-kettles were small copper articles, and were first used in Plymouth, in 1702, though, for a long time afterward, tea was but little used. The first cast iron tea-kettles, were made in Plympton, now Carver, between 1760 and 1765, and it was about this period that the use of tea became common. Lewis, in his *History of Lynn*, says, — “when ladies went to visiting parties, each one carried her tea-cup, saucer and spoon. The tea-cups were of the best china, very small, containing as much as a common wine-glass.”

From a letter written in England, in 1740, we copy the following extract†: —

“They are not much esteemed now that will not treat high & gossip about. Tea is now become the darling of our women. Almost every little tradesman’s wife must set sipping tea for an hour or more in the morning, and it may be again in the afternoon, if they can get it, and nothing will please them to sip it out of but china ware, if they can get it. They talk of bestowing thirty or forty shillings upon a tea equipage, as they call it. There is the silver spoons, silver tongs, and many other trinkets that I cannot name.”

We are unable to say when tea was first introduced into this town, but it was probably soon after its introduction into Boston, as our people were in frequent communication with that place, and have never been far behind them in the adoption of new fashions. There is a tradition, that a Mr. Gile, of this town, had a present sent to him, from Boston, of one pound of tea. His good wife knew not exactly how to make it, but she concluded to hang on her dinner-pot, and cook it in that. The dinner-pot was hung over the fire, partly filled with water, and the whole pound was put into it. But to make it more luscious, the good lady put in a large piece of beef, for she intended to have a *real dish of tea*, — we presume that she had heard of the old proverb, “the more good things the better.” After it had boiled sufficiently, the pot was taken off, “but the liquor was so *despot* strong,” that they could not drink it; and, besides, it had made a complete jelly of the meat.

In regard to the use of coffee in town, we have an equally amusing tradition: —

About the year 1757, a party of gentlemen arrived from Boston and put up at Lieutenant Ebenezer Eastman’s tavern. They brought their coffee

^o Holmes, in his annals, under date of 1720, says, “This year tea began to be used in New England.”

† Coffin.

with them, and requested the landlady to cook it. The good lady, not being particularly acquainted with the article, nor the manner of cooking it, hardly knew what to do. But having a little self-confidence, with her other good qualitics, she scorned to ask advice, and proceeded to cook it in her best manner. Accordingly, she took her bean-pot, put the coffee into it, filled it with water, and boiled it as she would beans. At length, the refreshment was ready, and when the gentlemen sat down, they were not a little surprised to see their coffee set before them, well boiled, in the kernel. They, however, took it very good-naturedly, and afterward instructed her in the mystery of cooking coffee.

CHAPTER XVI.

INDIAN TROUBLES.—1713 TO 1725.

THE peace made with the Indians, in 1713, proved of short duration. The French, who saw in the progress of the English, the downfall of their own power on the continent, employed the great influence of their missionaries, Ralle, and La Chasse, to arouse the Indians, and stimulate them to jealousy and revenge.^o A conference was finally held with the Indians, at Arowsic Island, in 1717, by Governor Shute, which resulted in a confirmation of the treaty of 1713, and the apparent satisfaction of the Indians. But the French were far from willing to allow the savages to be at peace with the English, and, in 1719, they again renewed their claims for the removal of the English from their lands, but a small force on the frontiers prevented an open violation of the treaty.

In 1720, the Indians were persuaded to commit depredations, and parties from the Norridgwock and Penobscot tribes killed some cattle, and threatened the lives of the English. The Nova Scotia Indians went still further, and added murder to robbery. Further hostilities at this time were prevented by Colonel Walton, of New Hampshire, who was detached with a force of two hundred men to guard the frontiers. In August, 1721, a party of two hundred Indians, accompanied by their spiritual leaders, Ralle and La Chasse, under French colors, and armed, appeared at Arowsic, for a "talk" with the commander. This ended without satisfaction to either party, and the Indians left with complaints and threats. They warned the English to remove from their lands in three weeks, or they would kill, burn, and destroy. Irritated by the conduct of the French, government determined to attempt the removal of the cause of all the trouble, and for that purpose, three hundred men were sent to Norridgwock, with orders to seize Father Ralle, and bring him to Boston. No other success attended this expedition, than the seizure of his private papers, which fully revealed the secret machinations of the French.

This invasion of their head-quarters, exasperated the enemy in an unusual degree, and, in June, 1722, a party of sixty men, in twenty canoes, captured nine families, at Merrymeeting Bay, and committed other depredations, soon followed by the destruction of Brunswick, Maine.

^o See Hutchinson, Douglas, and others, upon this point.

Immediately after the news of the latter reached Boston, the Governor and council made a formal declaration of war.

Though so far removed from the immediate vicinity of the troubles, the inhabitants of this town well knew that they were not safe from savage outrage, and they determined to be prepared for any emergency. With the bloody scenes of August 29, 1708, still fresh in their memory, we need not wonder that their first care was for their minister. At a meeting held on the 10th of August, the Selectmen were ordered "to build a good fort round Rev. Mr. Brown's house with what speed they could."

The enemy committed no further violence that season, but early in the spring, they divided into small parties and harassed the whole line of frontier settlements, — Falmouth, Scarboro, Berwick, Wells, York, Dover, and Lampray River. This intelligence, as may be supposed, thoroughly alarmed the people of Haverhill, and, at a meeting called March 19th, the town voted to buy a house of Jeremiah Page, and set it up between the parsonage house and Samuel Smith's, for a watch-house, which was accordingly done, with all possible dispatch.^o

On the opening of the spring of 1724, the enemy were again found in numerous parties, scattered over the country, plundering and murdering the inhabitants, and threatening the entire destruction of the English settlements. A constant watch was found necessary in the frontier towns, and those less exposed were called upon to furnish their proportion of soldiers for the common defence. In July, Colonel Noyes, of Newbury, was ordered to send twelve men to Haverhill, and six to Amesbury, to serve as scouts. A few weeks later, (September 15,) "John White, Capt; Richard Kimball Capt; Jonathan Woodman, Capt; and Richard Hazzen, Lieut;" wrote from this town to the governor, strongly urging the importance of sending an army of men to Winnipiseogee Lake, to surprise the Indians in that vicinity, and utterly rout them.

Determined to beard the lion in his den, government fitted out a force of two hundred and eight men, and attacked the head quarters of the Indians at Norridgwock. The settlement was entirely destroyed, and about eighty killed and drowned, among whom was father Balle, the Jesuit missionary. This achievement completely broke the power of the Norridgwocks.[†]

The next and last considerable engagement in this war, took place at Pequawket, now Fryburg, Me., in May, 1725, by a party of volunteers,

^o The town clerk made a journey to Ipswich for the nails, on horseback. At the raising, "two quart Rum" were employed, at an expense of four shillings.

[†] See Hutchinson, for a full account.

under Captain Lovewell. In this bloody fight, the English, after sustaining themselves against great odds, almost an entire day, were left in possession of the field.

Lovewell's (or Lovell's) company consisted of forty-six men, besides himself, including a chaplain and surgeon. Four of these men were from Haverhill, viz: Abiel Asten, Ebenezer Ayer, Doctor William Ayer, and Zebediah Austin.^o Captain Lovewell was from Dunstable, and had already distinguished himself on several occasions.

The Haverhill men probably joined Lovewell at this town, where the expedition was furnished with supplies, by John White, who had charge of the Province stores in Haverhill.[†] They started about April 16, O. S. On arriving at Ossipee lake, one of their number was taken sick, and they built a small fort, as a place of refuge in case of mishaps, and left the sick man, with the doctor, and eight men to hold the fort. With the rest of his company, Lovewell boldly marched for Pequaque, to attack the bold Paugus in his own home. On the morning of May 8th, as they came near Saco Pond, they discovered a solitary Indian shooting ducks, and, leaving their packs unguarded, they prepared to attack the enemy whom they supposed must be near by. Not finding the enemy as they had expected, the company were leisurely returning upon their own trail, when they fell into an ambuscade. It seems that Paugus and a party of about forty Indians, returning from a scout down the Saco, came upon the packs of Lovewell's men, and finding them less in number than their own, they resolved to attack them. For this purpose they formed an ambuscade, and when the company reached the little brook on the east side of the above named pond, the Indians rose on all sides, fired, and rushed upon them with yells of defiance. Captain Lovewell fell at the first fire. His company immediately returned the fire, killing nine of the enemy, and then scattered, each getting behind a tree, and firing as he got a good chance. Thus the fight was continued, with fatal effect on both sides, until toward night, when several of the Indians had succeeded in getting near the pond, and among them Paugus, who took refuge behind a tree within talking distance of John Chamberlain, who knew him personally. Their guns having become too foul to fire, the two agreed to go down to the pond and cleanse them. Each, with an eye upon his antagonist, endeavored to clean and load his gun in the quickest time possible, and then take the life of the other.

^o Abiel Asten belonged in that part of Haverhill, now Salem, N. H., where he was living in 1790, aged eighty.—*Bulknep*.

Zebediah Austin belonged in that of Haverhill, now Methuen. He married Sarah Gutterston, April 18, 1729.

[†] State Archives.

Their movements were simultaneous, until they drew their ramrods to send home the leaden messengers of death. In his extreme excitement, Paugus dropped his ramrod, and though he scarce lost a second's time by the mishap, it was enough for his opponent. Just as Paugus brought his gun to his shoulder, Chamberlain fired, and the noted chief fell dead!

Soon after sunset, the firing ceased. About midnight, the survivors of Lovewell's men assembled, and found only twenty-three of their brave companions alive. Of these, one was just breathing his last; two more were unable to travel; and eleven others wounded. The latter marched off the ground with the nine who were not much wounded, but four of them soon gave out, and were left by their companions, who kept on to the Fort. On reaching the latter, they found it entirely deserted! It afterward appeared, that Hassel, one of the men, had fled in the first part of the fight, and given such an exaggerated account of the affair, that the occupants of the fort immediately abandoned it, and retreated toward home. After much suffering, the survivors of the bloody fight arrived at Dunstable on the eleventh of May.

Soon after this fight the Penobscot Indians expressed a desire for peace, and a treaty was executed in December, 1725, and confirmed at Falmouth the next July. In 1727, the tribes which had not been represented in this conference, notified the government of their desire to make a public confirmation of the peace, which was subsequently done at Falmouth, in July, 1727.

The peace which succeeded was of long continuance, and though, during the subsequent difficulties with the French, the frontiers were often harrassed by the Indians, Haverhill was never again molested by them. The settlement of a line of towns to the north, at last completely protected this town, after having been a frontier town for more than three-fourths of a century. During that period more than sixty of its inhabitants were killed by the Indians, and between fifty and sixty captured. Some of the latter were never heard from afterward, though most of them were ransomed, or escaped, and returned home.

That the situation of this town during these troubles was by no means pleasant, is plainly seen in the fact that a scouting company was formed in town the summer following Lovewell's fight, and were in actual service during the months of September and October. The immediate cause which led to the organization of the company, we find given in a letter from Joshua Bailey and Jonathan Woodman, of this town, to the Governor, dated August 30, 1725, in which they state that Indians had been recently seen "lurking in the woods, guns heard, &c." The men were employed as

scouts, or "Centinels," and a line of them were kept constantly posted on the frontier of the town, to give the alarm in case of the appearance of the enemy.^o

From the original "Muster Roll of Moses Hazzen, Ensign," we copy the names of those under his command, in that service, from September 6th to October 27th, 1725 :—Moses Hazzen, *Ensign*; Robert Ford, Wm. Heath Jun., Phineas Foster, John Dow, Timothy Duston, David Emerson, Ebenezer Ayers, Samuel Merrill, William Mitchel, *Centinels*.

With the following incident, illustrative of Indian sagacity, we close this part of the early history of the town : †

"At the mouth of Baker's River, in the town of Plymouth, N. H., the Indians had a settlement, where have been found Indian graves, bones, gun-barrels, stone mortars, pestles, and other articles in use among them. In this place, it is said they were attacked by Capt. Baker, (from whom the river derived its name) and a party from Haverhill, Mass., who defeated them, killed a number, and destroyed a large quantity of fur. There is a story respecting an expedition of Capt. Baker, which, if correct, and we see no reason to doubt its correctness, shows the sagacity of Indians.—A friendly Indian had accompanied Capt. Baker in his expedition, and from the movement of the savages was satisfied that they had sent to Winnepisiogee or Pequawkett ponds for aid. He assured Capt. B. of the fact, and told him what they did must be done immediately; that they had better make their escape or they would be overpowered by numbers and be destroyed. And on their march down the river Pemigewasset, he urged them not to stop, telling them they would be pursued. But when they reached the brook at Salisbury village, the men were so fatigued that they said they must stop and refresh themselves. The Indian told them to build each one a fire and cut several sticks apiece to broil their meat on, to burn the end of each as though thus used, and stick them into the ground, and then proceed as soon as possible. It was but a very short time after they had set out before the Indians came to the place where they had refreshed, and counting the fires and the number of sticks, said the English were too strong for them, and gave up the pursuit."

^o In 1733, John Clement asked to be released from paying the rent of the "Parsonage farm" the previous year, on the ground that he was driven off the land by the war.—*Town Records*.

† We copy from the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society—Vol. 1.]

CHAPTER XVII.

1720 to 1728.

At the annual meeting of the town for 1722, it was, for the first time, proposed that the mending of the highways should be done by a rate, but the proposition was promptly negatived.

This year, and for more than a hundred years after, persons were chosen to see that the "fish courses" were kept clear, so that the fish might not be prevented or hindered from going up the streams in their appropriate season.

At the annual meeting in 1723, the subject of schools again came up for consideration, and three new school-houses were ordered to be built—one in the north part of the town, between Daniel Ela's and Widow Mary Whittier's, one in the north-westerly part, near the house of Jonathan Duston, and the other in the westerly part, near William Whitticker's. It was also voted to hire a school-master, "to move for the town's benefit to the several parts of the town." Richard Hazzen kept school "three quarters" this year, — one quarter at the house of Widow Mary Whittier. He was paid eleven pounds per quarter.

At the same meeting, the following petition was presented, signed by four of the inhabitants^o: — "Whereas your petitioners having their habitations so distant from the meeting-house, that, at any time being belated, we cannot get into any seat; but are obliged to sit squeezed on the stairs where we cannot hear the minister and so get little good by his preaching, though we endeavour to ever so much; and there being a vacant place betwixt the front pew and the pew on the side gallery over the head of the stairs, we humbly request liberty to erect a seat over the same." The petition was granted.

At the same time several women† petitioned for liberty "to erect a seat or pew over the head of the stairs, not damnifying the stairway," which was also granted.

Abiall Messer was granted the privilege of keeping a ferry near his house for five years. Messer, we believe, lived in that part of the town now Methuen.

^o James Sanders, Jr., John Eaton, Jr., Nathaniel Peaslee, Jr., Joseph Merrill.

† Sarah Hazzen, Hannah Hazzen, Hannah Clement, Ruth Clement, Rachael Sanders, Abigail Peaslee, Susanna Peaslee.

In the fall of 1723, the Selectmen of Haverhill, and the Selectmen of Kingston met, and run the line between the two towns.^o

The first mention we find of seines, or nets, for fishing in the river, is in the records of this year (1723) when Captain Joshua Bayley, Ebenezer Eastman, and others, petitioned for liberty to fish in the river with a net "from Ebenezer Eatton's down to Hardy's landing." The petition was refused.

We now approach one of the most critical periods in the history of our town;—that in which the disputes and difficulties between the "proprietors" or "commoners," and the rest of the land holders in town reached the culminating point. We have already seen that, for some time, there had been an increasing feeling of dissatisfaction on the part of the latter with the proceedings of the former. The non-proprietors had seen the common and undivided lands of the town gradually growing less and less under the frequent grants of the proprietors, until the most obtuse could not fail to see that ere many years should elapse, none of them would be left, as such.

The largest, and most valuable, of the remaining tracts of undivided land was the portion still left of that laid out in 1665 as a "cow common."[†] This had been much reduced from its original dimensions, but was still a large and valuable tract of land. The proprietors had several times discussed the proposition to lay it out into lots, and dispose of them, but as yet had not fully decided to do so.

The question of the *ownership* of these lands was yet, in the minds of many, a mooted question, and the dispute in relation to them now began to show visible signs of its unhappy tendency. Five meetings were held in succession, and not a vote was passed. The marginal reference to one of them says, that it was "precious time spent for nought." The two parties were fast approaching open hostility, and unless some compromise could be made, it was evident that the results must inevitably be disastrous to the town. Under these circumstances, a committee was chosen by the "town" (September 2d, 1723,) to confer with the commoners, "in order to make some agreement about common lands in Haverhill," and the meeting adjourned to hear the report. The town committee asked for "a proposition, in order to make peace."

^o The Charter of Kingston was granted in 1694, and included what now forms the towns of Kingston, East Kingston, Danville, and Sandown and portions of Plaistow and Hampstead.

[†] According to the vote of March 7, 1665, all the land *within* the following bounds was forever to be a cow-common:—Within the bounds of Fishing river; and from thence to a brook that goeth to the hither north meadow; and from thence as the cart path goeth, to the meadow of Bartholomew Heath, which was formerly George Corliss's meadow: and from thence to the East meadow river, and so within the bounds of the east meadow river down to the Great river.

When the adjourned meeting was opened, it was found that no reply had yet been received from the commoners, and another adjournment was made. At the next meeting, the committee reported that the town's proposition had been made to the commoners, at one of their meetings, and was "met with silence, & nothing more." This silence of the commoners was not, however, to be attributed to their sullenness or disinclination to accept the olive branch of peace, as will appear plain from their proceedings immediately afterward.

Early in December, (December 5, 1723,) several of the proprietors petitioned for a meeting of the proprietors, as follows:—

"To Jno White esqr: proprietors clark greeting, whereas There are severall persons in ye Town of Haverhill of long & ancient standing in ye Town, who by reason yt They have little or no Right in ye Comon lands either by Them selves or claiming under Their Ancestors are very uneasy att ye division & disposall of said lands to & among ye proprietors & reall owners of itt, Therefore wee ye subscribers proprietors Taking into Consideration ye damage of Contention, & yt peace may be made, we request yt There may bee a meeting of ye proprietors to bee att ye meeting house in Haverhill on monday ye sixth day of January next ensuing att Ten of ye clock in ye forenoon for Reasons following, first yt if ye proprietors see cause They chuse a Comittee to debate ye matter wth such persons who have been of long & ancient standing in ye Town Though They have little or noe Right To any Comon lands either by Them selves or Ancestors & To see upon what Conditions such persons will be satisfied & To make report to ye proprietors soe yt They may Give them some lands if They see Cause.

secondly yt They chuse a Comittee To debate wth such persons who lay claim to Rights not yett allowed To see what will satisfie Them & make report Thereof to ye proprietors yt soe They may act upon itt if They see Cause."

The meeting was held accordingly, and Deacon James Ayer, Nathaniel Peasley, and Richard Hazzen, were chosen a committee to meet the non-proprietors and ascertain what would satisfy them.

The committee met the latter at the tavern of Cornet James Pecker, on the 28th of January, and reported to the proprietors, on the 5th of February, the following, as the result of their "debate":—

"Jno Sanders did declare & say yt as to ye comons They were in ye hands of ye Law & yt hee was easy wth ye determination of ye Law, for if ye Town lost, his Right with ye comons would bee as good as now.

Joshua Swan would not bee easy unless They would grant him 15 acres between Samll Davis & Job clements.

mathew Harriman junr declared yt hee would bee uneasy unless all ye fences erected on ye cow comon were demolished & itt lay according to ye vote of ye ancient fathers & ye proprietors records Burnt.

William Johnson would not be easy unless They would fling up ye cow comon.

All those above accounted are unreasonable in Their demands & soe (we) acted nothing upon it.

All ye other persons under written To ye number of about 39 persons Though They had noe materiall objection against ye division of ye Comons yett since They had bore charges lost friends by ye Indians: &c did desire some particular pieces of land upon ye proprietors grant of which They would bee easy & for ye future rest contented & proceeded To request as followeth (viz)

Jno Stevens sen: & Jun: proposes To have about six acres neer Aaron Stephens

Isack Bradly Bradly requests six acres neer hony ball mill

Stephen Dow requests five acres beyond nicholas whites

Joseph Guile requests about Two acres by his house part is allready fenced in

Haniel & Edward Samll & Timothy clark requests six acers where Their mother lives

James Heath about Ten acers neer Jno Harrimans Mill

Josiah Heath Junr four acres neer moses Stephens

Samll Smith Ten acres neer Jno Harrimans mill

Robert ford Requests 10 acres where There is Comon neer hogg hill mill

Abraham Bradly about six acres neer yt his brother Isack requested

Ens: Whitiker yt wheras he hath half a right To lay out in ye Cow Comon They would lett him have a whole Right & hee will bee easy

nathll merrill: Jun: for himselfe & brethren requests Ten acres in yt Comon beyond Henery Sanders house

nathll Johnson requests Eight acres next his own land

Tho Eatton requests To have about Ten acres on west meado hill William Whittaker Junr 10 acres on ye Right hand of ye way yt leads To Honyball mill mill joyning to ye mill pond

Joseph page requests about Three acres where hee now lives

Benjamin Standlee requests about five acres of yt Comon beyond Henery Sanders

peter Green senr: & Junr: Requests yt They would grant Them all yt Comon which They have withinfenced & yt att ye south of Their land being part of Their Right allready laid out & yt att ye East End of Their land, & lay out Their Comon Right in some other place, They having a Convenient Road To ye Sour meadow

Andrew mitchell: senr requests about six acres in yt Comon beyond Henery Sanders, and yt stripp of Comon betwixt ye highway & ye farm called Haineses farm & a small peice By his barn

Jonathan Eastman requests 20 acres in providence neck

Samll marble senr: Twenty acres in providence neck north of ye Copls pond farm^o

Stephen Webster Twenty acres north of Copls pond farm as wee goe to providence neck

Joseph Whittier proposes about Eight acres on ye north of The way y leads from nicolas whites To Corlys meadow

Abraham page requests about Eight acres next to yt Whittier requested

John Webster & nathan webster 40 acres To both in providence neck

Deacon mash requests about Two acres being a small strip lying betwixt land laid out To him in ye Cow Comon & ye way yt goes to Jeremy pages

Aaron Stephens about four acres Joyning on his own land

Samll Worthen three acres betwixt Jno Harrimans mill & ye wooden bridg

Abiall mercer about 5 acers neer obadiahs meadow

Jno Lad a small peice by his own land about Two acres

Job clements about Ten acres next yt william whittier requests for

christopher Bartlit 12 acres next to yt hee bought of Guile & proposes To have his Two Comon Rights laid out adjoyning To This

matthew Harriman senr about Eight acres beyond nathll Johnsons land

Jno Heath about six acres below wainwrights mill on The Easterly side of ye River

Jno Clement six acres neer hony ball mill."

Upon the reading of the report of the committee, the proprietors

" Voted yt ye several parcells of land petitioned for or desired by ye severall persons, according To ye return of ye sd committee Bee hereby granted To them on This Condition yt They rest satisfied & Contented wth ye division of ye Comon land according to ye proprietors order, & yt for ye future They appeare In all Town meetings, unless hindered by extraordinary Casualty & doe oppose By voate, & argument, all such persons &

^o The Pond here referred to, was probably that now known as "Captain's Pond," in Salem, N. H.

voates as any way disturbe or hinder ye proprietors in Their peaceable Injoyments of Their lands divided or undivided & yt They Indeevour To hinder any farther process in law about ye same, & farther peace & unitie againe as far as may be, & yt They Assignn Artickles agreeable To This voate betwixt Themselves & The Comittee which shall be appointed for ye purpose, before ye said land Bee laid out To them, And yt ye particular persons To whome ye land is granted shall pay ye Comittee yt have been allready Impowered about having ye proposalls of severall persons for land To be Given them, & alsoe what farther charge ye Comittee may be att about ye same, for ye laying of itt out & for recording ye same. This was voated & granted By a full voate."

A committee was then chosen to draw up the proposed articles, and, on the persons alluded to signing them, the committee were to lay them out the land requested.

This liberal concession on the part of the proprietors did not, however, secure a complete settlement of the difficulty, though it would seem, from the silence of the records of the following year, that it had done so. But no sooner did the proprietors fully decide to lay out the cow-common into lots and appoint commissioners to lay out highways through it, than the opposition broke out afresh. In the warrant for the annual meeting for 1725, (March 2d) we find the following, which plainly shows the deep-seated hostility to the claims of the proprietors: —

" 2 And to see whether ye Town will chuse a Comitee to Draw Money out of ye Town Treasury to seport one or more of ye Comoners to take a method in law to recover their Rights from ye Incroachments of ye Comoners, That it may yet ly in Comon as by ye Cow Comon grant made in March 1664-5."

" 3. And to Chuse a Committee to prefer a petition to ye General Assembly to acquaint yt Honorably House with ye Irregular method of our Comoners in their last actions about ye Cow Comon, and to see what ye towne may think proper on yt account & to doe it on ye Towns cost."

The two parties were now in open hostility, and on the day of the above meeting, finding themselves in a minority, the "commoners" withdrew and organized a separate meeting, and chose a separate set of town officers. Captain Joshua Bayley was moderator of the non-commoners; and Captain John White of the commoners. The former body chose Ensign Thomas Whittier, John Sanders, and Anthony Colby, a committee under the second article of the warrant; and made the same persons, with the selectmen,^o a committee under the third article.

^o Captain Joshua Bayley, James Sanders, and Christopher Bartlett.

The next meeting of the non-commoners was held April 8th, the warrant for which is signed by Benjamin Stevens, "one of his majesties justices of ye county of Essex," in answer to a petition to him "signed by more than fifty hands."

The business to be done, was, "To see whether the Town will Impower ye Select men of Haverhill, or chuse a Committee to prosecute on ye towns Cost to final Issue any of ye faction that are Indeavoring to disturb & Disquiet ye Town Clark in his peacable Improvement of ye town Books."
 o o o o "and to prosecute any person yt by Color of their Election in yt meeting where Capt White pretended to be moderator yt shall presume to act as such officer."

Upon the first article of the warrant, Captain Joshua Bayley, James Sanders, Thomas Haines, Daniel Bodwell, and Christopher Bartlett, were chosen a Committee to prosecute "any of yt faction," &c.

It was then declared, by a unanimous vote, that the officers chosen at the previous meeting, and who were called by name, should be supported through any difficulty that might arise in executing their respective duties; that "ye small party where Capt White pretended to be a moderator on March 2, 1724-5, was not according to the town's will, nor according to ye consent & former practice of our Town;" that "the Town doe Declare against Mr Richard Hazzen Jr his being town Clerk;" and that the selectmen should prosecute to final issue any person or persons that by color of his Election in the meeting aforesaid, "should presume to act as such officer. The meeting then adjourned for two weeks, at which time "some discourse passed," but no vote was taken. They met twice afterward, but adjourned on both occasions without doing any business;—the last meeting being held June 21st, and after the following warrant had been issued.^o

The non-proprietors having appealed to the General Court, that body passed the following resolve, or order, June 4, 1725:—

"Whereas at the anniversary of the town-meeting in the town of Haverhill, in March last, there happened to be two contending parties who assembled at the meeting-house, and did there and then choose two sets of town-officers, whereby great difficulties arose in the said town, and considerable expense occasioned in the law; and it is feared that no good government can be supported unless some speedy care be taken to prevent these disorders. For preventing whereof, and to put an end to said strife, it is ordered by this General Court, that Joshua Swan and Nathaniel Peasley, Constables for the town in 1724, be, and are hereby required to

^o We do not learn that the commoners held any meetings during this time, and presume that they did not.

warn the freeholders and other inhabitants to assemble at the meeting-house in Haverhill, on the ninth of June, at ten o'clock, A. M., and then and there to choose all the town-officers which the law requires to be chosen in the month of March annually; and that Richard Kent, Esq.^o be desired to be present at the said meeting; and he is empowered to moderate the affairs, and no other person be allowed to vote but such as are lawfully qualified; and that the proceedings of both parties at the aforesaid meeting of March 2d are declared null and void, and the charge to be borne as this Court shall order."

A meeting was accordingly held on the ninth of June, and Richard Kent, Esq., presided. The opening of the meeting was followed by some discussion concerning the town's affairs, but no vote was taken. The meeting was adjourned till the afternoon, when the Moderator ordered the votes to be brought in for a town Clerk. But few, however, were cast, and no Clerk was declared to be chosen, and the meeting was adjourned by the Moderator to the 23d of June.

The attention of the General Court being again called to the matter, that body, (June 15, 1725,)

"*Resolved*, That Whereas by special order of this Court, the town of Haverhill was assembled on the 9th inst. for the choice of town officers, and no other than a Town Clerk was then chosen, although he was not declared by the moderator, & said meeting having been adjourned notwithstanding the other town officers were to be chosen the same day:

"*Resolved*, That John Eaton be and is hereby declared Town Clerk for Haverhill, according to the choice made the ninth of June, as aforesaid, and that the freeholders (&c) assemble at the meeting house in Haverhill June 23, according to the adjournment, and that they then and there choose all other town officers, and that Richard Kent Esqr, hereby declared moderator of the meeting, be directed to administer the oath by law appointed to John Eaton and the other officers to be chosen, any law usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

This prompt and energetic action of the Legislature, supported, as it must have been, by the sober second thought of the contending parties, had the desired effect. The town met according to adjournment, and completed the election of their officers.

From this time forward, we find in the records no allusions whatever to these contentions. The meetings of the "Town," and those of the "Proprietors of the common and undivided lands in the Town," were held separately, and the records kept in separate books. The officers were also

^o Of Newbury.

chosen separately, though the same persons not unfrequently held office in both organizations at one and the same time. The proprietors continued to hold their meetings; to give, sell, and exchange the undivided lands; for nearly forty years afterward, — giving and selling to, and exchanging with, "commoners" and "non-commoners," — but we find no hint in either record or paper, of either party, as to the further settlement of the difficulty between them. The most reasonable solution we can give of the problem is this; — that the right of the proprietors to the lands claimed by them was too manifest, and too well supported by reason and authority, to afford any inducements to the non-proprietors to continue the contest.

Thus was brought to a close the long, and at times, bitter contention, about the common and undivided lands in the town. The right of the "proprietors" was fully acknowledged, and though, after portions of the town had been set off to other towns, and particularly after the line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire was run, the right of the proprietors to continue to dispose of such lands in those portions of the original township was questioned, yet in all cases where the matter came before the courts, (and they were not a few) the claim of the proprietors was fully sustained. And we find that, as late as 1745 to 1750, such lands were frequently petitioned for, by residents in the several towns, and were disposed of by the "Haverhill Proprietors."

In the spring of 1724, Stephen Barker, and others, of the western part of the town, petitioned the General Court for a new town, to be formed by setting off that portion of Haverhill above Hawke's Meadow Brook. Captain John White was appointed Agent of this town to oppose the petition.

In November of the following year, the inhabitants of that section petitioned the town for a school in their neighborhood, — which was granted.^o They were also "allowed ten pounds to pay a minister to preach there," if they got one that year. These grants did not, however, induce them to consent to remain as a part of Haverhill, and shortly after (December 8, 1725) the General Court gave them an act of incorporation, under the name of Methuen.[†]

^o A Mr. Heath was the Schoolmaster.

[†] The first church in Methuen was formed October 29, 1729, and Rev. Christopher Sargeant was ordained as its pastor, November 5, the same year. The next January, the society petitioned the "proprietors of the common and undivided lands in Haverhill, and that part of Methuen formerly contained within ye ancient bounds of Haverhill," for a parcel of land for a parsonage. The proprietors not only gave them the land, but also donated a piece to their minister.

In May, 1737, the inhabitants of the "second parish in Methuen, being about to build a meeting house," also petitioned the proprietors of Haverhill for land. The proprietors voted to give them fifty acres, and also voted fifty acres to their "first ordained minister." These lands were all in Methuen.

In June, 1725, Benjamin Stevens and others, petitioned the General Court for a township of land at "Pennycook," (now Concord, N. H.,) which was granted them, and on the 2d of February, 1726, a Committee of the General Court met at the tavern of Ebenezer Eastman (one of the petitioners) in Haverhill, for the purpose of admitting settlers. After much careful inquiry and examination, the requisite number—one hundred—were admitted. Among them were thirty-six Haverhill men.^o

°Obadiah Ayer,	Stephen Emerson,	Jeremiah Pecker,
°Samuel Ayer,	Nehemiah Heath,	John Sanders,
°John Ayer,	°Moses Hazzen,	John Sanders, Jr.,
°Capt Joshua Bailey,	°Richard Hazzen, Jr.,	Jonathan Sanders,
Nathaniel Clement,	Timothy Johnson,	°Nathaniel Sanders,
Benjamin Carleton,	John Merrill,	Nicolas White,
Nehemiah Carleton,	Nathaniel Page,	William White,
Christopher Carleton,	Thomas Page,	John White,
Edward Clark,	Joseph Page,	William Whittier,
Ephraim Davis,	°Nathaniel Peaslee,	Jacob Shute,
°Joseph Davis,	°Robert Peaslee,	Total, thirty-six.
°Samuel Davis,	John Pecker,	
Capt Ebenezer Eastman,	James Pecker,	

Obadiah Ayer, (born May 9, 1689) was the son of Samuel, (who was killed by the Indians in the attack on Haverhill, August 29, 1708) and a descendant of John Ayer, one of the early settlers of Haverhill. Obadiah was a graduate of Harvard College (1710); studied for the ministry; a man of talents and influence, but subject occasionally to aberrations of mind, at which times he is said to have had lodgings in Boston provided for him by his particular friend, John Hancock. We do not learn that he ever married. He kept the Grammar School in Haverhill six months of the year he was graduated, (for which he received fifteen pounds,) and also the next year, and probably for several years after, as we find his name mentioned again in 1713. It does not appear that he finally settled in Concord.

John Ayer (born April 7, 1705,) was a brother of Obadiah. He married Mary Johnson, of Haverhill. Their children, born in Haverhill, were—Abigail, who died unmarried; Timothy, who married Elizabeth White, and lived in Bradford, Vermont; and John, who lived in Bradford, Mass., John was doubtless at Concord in the earliest period of its settlement, but did not finally settle there.

^o Those designated by a ° were *proprietors*, but did not settle at Concord.

Samuel Ayer, son of James, (a brother of Obadiah and John) was born and lived in Haverhill. He married Ann Hazzen. Their children, (all born in Haverhill) were — Mary, born December 23, 1738, married Samuel Morrison, of Sanbornton, N. H.; Anna, born September 22, 1740, married Deacon John Kimball of Concord; Samuel, born November 29, 1742, married Sarah Chase, of Haverhill; Elizabeth (1) and Elizabeth (2) died young; Elizabeth (3) born June 22, 1748, married Jacob Ela, of Haverhill; Hannah, born August 25, 1751, married John Bradley, of Concord; Ruth, born December 4, 1753, married Dr. Peter Green, of Concord; Lydia, born December, 1755, died young; Richard, born May 12, 1757, married Susanna Sargeant; James, born January 1, 1761, married Mary, daughter of Dr. James Brickett, of Haverhill.

(Richard, son of Samuel, appears to have been the first permanent settler of the name in Concord. He married Susanna Sargeant, of Methuen, by whom he had eleven children, all born in Concord.)

Captain Joshua Bailey, born October 30, 1685, was probably a descendant of John Bailey, — who settled in Newbury, 1650,^c — and was for many years one of the principal men of Haverhill. He was moderator, and one of the selectmen, from 1724, to 1734, and subsequently moderator for several years. He was probably a physician, as we find a "Dr. Bayley" mentioned in 1718; and again in 1722, "Dr. Bailey" went to Boston for soldiers. He married Elizabeth Johnson, about 1715. Children, — Ann, born March 6, 1715-16, died May 26, 1716; Mary, born June 13, 1717, died November 18, 1718; Sarah, born February 22, 1718-19; Elizabeth, born November 3, 1721, died May 5, 1736; Mary, born February 23, 1723, died May 11, 1736; Anna, born March 4, 1725, died January, 1750; Abigail, born January 10, 1729-30.

"Joshua Bayley the husband d Feb 7, 1752. Elizabeth Bayley the wife d Oct 21, 1773."

Nathaniel Clement (son of John, and Elizabeth Ayres) was born in Haverhill, June, 1689. He married Sarah Merrill, about 1714. Children, — Abiah, born May 27, 1715; Elizabeth, born March 6, 1716-17; Nathaniel, born October 16, 1719; Sarah, born March 2, 1721; Jeremiah, born June 15, 1724; Samuel, born April 8, 1726; David, born May 23, 1728; John, born July 1, 1730; David, born November 8, 1734. Sarah, the wife, died July 10, 1748.

Edward Clark, born March 29, 1694, was a son of Hanniel, and married Sarah Stevens about 1715. They had seven children.

Of Benjamin, Nehemiah, and Christopher Carleton, we find no record.

^c See Coffin, p. 294.

Ephraim Davis, born March 20, 1697, was a son of Ephraim, and a descendant of Thomas, of Marlborough, England. There is no record of the family of Ephraim; but he had three sons, Samuel, Benjamin, and Robert, and two daughters whose names are believed to have been Deborah and Judith. Samuel and Benjamin were soldiers in the French war. One of them was drowned, and the other died soon after his return. The elder daughter married Colonel Moses Baker, of Campton, N. H., and the younger a Mr. Morrison, who lived at or near Sanbornton Bridge, N. H.

Joseph, and Samuel Davis, were probably brothers, and sons of Samuel, of Haverhill. They did not settle at Concord.

Captain Ebenezer Eastman, of whom we have already given an account, was a son of Phillip, and grandson of Roger, who settled in Salisbury, 1640. (We think Bouton, who doubtless followed Mirick, is mistaken in giving the date of Eastman's birth as 1689. Our town records say 1681; and as he had a sister (Abigail) born May 28, 1689, we incline to the opinion that Ebenezer was *not* born in that year.) Six of his sons also settled in Concord. His children were—Ebenezer, born September 5, 1711; Phillip, born November 13, 1713, married Abiah Bradley; Joseph, born June 10, 1715, married Abigail Mellen; Nathaniel, born March 16, 1717; Jeremiah, born August 25, 1719, married Dorothy Carter; Obadiah, born December 11, 1721; Ruth, born January 17, 1729, married Dr. Ezra Carter, (2d), married Fowler of Boscowen, N. H.; Moses, born February 28, 1732, married Elizabeth Kimball.

Stephen Emerson, son of Stephen and Elizabeth (Duston) was born in Haverhill February 23, 1700–1.

Nehemiah Heath, born May 11, 1680, was a son of John Heath of Haverhill.

Moses, and Richard Hazzen, Jr., were sons of Lieutenant Richard, of Haverhill. They did not settle in Concord. Richard, Jr., married Sarah Clement of this town, October 22, 1719, by whom he had eight children.

Timothy Johnson, was probably from Haverhill, and a son of John Johnson and Elizabeth Maverick (though Farmer reckons him as from Andover, and son of Timothy of that town). He was born June 31, 1672, and was the last of the seven children of his mother. His father married for a second wife widow Sarah Gills, 1674, who died July 1676, (a few days after giving birth to Mary and Rebecca, twins); and third, widow Katharine Mavericke, 1680, by whom he had John Maverick, died 1689.

John Merrill, (Deacon) was from the West Parish, and a descendant of Nathaniel. He married Lydia Haynes. His children (the three oldest born in Haverhill) were—Moses, married Dorcas Abbot, settled in

Pembroke; Thomas, married Phebe Abbot, settled in Conway, married (2d,) widow Johnson, married (3d,) widow Ambrose, married (4th,) widow Cummings; John, married Rebecca Abbot, settled in Pembroke, in continental service 1776; Hannah, died young; Jonathan, born February 10, 1733, married Mary Farnum, settled in Hill; Hannah, born February 10, 1735, married R. Eastman, married (2d,) I. Odell Conway; Nathaniel, born November 4, 1738, married Ann Walker, settled in Brownfield, Me.; Sarah, born April 24, 1741, married Daniel Chandler; Ann, born December 20, 1743, married Benjamin Farnum of Concord, N. H.; Abigail, born December 9, 1746, married Tappan Evans of Warren, N. H.; Lydia, married Amos Foster of Pembroke, N. H.

Nathaniel Page, born February 15, 1700-1, was a son of John, Jr., and grand-son of Cornelius, the father of Thomas and Joseph.

Thomas and Joseph Page, were sons of Cornelius, of Haverhill. Thomas was born February 24, 1693-4; and Joseph, September 12, 1689.

Nathaniel and Robert Peaslee, were sons of Joseph, son of Joseph, of Haverhill. They did not settle in Concord. Nathaniel was born June 25, 1682, and was, for many years, one of the leading men of the town. He was Representative in 1737, 39 to 42, 1746 to 49, and 1752, 53. In 1739, he was one of the committee of the General Court on the boundary line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire. For many years, he served the town as moderator, and as one of the selectmen. Robert was born February 3d, 1677.

John and James Pecker, were sons of James and Ann (Davis). John was born December 15, 1687; and James, November 15, 1684. Of Jeremiah, we can find no record.

John Sanders, born June 6, 1672, was a son of James and Sarah (Page). He died September 8, 1737. John, Jr., born August 25, 1696, was a son of the above. He married Lydia Duston, and had fourteen children, seven of whom died young.

Jonathan Sanders, born February 23, 1711-12, was a son of Avery and Abigail (Green) Sanders.

Nathaniel Sanders, son of James and Hannah (Tewksbury), married 1st, Mary Bixby, 2d, Anna Kelley, by each of whom he had one child.

Nicholas, John, and William White, were brothers, and sons of John, and Lydia (Gilman). Nicholas was born December 4, 1698, married Hannah Ayer, of Haverhill, 1722, and died in 1782. They had five children. William was born January 18, 1693-4, and died in 1738. John was born September 8, 1707, and died May 10, 1745.

William Whittier, son of John, and Mary (Hoit), was born October 28, 1688, and married Rachell Mitchell. They had three children.

Jacob Shute was the son of a French Protestant, or Huguenot, who fled from Paris, on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and took refuge in Ireland. Jacob, when about seventeen years of age, disliking the trade to which he was apprenticed, ran away, in company with one Dawen, and took secret passage in the hold of a ship for this country. They remained concealed until driven out by hunger. On arriving at Newburyport, and having nothing to pay their passage, they were sold—(their service)—for a time, to pay it. They were both bought by Captain Ebenezer Eastman, of Haverhill, and served him till twenty-one years of age. Shute settled at Penacook. He married Sarah George, of Haverhill, and had a daughter, Sarah, born here, and John and Elizabeth, born at Penacook. His wife died January, 1745. He married a second wife, (a widow Evans) by whom he had two daughters, both of whom died young. Mr. Shute died February 16, 1794, aged ninety-four.

The first party of the proprietors of the new township, left Haverhill early in the morning of May 12th, and arrived at Penacook about five, P. M., May 13th, and the next day commenced the survey of the township. The following September, a committee of the settlers was chosen "to go out and clear a sufficient cart way to Penny Cook, the nighest and best way they can from Haverhill." According to tradition, Ebenezer Eastman's team—six yoke of oxen, with a cart—was the *first* that crossed the wilderness from Haverhill to Penacook. It was driven by Jacob Shute, who, in order to get safely down Sugar Ball bank, felled a pine tree and chained it, top foremost, to his cart to stay the motion of it down the precipice.

Samuel Ayer is supposed to have been the first person who ploughed land at Penacook. The first family that settled in the plantation, was that of Ebenezer Eastman. The mill-crank for the first grist-mill was carried upon a horse from this town.^o

At a meeting held on the day of the annual March meeting this year, (1726) — but after the latter had closed — Captain Joshua Bayley was chosen a committee in behalf of the town, to join with any persons chosen by neighboring towns, "to use all proper means to get the County of Essex divided." The reason given for this action, was, — that the shire

^o For many of the above facts relating to the pioneer settlers of Concord, we are indebted to the excellent *History of Concord, N. H.*, by Rev. Mr. Bouton.

town was so far distant. We do not learn that anything further was done at this time in regard to the division, either by this or the neighboring towns.^o

One of those small matters frequently met with in the records, and which throw a gleam of light upon the manners and customs of "Auld Lang Syne," is found in the entry that one Mary Pearsons was warned out of town by the constable, upon the order of the selectmen, "she having nothing to live upon." In those days, towns were very careful that no persons obtained a settlement among them who would ever be likely to become a public charge, and all such persons were promptly notified by the authorities that the town did not consent to their remaining in it. From 1724 to 1770, thirty persons were thus ordered out of town. In later years, it became customary to serve such a notice upon nearly every person who came into the town to reside, and such a practice prevailed within the memory of many persons still living.

At the March meeting for 1726, ten persons living in the east part of the town petitioned for permission to assemble for worship at the Amesbury meeting house.[†] The request was granted. Four years later, twelve persons[‡] in that vicinity petitioned the town to allow them to pay their "minister's rate" in Amesbury, instead of Haverhill, — which was also agreed to.

The steady increase in the population of the town, brought with it a proportionate increase in the labors and cares of the minister, and also in his expenses; and this year Rev. Mr. Brown applied to the town for an addition to his salary. In full confidence in each others liberality and sense of justice, they voted him *four contributions a year* in addition to his present pay! As often happens to others, as well as ministers, no sooner is one desire satisfied than another takes its place, and we need not therefore be surprised that this liberal increase of salary should suggest to Rev. Mr. Brown the propriety of having his house improved in a corresponding ratio. Accordingly we find him asking the town to "double floor" one of the rooms, as it was "very cold in the winter," and to "ceiling overhead" another, and, with many expressions of confidence and esteem, he leaves

^o In 1693, several towns in Essex County petitioned the General Court for a division of the County. The House passed an Act for that purpose, but it failed to meet the approval of the Governor and Council. In 1736 a similar proposition was again made, but without success; and several times since then the subject has been agitated in the Merrimack towns.

[†] Abner Chase, Samuel Sargent, John Sanders, Jr., John Snow, John Sanders, James Sanders, Robert Hunkins, William Davis, John Lovell, Green Whittier.

[‡] John Sanders, James Sanders, Robert Hunkins, John Sanders, Jr., Abner Chase, Green Whittier, James Bradbury, John Sweet, Joseph Kelley, Anthony Colby, William Bley, Robert Hastings.

entirely to them the consideration of such *other* improvements as might seem to them necessary. That his confidence was not misplaced, is shown in the fact that the town not only fixed the two rooms requested, but "re-payered the Great Room!"

At a meeting held in May (1726) the town voted to raise one-fifth of their "Bank Money" and pay it into the Province treasury immediately.^o

7 The year 1727 occupies a somewhat prominent place in the history of this town and vicinity, on account of "a mighty tempest of wind and rain," and "a most terrible, sudden, and amazing earthquake" which occurred in the fall of that year.

The first occurred on Saturday and Sunday, September 16 and 17, and destroyed a large amount of property. As a specimen of the damage done, may be cited the fact that "near two hundred load of hay" was swept away from the marshes of Newbury.[†]

The earthquake, or rather earthquakes, commenced on Sunday evening, the 29th of October. Rev. Mr. Plant, of Newburyport, thus describes it:

"October 29th 1727. Being the Lord's day at forty minutes past ten the same evening, there was a most terrible, sudden and amazing earthquake, which did damage to the greatest part of the neighborhood, shook and threw down tops of chimneys and in many places the earth opened a foot or more. It continued very terrible by frequently bursting and shocking our houses and lasted all that week (the first being the loudest shock, and eight more that immediately followed, louder than the rest that followed) sometimes breaking with six times or oftener in a day and as often in the night until Thursday in the said week and then somewhat abated. Upon Friday in the evening and about night, and about break of day and on Saturday there were three very loud claps. We also had it on Saturday, the Sabbath, and on Monday morning about ten, tho' much abated in the noise and terror. Upon the Tuesday following, November seventh, about eleven o'clock a very loud clap upon every day or night more

^o In 1600, the General Court of Massachusetts issued bills of credit, which were the first "paper money" made in the country. A similar emission was made in 1702. In 1721 it issued £50,000, which was divided among the several towns according to population, &c., and was to be returned whenever the General Court should so order. The proportion received by this town, was loaned to various private individuals, they giving their notes for the same, and paying five per cent. annual interest for the use of it. It was this "Bank money" that was thus voted to be called in and paid back to the Province Treasury.

In 1728, another emission of £50,000 was made; and a similar issue has been ordered several times since. The object of these issues, or "loans," was to extricate the Province from debt, by creating a temporary substitute for hard money, and thus allow it time to recover from its pecuniary embarrassment.

Paper money was first made by Massachusetts in 1600; by Connecticut, 1709; Pennsylvania, 1723; Maryland, 1740; Rhode Island, 1744; and in 1759 almost every province issued paper currency. It was first issued by Congress in 1775.

[†] Coffin.

or less three, four, six times each day or night and upon the twelfth being the Lord's day twice from betwixt three to half past four, in all which space of time some claps were loud, others seemingly at a distance and much abated. Upon Monday two hours before day a loud burst and at half past two in the afternoon another burst was heard somewhat loud. On the nineteenth about ten at night a very loud shock and another about break of day, somewhat *here* abated, but at Haverhill a very loud burst, making their houses rock, as that over night did with us. It was the Lord's day in the evening. It hath been heard twice since much abated. The very first shock opened a new spring by my father Samuel Bartlet's house in the meadow and threw up in the lower grounds in Newbury several loads of white sand. After that some loud claps, shocking our houses. On December seventeenth, about half an hour after ten being Lord's day at evening a very loud burst, shocking our houses. Another about four the next morning abated.^o

Stephen Jaques, of Newbury, thus describes its effects in his vicinity:—

"On the twenty ninth day of October between ten and eleven it being sabbath day night there was a terabel earthquake. The like was never known in this land. It came with a dreadful roeing, as if it was thunder, and then a pounce like grate guns two or three times close one after another. It lasted about two minits. It shook down bricks from ye tops of abundance of chimnies, some allmost all the heads. All that was about ye houses trembled, bcds shook, some cellar walls fell partly down. Stone wals fell in a hundred plasia. o o o o o The first night it broke out in more than ten places in ye town in ye clay low land, blowing up ye sand, sum more, sum less. In one place near Spring island it blew out as it was judged twenty loads, and when it was cast on coals in ye night, it burnt like brimstone."

Henry Sewall, of Newbury, in a letter to Judge Sewall, of Boston, says:—

"We were sitting by the fire and about half after ten at night† our house shook and trembled as if it would fall to peices. Being affrighted we ran out of doors, when we found the ground did tremble and we were in great fear of being swallowed up alive, but God preserved us and did not suffer it to break out, till it got forty or fifty rods from the house, where it broke the ground in the common near a place called Spring

^o We copy these interesting accounts from Coffin's *History of Newbury*.

† We must not infer from this that a majority of the people were sitting by the fire at that hour of Sunday night. Indeed, Stephen Jaques declares that "most people *got up* in a moment." This seems conclusive.

island, and there is from sixteen to twenty loads of fine sand thrown out where the ground broke, and several days after the water boiled out like a spring, but is now dry and the ground closed up again."^o

Similar shocks, though less severe, were frequently felt during the greater part of the following year. Between January 1st and May 22d, (1728) over thirty are recorded. On the latter date, the church in this town observed the day as a day of thanksgiving, "for the great mercies of the winter past under the Earthquakes."

As we may readily suppose, the distance at which many families lived from the central meeting-house, joined with the primitive roughness of the roads, and the meagre facilities for riding to church, made it well nigh impossible for many to attend, especially in the winter; and, in the fall of 1727, the inhabitants of the northern and western parts of the town, at their request, received permission to hold meetings at each of those places during the following winter. The inhabitants of the north part of the town had, a few months previously, petitioned the town to build a meeting-house in that part of the town, but without success. Their next move was for permission to have meetings, as above mentioned, and from their petition to the town, the following spring, for money to pay their minister, we learn that such meetings were held.

At the same time, twenty-four persons again petitioned the town to build a meeting-house in that part of the town. Both of these requests were refused. But the inhabitants of that section were now fully determined that their requests should no longer be so lightly treated, and at a meeting held in June of the same year, (June 18, 1728,) they succeeded in securing a vote that the northerly part of the town should be set off into a distinct precinct, or parish. The conditions annexed, were, that the inhabitants should determine within one month where their meeting-house should be erected, and settle an orthodox minister as soon as possible.

^o In a conversation with Professor Agassiz we remarked, "If earthquakes and subterranean fires have elevated and depressed portions of this continent, why may they not again." He replied, "They may; probably they will."

Mr. Coffin in his valuable History of Newbury, between 1727 and 1770, has recorded nearly two hundred earthquake shocks on the Merrimac river! That disturbed region has long been quiet, and probably will remain so; but who may know what changes the past centuries have experienced!

All the great rivers on the Atlantic coast of the United States have a southerly or south-easterly direction. The Merrimac has such a direction for one hundred and forty miles, and is the only one which turns in its course and runs north-east, and part of the way north-west. If the history of the buried ages could be restored, it might be found that this river once discharged itself into Lynn harbor. From the Merrimac at Lowell to the head waters of the Saugus is only sixteen miles; while after its turning it finds its devious way more than forty miles to the sea at Newburyport! Probably no portion of our land has undergone greater changes than the seacoast of Essex county, and none presents a more interesting field of research. If we suppose one part to have been elevated, or another depressed, the peculiarity of this river may be accounted for. The subject is worthy the attention of geologists. — *Lewis*.

It was formally erected into a Parish by the General Court, in the following August. The following were the bounds: —

“Beginning at the Westerly end of Brandy Brow, on Almsbury line, from thence to the Northerly end of the hither North Meadow as it is commonly called, thence to the fishing river and so down the fishing River till it comes to the Bridge by Matthew Harriman's, then running Westerly to the bridge over the brook by Nathl Marble's, and then a straight line Northwest one quarter of a point North, to the bounds of Haverhill, taking all the land within the town of Haverhill north of said line.”

Their meeting-house was partly finished this year. The parish then included a part of Hampstead, Plaistow, and Atkinson.

Complaint being made that there were “too many taverns” in town it was decided (June 18, 1728,) that two taverns were “sufficient for the town's benefit; and Lieutenant Ebenezer Eastman and John Swett were appointed to keep them. Eastman kept in the village, and Swett at Holt's Rocks.

That this was not the first time that good citizens thought and said there were too many taverns in town, may be seen from the following letter, which well deserves a place in a history of the town. It is copied from the Court Files for 1696: —

“Haverhill, December 26, 1696.

Much Hond. Gentlemen:

I allways thought it great prudence and christianity in our former leaders and rulers, by their laws to state the numbers for publique houses in towns, and for regulation of such houses, as were of necessity, thereby to prevent all sorts, almost, of wickedness, which daily grow in upon us like a flood. But alas, I see not but that now, the care is over, and such (as to some places I may term them,) pest houses and places of enticement, (the not so intended by the justices) to sin are multiplied. It is multiplied too openly, that the cause of it may be, the price of retailers fees &c. I pray what need of six retailers in Salisbury, and of more than one in Haverhill, and some other towns, where the people when taxes and rates for the country and ministers are collecting, with open mouth complain of povertie and being hardly dealt with, and yet I am fully informed, can spend much time, and spend their estate at such blind holes, as are clandestinely and unjustly petitioned for, and more threaten to get licences, chiefly by repairing to a remote court, where they are not known or suspected, but pass for current, and thereby the towns are abused, and the youth get evil habits, and men sent out on country service, at such places

waste much of their time, yet expect pay for it, in most pernicious loytering and what, and sometimes by foolish if not pot-valliant firing and shooting off guns, not for the destruction of enemies, but to the wonderful disturbance and affrightment of the inhabitants, which is not the service a scout is allowed and maintained for. Please to see, if possible, what good is done by giving license to Robert Hastings in such a by-place, about three miles from the publique house in town. The man himself I am sure has no cause, nor do I believe the town or travellers if they are sober men, will ever give the court thanks for the first grant to him, or the farther renewal thereof. But now the brovado is made, what is done is not enough, we must have a third tippling house at Peter Patey's about mid-way between the other two, which they boast as cocksure of, and have it is thought laid in, for this very end, an unaccountable store of cyder, rum, molasses and what not. It is well if this stock be not now spent on, in procure subscriptions for to obtain the villian's licence, which I fear knowing the man, we may be bold to say, wickedness will be practised and without control, and we must be quiet, or hated because of licences for something which they will enlarge to any and everything which is not, &c. o o o o o o

It would be good, if the law or rule of court made, were duly practised as to granting and renewing of licences, that none be meddled with but at the court to which the grand jurors do repair, belonging to the town where the man lives who petitions for license, so that the court may see what complaints are entered by bill, or better inquiries may be made. But now many that would speak if they had knowledge of the motion before the grant was made, cannot. I have done my part in court, as to what I heard of, to prevent such confiding licences to persons unknown. We need but one place to be granted for strangers, or else it were more than enough. As for the two last mentioned, none that knew the men or the places, or the business, of necessity there let be done, can judge them to conduce to good or accommodation of civilized men. o o o o o o o o o

I am now God's prisoner, and ean't come abroad. I have waited long to speak of those and other but as yet can't meet with an opportunity. You have nothing here of personal animosity of mine against any man, but zeal and faithfulness to my country and town, and to the young and rising generation that they be not too much at libertie to live and do as they list. I pray accept of the good intentions of, gentlemen, your humble servant,

N. Saltonstall.

To the Justices in Quarter Session, sitting at Salem, December, 1696."

About this time, commenced the disputes and difficulties between the inhabitants of Haverhill, and those of Londonderry, and other places, in regard to the rightful ownership of certain lands lying between them. This "Border War" extended over a period of almost forty years; and, as a connected history of its rise and progress has never yet been published, it seems proper that we should devote a chapter to its special consideration, — which we now propose to do.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BOUNDARY DIFFICULTIES OF 1720 TO 1759.

THE first charter of the Massachusetts Colony granted all "that part of new England lying between three miles to the north of the Merrimack and three miles to the south of the Charles River, and of every part thereof, in the Massachusetts Bay; and in length between the described breadth, from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea."

A considerable portion of the land embraced in this patent had been previously granted by the same Council to Captain John Mason, and others; and the grounds upon which it was now re-sold do not appear. But, whatever may have been the reasons, the interference of the patent with those of a previous date, gave rise to perplexing embarrassments and long controversies.^o

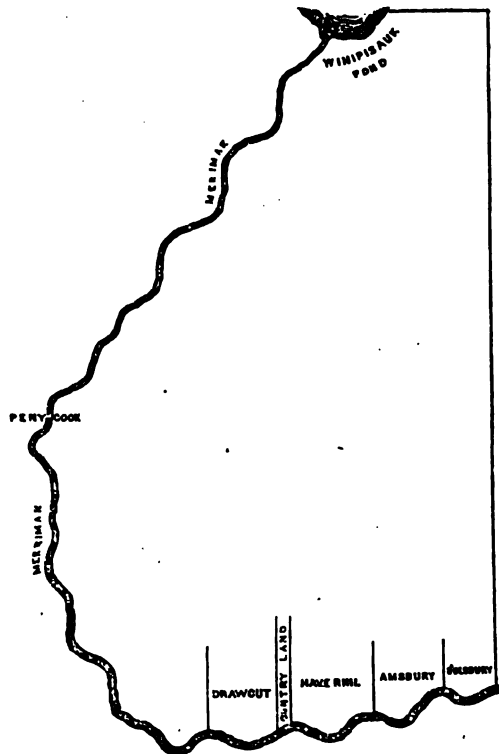
Under this charter, the Massachusetts colonists claimed that their northern boundary was three miles to the north of the northermost part of the Merrimack, and, *from that point* to extend east and west from the Atlantic to the South Sea. In order to ascertain this northermost point, a commission was appointed in 1639 to explore the river, which resulted in fixing upon a rock near the outlet of Winnipisiogee Lake,† as the most northern part of the river, and a certain tree three miles to the northward of the rock, as the point from which their line was to run due east and west. This construction, as may readily be seen by reference to a map of New England, would give to Massachusetts the larger part of what is now New Hampshire and Vermont, and a large slice of Maine.

Among the miscellaneous papers in the State Archives, is an old map, or plan, without date, but evidently drawn for the purpose of showing this claim of Massachusetts. The following is an engraving of this plan,

^o As late as 1759, (almost twenty years after the line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire had been settled) the Haverhill Proprietors chose a committee "to join with New Salem Committee to settle the title of that township with ye proprietors of John Tufton Mason's Right, & to go to Portsmouth and settle ye affair."

† Which they marked, and which has ever since been known, as *Endicott's Rock*.

upon a reduced scale. The portion of land marked "Country Land," includes all that part of the present town of Methuen, which was not originally a part of Haverhill.



With this impression as to their colonial bounds, Massachusetts granted the townships along the northern border of the Merrimac, and among the rest, Haverhill.

But the New Hampshire grantees placed a different construction upon the language of the charter, and claimed that the northern line could not *in any place* extend more than three miles to the north of the middle of the channel of the river. The territory, therefore, lying between these extremes, became "disputed territory." Subsequently, (1677) at a hearing before the King and Council, the agents for Massachusetts, by advice, so far modified their claim as to disclaim all right of jurisdiction beyond

the three miles north of the river *according to its course*;^o and it was determined that they had a right as far as the river extended. Massachusetts, however, continued to retain jurisdiction over those parts of those towns already granted, which were more than three miles north of the Merrimac,—of which New Hampshire continued to complain.

If the first charter of Massachusetts had continued, it is not probable that any different construction would ever have been started, and the dispute between the two colonies would have remained confined to the towns referred to. But the new charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, (1692,) defined the northern bound as "extending from the great river commonly called Monomack alias Merrimack on the north part and from three miles northward of the said river to the atlantic or western sea," &c. About the year 1720, New Hampshire began to claim that the line should commence at the point three miles north of the *mouth* of the Merrimac, and from thence run due west to the south sea. With the setting up of this *new* claim commenced a series of disputes, contentions, and suits, that lasted for nearly a third of a century, and at times nearly involved the inhabitants of the disputed territory in civil war.

The theatre of the most violent and determined contests during these troubles, was that part of Haverhill (as originally laid out) known as the "Peke," or "corner," or "northerly angle" of the town.

As early as 1722, we find the inhabitants of Londonderry making application to New Hampshire for more room, and they seem to have had a special desire for land in the vicinity of the "Peke of Haverhill."[†] The same year, a committee chosen by the General Court of Massachusetts to look after encroachments upon the lands to the north of Merrimack River, belonging to the towns of Salisbury, Almsbury, and Haverhill, reported that "some Irish People" claimed the land "home to Merrimack River from Amoskeag falls," &c.[‡]

In November, 1726, a petition was presented to the General Court from Orlando Bayley, Jacob Rowell, and *seventy others* of Haverhill and Amesbury, in which they affirm that they have been prosecuted at law for land they had held for sixty years, on pretence that it was in the town of *Kingston* and Province of New Hampshire. Writs for trespass had been

^o That is, their line should run parallel with the river from its mouth to the "crotch" (Endicott's Rock) and thence due north three miles, (to Endicott's Tree) and thence due west to the "South Sea."

[†] N. H. State Archives.

[‡] As early as December, 1720, the Commoners of Haverhill received information that "the Irish were settling on some of the fourth division lots."—*Vide Prop. Res.*

served on these petitioners, on the ground that their land was "more than three miles from Merrimack River," and they were tried in New Hampshire.

The General Court took measures to inform their agent at London in regard to the complaint, and voted that the Governor should remonstrate to the General Court of New Hampshire against such proceedings, and solicit that all such might be stayed until the question of boundary was fully settled.

That this did not have the desired effect, is fully shown from the following extract from the Council Records of Massachusetts, for February, 1728:—

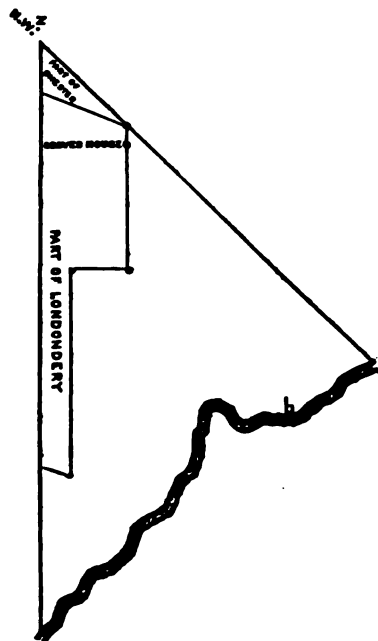
"A petition of Richard Hazen Junior, James Pecker, Ebenr Eastman, & Nathl Peasley, all of Haverhill, in the County of Essex, in behalf of the Inhabitants of the said Town, setting forth that notwithstanding the Ancient Grant of the sd Town the many confirmations and settlements of their Bounds by the Government, divers of the Inhabitants of London Derry within the Province of New Hampshire have encroached upon the Petitioners Lands mowed their meadows, cut down and destroyed their Timber, and erected several Houses on their Lands and have prosecuted the Inhabitants of Haverhill in the said Province of New Hampshire for improving their own lands, and therefore Praying relief from this Board; Read, and

Whereas it appears to this Board that the contentions between the Inhabitants of this Province and the Province of New Hampshire, bordering on the dividing Line, are arisen to that height that there is great danger that in their encroachments they will use violence on each other unless they are speedily discountenanced by the respective Governments: for preventing whereof

"Voted, that the Inhabitants of this Province bordering on the dividing Line and claiming Lands there be directed not to make any new Settlement on the said Lands or any improvements whatsoever thereon and to desist from all prosecutions in the Law till the further order of this Government or the settlement of the said Line, *Provided* the Government of New Hampshire do give the like or some other effectual directions to the Inhabitants of that Province for the end aforesaid; And that His Excellency be desired to write to the Lient Governor of the Province of New Hampshire on this affair."^o

^o From the same records, of the same year, we learn that Nathaniel Peasley was twice allowed money from the Province Treasury to defend himself against suits in New Hampshire, (ten pounds and thirty pounds); and that John Wainwright and Richard Saltonstall were also granted twenty pounds to prosecute trespassers on Province Lands in Methuen.

Accompanying Hassen's petition was a plan, showing the portion of Haverhill claimed by Londonderry. The following is a reduced copy of the plan:



From this plan, it will be seen, that the land in dispute between the people of Haverhill and Londonderry, was principally confined to that part of Haverhill known as the "fifth division" land. The southern part of it, however, included a part of the "fourth division" land. The fifth division lots were laid out by the Haverhill Proprietors in January, 1721, and it was the entrance of the grantees upon, and their improvement of these lands, that led to the commencement of active contentions at this particular period.

The bounds of Londonderry, as given in Wheelwright's deed, of 1719, was as follows:—Down the Merrimack until it meets the line of Dunstable; thence eastward on Dunstable line, until it meets the line of Dracut; thence eastward on the line of Dracut "until it meets the line of Haverhil; and extending northward *upon Haverhill line* until it meet with the line of Cheshire." From this we see, that, according to their own deed, the claim of Londonderry was unwarrantable. The town of Haverhill had been laid out fifty-two years, when the deed of Londonderry was given, and by that deed they were bounded *upon Haverhill line*.

At a meeting of the Haverhill proprietors, held in January, 1729, a Committee was chosen to prosecute, "to final issue," all trespassers on the common lands; and another to perambulate the west line of the town.^o

At a meeting of the Proprietors, held April 7, 1729, "Wm Mudgete did remonstrate to the proprietors that he has lately been at great Cost & Charges in defending his Title to certain Lands in the fifth division which were & still are Claimed by the Irish & that the Matter is now in the Law undecided." He therefore prayed that the proprietors would "reimburse him what he has expended in Removing the said Irish out of his house." In answer to his petition, a committee was chosen to examine his accounts, and report. At a subsequent meeting, Mudgett was allowed forty-four pounds seventeen shillings and a sixpence, from the treasury of the proprietors.

On the other side, we find, under date of August 27th of the same year, a petition from the inhabitants of Londonderry, to the Governor and Council of New Hampshire, in which they say that "Inasmuch as the Inhabitants of the Towne of Haverhill do often disturb sundry of your petitioners in their quiet possession of their lands granted to them by their charter, under their pretentions of a title thereto," they pray for assistance, on account of the "Law suits which are daily multiplied by them."

From the Records of the General Court of Massachusetts, for 1731, we learn that, June 29, the House received

"A Petition of Nathan Webster and Richard Hazzen Junr, Agents for the Proprietors of the Town of Haverhill, Setting forth their Ancient & Legal right to the Lands they possess in said Town, as also the late Encroachments of the Irish people settled in the Province of New Hampshire, who have Cutt down and Carried away great Quantities of their Hay and Timber, & other ways disturbed them in the improvements of their Lands, Praying Relief from this Court."

Paul Dudley, from the committee chosen to look into the matter, reported that, inasmuch as there was a hopeful prospect of a speedy settlement of the Line, the Governor should be directed to issue a Proclamation, directing the inhabitants of both provinces to forbear molesting each other for the present year.

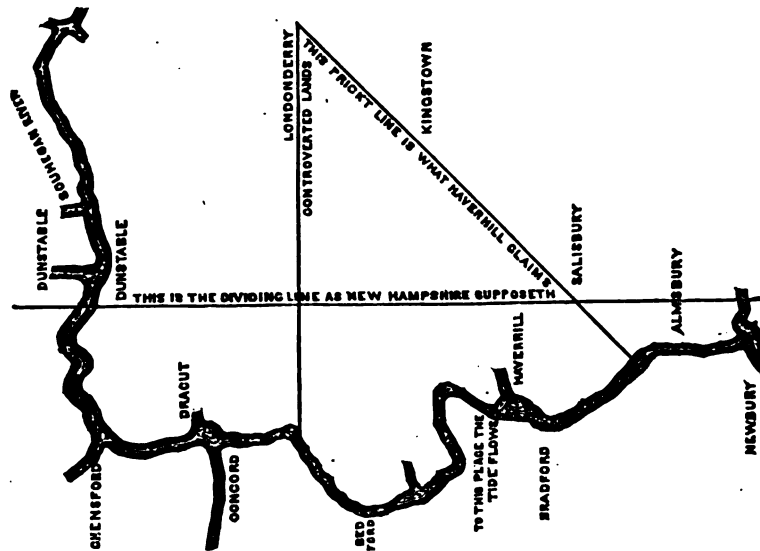
In this recommendation the House concurred, but the Council refused to do so, and

"Voted, that inasmuch as there are Courts of Justice established by Law before whom affairs of that nature are properly cognizable, the Petition be dismissed."

^o The fifth division lots were all bounded on the west by the west line of the town.

Shortly after, commissioners of the two provinces met at Newbury, and attempted to settle the troublesome dispute, but without success. Upon this, the New Hampshire commissioners appointed John Rindge, a merchant of Portsmouth, as agent, to present a petition to the King.^o They determined to treat no more with Massachusetts.

The following plan, or map, is a reduced copy of the one accompanying the petition of Rindge to the King and Council.



After many delays, a royal order was issued, referring the matter to a board of commissioners. These commissioners "were all such as the New Hampshire agent proposed, five councellers from each of the governments of New York, Rhode-Island, & Nova Scotia. With the two former governments, Massachusetts was then in controversy about lines. The latter, it was said, was disaffected to charter governments. Connecticut, proposed by Massachusetts, was rejected because of a bias from their trade, religion, &c., which New Hampshire was afraid of."[†]

The time and place for the meeting of the commission, was August 10th, at Hampton.[‡] The Assembly of New Hampshire met on the 4th of

^o October 31, 1731, the House of Representatives of New Hampshire confirmed the appointment of Rindge.

[†] Hutchinson.

[‡] At a meeting held May 17, this town chose a Committee, consisting of Colonel Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Richard Hazen, and Deacon James Ayer, "to wait upon the Commissioners, and represent the affairs and boundaries of the town to them, provided the proprietors of the undivided lands pay the expenses of the said Committee."

August, and the Secretary, by the Governor's order, prorogued it to the 10th, then to meet at Hampton Falls. The Assembly of Massachusetts met at Boston, on the same day, and also adjourned to the 10th, then to meet at Salisbury;—thus the two Assemblies met within five miles of each other. On the 10th, a large cavalcade was formed at Boston, and the Governor rode in state, escorted by a troop of horse. He was met at Newbury Ferry by another troop, and at the supposed divisional line by three more, who conducted him in all the pomp of power to the George tavern, at Hampton Falls, where he held a council, and made a speech to the Assembly of New Hampshire.^o

After several weeks of angry discussion, the boundary of the eastern line of New Hampshire (which had also been in dispute) was agreed upon, but the southern was not, and by agreement was submitted to the King.

The main point on which this controversy turned, was entirely evaded by the commissioners. That point was "whether the charter of William and Mary granted to Massachusetts all the lands which were granted by Charles the First?" If this question was decided in the affirmative, then the claim of Massachusetts must be granted; if not, then it must fall. Making, therefore, an evasive decision, the commission left the parties to pursue their contentions as best they could, by means of Agents, before His Majesty's Council in England. The New Hampshire interest was represented by John Tomlinson, who employed a Mr. Parris as solicitor—a man of great shrewdness, penetration, and artful address. Massachusetts employed, as her agent, Mr. Edmund Quincy, who died in 1738, and afterward the affair was in the hands of Wilks and Partridge—neither of whom understood a tithe so much of the controversy as Tomlinson, nor had the address of Parris. The latter drew up "a petition of appeal" to the King, in which all the circumstances attending the transaction from the beginning were recited and colored in such a manner as to asperse the governor and assembly of the "vast, opulent, overgrown province of Massachusetts;" while "the poor, little, loyal, distressed province of New

^o The following "pasquinade" having been adopted as a part of the history of these proceedings by so many of our predecessors, we dare not risk omitting it in this place:—

Dear paddy, you never did behold such a sight,
As yesterday morning was seen before night.
You in all your born days saw, nor I did not neither,
So many fine horses and men ride together,
At the head, the lower house trotted two in a row,
Then all the higher house pranced after the low,
Then the Governor's coach galloped on like the wind,
And the last that came foremost were troopers behind;
But I fear it means no good to your neck, nor mine,
For they say 'tis to fix a right place for the line.

Hampshire" was represented as ready to be devoured, and the King's own property and possessions swallowed up by the boundless rapacity of the charter government.

The following letter, from Richard Hazzen of this town, to Mr. Cushing, — written a few months after the matter had been thus referred to the King — throws considerable additional light upon this controversy : —

" Sr.

Inclosed are the Plans of Haverhill & Methuen with the Severall Claims of Kingston Chester & Londonderry^o upon them which you will I believe Easily find Out by the Delincations, as also the first plan that ever was taken of the Town of Haverhill as I Can find which I thought might be of service for its Antiquity.† You will see by the Southerly Course of Londonderry what parts of Dracutt & Dunstable they Claim but for want of more knowledge in the Courses of them Two Towns I forbore to take a plan thinking it more proper for Mr Justice Blanchard, and as to Almsbury I am acquainted that Kingston Claims near one third part, but without measuring I could not take an Exact plan so desisted hoping what is done may Suffice for the present. I have also enclosed the copy of a petition which was sent in Haverhill's behalf by the late Honrble Colo Quincy which if you please to peruse you will find it agrees with said Plan I have drawn & I hope will serve Haverhill.

After you have read it I desire you would Send it me by the bearer, again. If my business would have allowed of it I should have taken a plan of Kingston, by which you would have perceived that they have no Right by Grant to any part of Haverhill. Their Grant beginning at a Stake seven miles west from Hampton meeting house thence running west & by north Ten miles into ye Country & then beginning where they first began & Run North four miles & South within three Miles of Merrimack & then from the Extreme points Last mentioned to ye End of ye Tenmile so that it Lyes in the same form of Haverhill.

I should earnestly request that endeavours might be used that a Line from Endicott's Tree to three miles North of Merrimack River at ye mouth might be the dividing Line of the Provinces which we take to be the true intent of the Charter, but the Province having put in a different Claim we

^o In July, 1737, one Robert Auchmaty petitioned the Proprietors of Haverhill that "whereas a house lot had been laid out to him in Londonderry which is supposed to be within ye ancient town of Haverhill," to prevent any future trouble in regard to it, he requested the Proprietors to make over to him in writing all their right and title to the same. The request was not granted — perhaps because the petitioner asked the release as a *pi/t*.

† See an engraving of the last plan here referred to, on page 104.

forbear to mention it. however that you will use your utmost Endeavour that Haverhill's property may be Secured we Earnestly Request. If any thing further may be done to Serve the Province I shall readily lend a hand.

In Haste I am Sr

Your Most Humble Servt

Richd Hazen

Haverhill May 9th 1737."^o

The decision of the King in Council was not made until August 5, 1740, and the line was not actually run until the following year; and during all this time, the inhabitants of the disputed territory suffered the most serious inconveniences and annoyances. It would be both unjust, and ungenerous, did we deny that private rights were invaded, property destroyed or damaged, law suits needlessly multiplied, and other wrongs committed, by persons, and parties, on each of the contending sides. Passions were inflamed, cupidity and a love for contention excited, and, as always has been, (and, from the nature of man, under similar circumstances always must be expected,) every available means, short of actual resort to physical force, was adopted to harass and drive off the settlers on the disputed lands. Parties from this town repeatedly attempted (and often with success) to drive off the Londonderry and other settlers upon these lands,† and *visa versa*.

In the hope of putting a more speedy stop to these serious difficulties, the town, September 29, 1740, chose a committee to petition "his majesty" directly, about their town boundary.

Finally, (August 5, 1740,) a decree of the King in Council passed the seals, by which it was "adjudged, ordered and decreed, that the Northern boundary of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, is and be a similar curve line, pursuing the course of Merrimac river, at three miles distance on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic Ocean and ending at a point due north of a place in the plan returned by the Commissioners," (to whom the subject had been previously referred,) "called Patucket falls and a straight line drawn from thence due West across said river till it meets with his Majesty's other Governments." This decree was forwarded to Mr. Belcher, then governor of both Provinces, with instructions to apply to the respective Assemblies of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, to unite in marking the necessary provisions for running and marking the line

^o State Archives 52, 472.

† In April, 1735, John Carlton, and his brother George, (sons of Thomas, of Bradford) petitioned to the proprietors of Haverhill to make them some consideration for the services of themselves and teams "when Constable pecker went to fetch off those that were Trespassers on that part of Haverhill Common beyond the Island Pond," as they had done to others that went at the same time.

conformable to said decree, and that if the Assembly of either Province refused, the Assembly of the other might proceed ex parte. The Assembly of the Province of Massachusetts declined complying with this requisition. The Assembly of New Hampshire made the necessary appropriation for running and marking the line: and George Mitchel and Richard Hazen were appointed by Gov. Belcher, on behalf of New Hampshire, to survey and mark the boundary line conformably to said decree. Pursuant to this authority, in the month of February, A. D. 1741, Mitchel run and marked a line from the seacoast above three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack River, to a point about three miles north of Patucket falls, as and for the line directed to be run by said decree, and said Hazen, in the month of March following, run and marked a line from the said point about three miles north of Patucket falls, across the Connecticut River to the supposed boundary line of New York, on what he then supposed, was a due West line from the place of beginning.

This line gave to New Hampshire a territory of about fifty miles by fourteen MORE THAN SHE HAD EVER ASKED FOR!

Massachusetts, as may readily be supposed, did not soon forget her unjust treatment in the matter, and it was not until 1826, that she took part in a re-survey, or retracing of the line.^o

But the decree of the King did not put a stop to the disputes between the inhabitants of Haverhill and those of Londonderry. It was made a condition of the submission to the decision of the King, that private property should not be affected, and this condition was incorporated into his decree; but it did not settle the question of private ownership.

At their meeting in September, 1741, the Haverhill proprietors chose a committee to prosecute all trespassers on their common and undivided lands, whether they were on the north or south of the New Hampshire line, or in that part of Methuen formerly Haverhill; and they continued to sell and grant lands on the north side of the new line.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of Londonderry petitioned their General Court to newly run the lines of their town, as "your petitioners for several years past has been very greatly disturbed and troubled and incroached upon in their Possessions and in defence of the same has expended from time to time in the Law near two thousand Pounds against the Inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay." Among other causes of complaint against the latter, the petitioners say that "they carry off the small part of timber that is yet growing there."

^o From 1741, to 1826, no survey of the line was made by public authority.

That we may not be charged with suppressing testimony upon the Londonderry side, we copy, in extenso, the Rev. Mr. Parker's version of the matter, as given in his *History of that town*^o:—

"It appears that certain persons in Haverhill, and its vicinity, laid claim to these lands, by virtue of a deed of but about twenty years date, from an Indian sagamore named John,[†] whereas the Indian title which the proprietors of Londonderry claimed, was obtained more than sixty years before, and signed by all the principal chiefs who had any right whatever to the territory in question.[‡] Weak and unjust as was the claim of these individuals, they endeavoured to press it, hoping that, as these settlers were foreigners, if they could not by persuasion, they would by menaces, be induced to abandon their settlement. Hence they came from time to time in armed bodies, threatening violence if the settlers upon these lands did not remove. But they knew not the men whom they thus assailed, were men of tried courage and noble daring. Satisfied of the justness of their title, and determined to maintain it at the peril of life, if called to the encounter, the inhabitants of Londonderry went forward with their settlement, without heeding the menaces they received. It is related, that on one occasion a large party from Haverhill, led by a man named Herriman, came fully armed for an encounter, unless these settlers would yield to their demands, either paying them for the township or at once quitting it.[§]

"It was on Friday, and the men with their families were assembling under a spreading oak, their house of worship not being as yet erected, to observe, according to the good old Presbyterian custom, the service preparatory to communion, which was to be administered on the following Sabbath. The assailants, on making known their purpose, were requested to desist from all acts of violence, until their religious services were over, which they consented to do. Having listened attentively to the discourse addressed to his flock by the venerated pastor, and struck with the firm and undaunted

^o Parker's *History of Londonderry*, page 58.

[†] With this deed, and the claim under it, this town had nothing whatever to do, and but very few of its inhabitants. When we first began to "read up" upon this subject, we somewhere met with, and made notes of, a history of this deed, and the attempts made to establish claims under it; but they have been either lost or misplaced; and we can now only affirm that the claim was owned by parties outside of Haverhill, (we believe in Ipswich, or Salem) and that when they passed through this town, on their way to this disputed territory,—which was, as they claimed, covered by their deed,—to compel the settlers there to either purchase of them, or move off the lands, a number of Haverhill men joined the party.—G. W. C.

[‡] We believe it is even yet doubtful whether the deed here referred to is a genuine deed, or a false one. But even admitting it to have been a genuine and valid deed, the bounds of Londonderry under it, was distinctly stated to be to, and upon, *Haverhill the Line*.

[§] This must have been the party who claimed under the Indian deed, already referred to. They claimed the whole township. Haverhill never claimed anything more than to its west line, as laid out in 1667. The latter claim, therefore, covered but a small portion of the township of Londonderry.

appearance of the men, and with the spirit and solemnity of their devotions, Herriman said to his followers: 'Let us return, it is in vain to attempt to disturb this people, for surely the Lord is with them.'

"In connection with these more formal assaults, they were frequently harassed by intruders who attempted to mow their meadows, on which they mainly depended for the support of their cattle during the earlier years of the settlement.^o

"Such intruders were not unfrequently taken by them, and detained as prisoners, until satisfaction was rendered by them, or their friends. We find in the town accounts during these years, frequent charges by individuals 'for guarding prisoners.' Sometimes an inhabitant of the town, when employed in these meadows, would be seized and carried away by individuals from abroad, who laid in wait for the purpose. Thus a Mr. Christie, while mowing in a meadow, was seized and carried to Haverhill, without being allowed to apprise his family of his situation. The next day some of his apparel was found in the meadow where he had been at work, and he was at length discovered and rescued.

"It also appears that civil processes were commenced and carried on before the courts in Massachusetts, as they held their sessions, at Newburyport and Ipswich, and that certain individuals were actually committed to prison under the arrests which were made by the claimants in that province. We find frequent charges made for attendance at court at Ipswich, also a vote of the town to pay the expenses of the individuals imprisoned, and to perform for them the necessary work required on their farms during their imprisonment."

As a partial offset to the above, we give the following outline of one of the numerous cases where actions were brought against those Haverhill settlers who fell to the north of the line; and which will show the ground upon which *such* actions were brought, and the proceedings thereon. We condense it from a petition of Richard Hazzen to the General Court, dated November 22, 1749:—

In 1744, Robert Boyes, of Londonderry, brought an action of Ejectment against Jonathan Colburn, of Haverhill, to recover possession of a certain piece of land formerly within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, but, by the running of the line, falling within New Hampshire. Colburn

^o The reader will bear in mind that these disturbances only occurred on, and related to, those lands which formed a part of the "northwesterly angle of Haverhill," but were claimed by Londonderry as a part of their township. Even after the line was run in 1741, and when all the land to the north of it was claimed by New Hampshire, we find that most, if not all, the suits commenced against the settlers on the north side, were brought against those of "Haverhill Pake," or, as it was also then called, "Haverhill District."

held the land by virtue of a grant from the proprietors of the town of Haverhill to his predecessors, before the town of Londonderry was granted. Boyes claimed the land under the grant of Governor Shute for the town of Londonderry. At the Inferior Court, judgment was given for the defendant. The plaintiff appealed, and the Superior Court reversed the judgment. Subsequently, Colburn brought a Writ of Review and recovered, with costs. Boyes then appealed to the Governor and Council of New Hampshire, "called the Court of Appeals," but after nearly two years delay, the title was confirmed to Colburn.

As an additional offset to the troubles, expenses, and embarrassments of the Londonderry settlers, as thus feelingly set forth by their historian, we insert a second petition from Mr. Hazzen to the General Court of Massachusetts: —

"To the Honrble Spencer Phips Esq Lieut. Governor and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, The Honrble his Majesties Council and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled at Boston May 31 Anno Domini 1753.

The petition of Richard Hazzen humbly Sheweth That upon the Late running of the Divisionall Line between the Provinces, about one third part of the lands belonging to the Ancient Town of Haverhill, fell to the Northward of the said Line and within the Province of New Hampshire.

That being the Case the Government of New Hampshire claimed, not only the Jurisdiction of these lands to the North side of the Line but also the property (contrary to order of the Crown) and endeavoured to Ouste all the inhabitants, which were then more than One hundred families Settled by Haverhill to the Northward of it and take away their property by force of arms, the people of Kingston and Londonderry oftentimes coming in Clans to the Number of forty or fifty at a time, and One One hundred or more, to fence in our Lands build on them &c

That your petitioner seeing the Great distress the poor people liveing on the North side of the line were in on the Accompt of the New Hampshire Claim and having some Lands there of his own, moved into that Government in order to Aid and assist the Haverhill people against them that came to drive them off by force, and did repell them in the same manner and by his application made to Governour Wentworth a stop was at Length put to such illegal proceedings.

That Kingston and Londonderry people then directly brought many law-suites, against the Inhabitants of Haverhill which your petitioner defended to ye Utmost of his power.°

° In the Proprietors' Records, we find many instances where they voted money to assist such persons to carry on their suits, or to reimburse them for expenses already incurred. As specimens, we give the

That in the Course of those tryalls which have now lasted almost Ten Years, Your petitioner has been one hundred and thirty Journeys to Portsmouth oftentimes in Rain & Snow heat & Cold, to Attend the Courts or prepare for ye Tryalls & has oftentimes been detained there three weeks at a time on Expence, whereby he has sunk at least one thousand pounds of his Estate, when at the same time if he would have turn'd traytor to this Government he might have gotten large Sums without any trouble

That your petitioner has met with so much difficulty in these affairs that rather than endure so much again he would give up all his Estate & sit down in the most remote parts of the Earth notwithstanding he has had such success that no one Haverhill man has lost his Estate nor are any new Settlement made upon us, no new suites Commenct. and but Two depending, & them before the Governour & Council.

But so it is may it please your Honour & this Honourable Court, that your petitioner by reason of his Great Expence has involved his Estate to the value of Seven or Eight thousand pounds to Capt. Edward Tyng for no more then Thirty four or five hundred pounds money old Tenor, the Redemption of which is now Expired, And your petitioner must Infallibly Loose four or five thousand pounds unless releived by this Honoured Court

Your petitioner therefore Earnestly requests this Great and Honourable Court to Compassionate his distressed Circumstances & inasmuch as he has endeavoured at all times with his power and Estate to defend the Title of this Government against New Hampshire, You will be pleased to Grant him so much money as will clear that mortgage, or Lend it the petitioner who will make sale of his Land as soon as possible & will pay the money in Again & the Overpluss he will devote to the Service of this Government & will use all his power and abilities to defend the Title of the Massachusetts as Long as he is able to get to Portsmouth

And your petitioner as in Duty bound
shall ever pray

Richard Hazzen.

following:—January 15, 1748-9. One hundred pounds was voted "towards defraying ye action before ye King and Council wherein Nathaniel French (Kingston) is appellant, against Thomas Wollonsbee and others (Haverhill) appellees."

December 16, 1751, Henry Sanders was voted twenty pounds "to carry on his case against Wheelright at Portsmouth." (This was a suit under the famous "Wheelwright claim.") June 29, 1752, Edward Flint was voted thirty pounds "to carry on his case against Londonderry at Portsmouth." In November, 1753, he was voted forty pounds more "to continue his case." January 1, 1753, fifty pounds was voted to prosecute trespassers on the land previously granted "the first minister of Timberlane, now called Hampstead." November 30, 1753, four hundred and seventy eight pounds twelve shillings, New Hampshire, old Tenor, was voted Nathaniel P. Sargeant, Esq., "for his services in David Heath's and other cases."

"In the House of Repves June 8. 1853 Read and Ordered that the Prayer of the Petr be so far granted as that the Petr recieve out of the publick Treasury the sum of four hundred Sixty Eight pounds upon Loan free of Interest for the term of five years. He first giving Bond with sufficient sureties for the payment of said sum at the expiration of the time abovementioned"

T. Hubbard Spkr

In Council June 12, 1753

Read & non Concur'd

Thos. Clarke Dpty Secry.

In the House of Repves June 13. 1753. The House entered again into the consideration of the vote passed upon this Petn the 8th Curr't at the desire of the Honble Board and after Debate and Mature Consideration

Voted, that the House adhere to their vote as then sent up to the Honl Board

Sent up for concurrence

T. Hubbard Spkr

In Council, June 13, 1753; Read & Concur'd

J Willard Secry

Consented to

S. Phips

As will be seen from the foregoing petition, the long continued and vexatious border troubles were at last drawing to a close. The last notice we find of them in our records is that where, in 1759, the Proprietors chose a committee^o to settle with the proprietors of the "Mason claim" to the township of Salem. This brought up the rear of the long and motley procession of troubles, vexations, and suits, that had for more than a third of a century been fastened upon our town, and we feel a decided relief in thus closing our history of this, by no means insignificant, "Border War."

^o Joseph Badger, Jr.

CHAPTER XIX.

1729 to 1741.

At the annual town meeting for 1729, a proposition was made to raise one hundred pounds for "school money," and though it was voted down, yet the proposal is significant of an increasing interest in the cause of popular education. At this time, in addition to the "Grammar" School, (which was kept in constant operation, although moved quarterly from place to place about town,) there were other schools, termed "Common" schools, kept a few weeks each, annually, in various parts of the town. School houses were not yet erected in all the places where schools were wanted, and it was therefore quite common to keep them in private houses. Thus we find that in 1725 a school was kept "one quarter" in the house of Samuel Ayer; in 1727, one quarter each in the houses of "Widow Currier," and William Johnson; in 1730 one quarter at John Clements; and in 1732, three quarters at the house of Reuben Currier.

In the preceding chapter we alluded to the employment, by Massachusetts and New Hampshire, of agents in England, to manage their affairs before the King and Council. The cost of supporting such agents had now become so great that the General Court called upon the towns to assist in defraying the expenses. At a meeting called for that purpose, this town voted to raise fifty pounds, to be delivered to Colonel Richard Saltonstall, the representative, and by him to the Committee of the General Court. This not only shows the interest of the town in the great question then beginning to excite so much attention, but also the readiness of its inhabitants to bear their full proportion of the public burden. That this large contribution was not an isolated case, is abundantly shown by the records of a subsequent period.

On the 26th of October of this year, twenty-nine members of the first church, residents in that part of Methuen, now Salem, N. H., had permission granted to embody themselves into a church in that place. They had already built themselves a new meeting house.

At the annual meeting in 1730, the proposition to raise one hundred pounds for schools was again brought forward. This time it was coupled with the condition that one-half of the sum should be appropriated for the support of "the Grammar School near the meeting house;"—but the plan again failed.

The inhabitants of the "North Precinct" were this year allowed ten pounds from the Town treasury toward the support of a minister, and almost immediately they gave a Mr. Haynes an invitation to settle, but he declined. Soon after, they extended an invitation to Rev. James Cushing, a son of Rev. Caleb Cushing of Salisbury, who accepted, and was ordained in December. On the 1st of November, forty-six members of the first church, requested and obtained a dismissal, "for the purpose of uniting in a church state in the North Precinct." The church was organized November 4, 1730.

This year, (1730,) in addition to the regular board of five Selectmen, three persons,—Nathan Webster, Sergeant Joseph Emerson, and Deacon Daniel Little—were chosen "Overseers of the Poor." This was the first time such officers were chosen by the town. They were regularly chosen annually from this time until 1735, when they were discontinued, and their duties again assigned to the board of Selectmen. The office was not again revived until 1801.

The North Precinct, having settled a minister among them, made application the next spring to the Proprietors for a grant of land for him. They promptly gave him a piece containing about twenty-nine acres.

From the Proprietors Records for 1731, we learn that Joseph Whittier and Moses Hazzen petitioned them for permission to build a wharf on the Merrimack, near "Mill Brook; which was granted, on condition that they kept the two bridges near them in repair "forever," paid fifty pounds, and built a good wharf, at least one hundred feet wide, and from the highway to low water mark! We think these terms were stringent enough to satisfy the sharpest of the sharp bargain makers among them.

Under this date, Mirick, in his history of the town, has the following:—

"About this time an affair happened which was rather derogatory to the characters of those concerned. The Commoners had fenced a certain part of the ox-common with split rails. This was very much disliked by the non-commoners living in the north part of the town, and they determined to be revenged. They soon concerted a plot, and a small party assembled near flaggy meadow, on the night appointed to execute it, carried the rails into large piles, and set them on fire. The loss of the rails was but trifling when compared with the other damage done by the fire. The earth was dry, and it run through the woods, and continued to burn for many days."

From the fact that for several years preceding, and even after the above date, these parties were at peace with each other, having settled all their disputes, we think the above described incident must have taken place about 1724, or 1725, at which time these *common* disputes were at their height.

At the annual meeting in 1732, the "proffit of the Parsonage farm" (that is, the money received for the annual rent of it) was voted to be given to the North Parish until there should be another Parish in town.

At the same time it was decided to "take an exact list of the Poles and Estates" in town, and for that purpose a committee was chosen. We think the committee must have made a short job of it, as the only future record we find relating to it, is a "bill paid Christopher Bartlett one day valuation Estates, six shillings."

The earliest notice we find of shipbuilding in town, is the following, in the proprietors records, under date of June 18, 1733:—

"Henry Springer petitioning as followeth viz That he is willing & desirous to settle in the Town and Carry on the Trade of a Ship carpenter if he might have suitable encouragement. But having no place of his own to build on prays the grant of so much Land betwixt the highway by the burrying place, and the River or where the vessell now stands on the Stocks as would accommodate him for a building Yard." "Upon which petition after mature consideration it was voted that he should have so much, provided that he settled in the town of Haverhill & Carried on the Trade of a Ship Carpenter, or that some other person built in the same place in his room, and no Longer."

We are not to suppose from the above, that Springer was the first ship-builder in town, or that he was the only one who could build, or had built, ships here; because, as we have already noticed, wharves had been built, and vessels employed, for many years previous. And from the fact that the size and finish of the "vessels" of that day required far less skill and capital in their construction, than do those of our own time, we may safely presume that they had not only been for some time previously employed in the commerce of the town, but were also built here. Indeed, the fact that Springer in his petition refers to a vessel *then on the stocks*, is, we think, sufficient to establish our point. But that Springer was the first person who carried on shipbuilding as a regular business in the town, we are inclined to believe, from the fact that his name is the first that appears in that connection in either of the Records, which are so minute in all such matters, that if it had been otherwise, we should without doubt have found the name of his predecessors.

In March of the following year, the large island in Island Pond was disposed of by the proprietors of Haverhill, to Richard Saltonstall. It was estimated to contain two hundred acres, one-half of which was given him in consideration of valuable services rendered the proprietors, and the remaining half sold to him for thirty shillings per acre.

Early in the spring of the same year (1734) the appearance of a few very large and uncommon "catterpillar" was noticed in the woods of the town. These rapidly increased until the trees were nearly covered, and a vast amount of damage was done by them. The following interesting account of them, we copy from a memoranda left by Dr. Joshua Bailey of this town:—

"In the year 1734 there was as soon as the leaves began to appear on the Oak trees a catterpillar in spots in our woods in Haverhill the red & black oaks chiefly & in the year 1735 there was 100 for one of what appeared last year & in 1736 the number was astonishing for they covered almost the whole of the woods in Haverhill & Bradford & part of Methuen Chester & Andover and in many other places near Haverhill many thousands of acres of thick woodland the leaves and tender twigs of the last years growth were wholly eaten up to the wholly killing of many of the trees & others had most of the limbs killed & if providence had continued them to a 4th year we should not have a tree left in most of the places they seemed to like the red & black oak but when they had destroyed the leaves of the oak they cleared all before them and you might travel miles in some places and see no green leaves on any but a few trees that were standing single and in midsummer the wood was as naked as midwinter they were larger than our common catterpillar and made no nests the trees in some places completely covered with them and they would travel from tree to tree no river or pond stopped them for they would swim like dogs and travelled in great armies and I have seen Houses so covered with them that you could see little or no part of the building on every leaf of a tree you might see more or less of them."

Richard Kelley, of Amesbury, in his diary, described them as "larger than the orchard caterpillar, but smooth on the back with a black streak with white spots." And he adds, — "they are thought by many to be the palmer worm."

In 1734, the inhabitants of the easterly part of the town petitioned to be set off into a separate Parish by themselves, which was agreed to by the town, and the dividing line run. But some of the inhabitants of the proposed new parish, being opposed to a separation, made such vigorous efforts against it, that when application was made to the General Court to perfect the work, it not only refused to do so, but ordered the petitioners back to the old Parish."^o

Immediately after, the people of the westerly part of the town, (between whom and those of the easterly part there appears to have been an "under-

^o The petition was signed by Nathaniel Peaslee, "for himself and others."

standing" in this matter) made a similar application, which was granted, and the west part of the town set off into a distinct Parish, called the West Parish. The inhabitants of the new Parish immediately commenced the building of a meeting house, which was completed the same fall. It stood one mile east of the present brick meeting house in the above Parish, on the south west corner of the cross road, and where Timothy J. Goodrich now lives. Soon after, a call was extended to Rev. Samuel Bachellor, who accepted, and was ordained in the following July. Seventy-seven members of the first church requested and received a dismissal, for the purposes of forming the new church.

In 1734, also, the North Parish "burying ground" was laid out, the land being given for that purpose by the Haverhill Proprietors. It was the same ground which is still occupied for the same purpose,—a short distance above the house of Jesse Clement, Esq.

In March, 1735, the town, for the first time, voted "to mend and repair the highways by a rate." The prices fixed upon for labor, were, four shillings per day for a man, and two shillings for a yoke of oxen. The surveyors were to be the judges of a day's work. Though the town voted as above, we do not find that a *separate* sum was voted to be raised as a highway rate, or tax, until 1754—twenty years after.

At the annual meeting in 1736, the town voted to divide the income from all the parsonage land west of the Sawmill River (Little River) equally between the North and West Parish. The same year, the Proprietors gave the West Parish forty acres of land, and also gave their minister, the Rev. Mr. Bachellor, seventy acres for his own use.

In October of the above year, the Proprietors voted to survey all the meadows lying in common in the town, and divide them among themselves. The proportion each should receive was to be governed by the original grants of "accommodation" land.

In May, 1735, a Mr. Clough, of Kingston, N. H., having examined the throat of a hog which died of a throat disease, was himself suddenly attacked with a swelling of the throat, and lived but a few days. Three weeks after, three children in his neighborhood were attacked in a similar manner, and died in thirty-six hours. From this, the disease spread rapidly, and proved fearfully fatal, particularly to children. It extended itself in all directions, passing through the British Colonies on the east, and into New York on the west. It was two years in reaching the Hudson. Between June, 1735, and July, 1736, nine hundred and eighty-four died in fourteen towns of New Hampshire. It appeared in this town in October, 1736, and swept off more than one-half of all the children under

fifteen years of age. Almost every house was turned into a habitation of mourning, and scarce a day passed that was not a witness of the funeral procession. Many a hopeful son, or lovely daughter, arose in the morning with apparent perfect health; but, ere the sun went down, they were cold and silent in the winding-sheet of the dead. In many families, not a child was left to cheer the hearts of the stricken parents. Fifty-eight families lost one each; thirty-four lost two each; eleven lost three each; five lost four each; and four lost five each. One hundred and ninety-nine fell victims to the terrible distemper, in this town! Only one of these was over forty years of age.

The disease was attended with a sore throat, white or ash-colored spots, an efflorescence on the skin, great general debility, and a strong tendency to putridity. Rev. John Brown, minister of the First Parish, published a particular account of this distemper, in a large pamphlet. Three of his own children were numbered among the victims.

Shortly afterward, a pamphlet of seventeen pages of rhyme, concerning the ravages of this distemper, was published in Boston. We cannot resist the temptation to copy a couple of specimen verses:—

"To *Newbury* O go and see
To *Hampton* and *Kingston*
To *York* likewise and *Kittery*
Behold what God hath done.
The bow of God is bent abroad
Its arrows swiftly fly
Young men and maids and sucking babes
Are smitten down thereby."

The same disease appeared again in 1763, but in a much milder form.

In 1737, the town voted to build an almshouse, so as to support their poor under one roof, instead of hiring them kept in private families. For some reason not given, it was not, however, commenced this year, but at the next annual meeting, it was again voted to build such an house, and it was done the same year. It stood just below Mill Brook, on the river side.* The new system did not work as well as was expected, and a few years after, (1746) the town voted to sell the almshouse, and return to the good old plan of their fathers before them.

* In 1747, Nathaniel Peaslee petitioned the Proprietors for a piece of land "where the almshouse now stands, beginning by ye Mill Brook about a rod below the Bridge, thence south to Merrimack River," &c. This was after the town had voted to sell the Almshouse.

Though the town of Methuen was set off in 1725, it does not appear that the line between the two towns was actually settled until the year 1787, when we find that Lieutenant Richard Kimball, of Bradford, was chosen to "settle the line between Haverhill and Methuen." This did not, however, "settle" the matter, as we find that the next year the town ordered the selectmen to join with the selectmen of Methuen and run the line, — which they did. The line thus agreed upon has continued to the present time as the dividing line between the two towns.


Among the things which call for mention in our history for 1738, is the petition of Hannah Bradley, of this town, to the General Court, asking for a grant of land, in consideration of her former sufferings among the Indians, and "present low circumstances." In answer to her petition, that honorable body granted her two hundred and fifty acres of land, which was laid out May 29, 1739, by Richard Hazen, Surveyor. It was located in Methuen, in two lots, — the first, containing one hundred and sixty acres, bordering on the west line of Haverhill; the other, containing ninety acres, bordering on the east line of Dracut.

Mrs. Bradley's good success in appealing to the generosity of the General Court, seems to have stimulated Joseph Neff, a son of Mary Neff, to make a similar request. He shortly after petitioned that body for a grant of land, in consideration of his mother's services in assisting Hannah Duston in killing "divers Indians." Neff declares in his petition, that his mother was "kept a prisoner for a considerable time," and "in their return home past thro the utmost hazard of their lives and Suffered distressing want being almost Starved before they Could Return to their dwellings."

Accompanying Neff's petition, was the following deposition of Hannah Bradley, which well deserves a place in our pages, for its historical interest. The document proves that Mrs. Bradley was taken prisoner at the same time with Mrs. Duston, and travelled with her as far as Pennacook:—

"The deposition of the Widow Hannah Bradly of Haverhill of full age who testifieth & saith that about forty years past the said Hannah together with the widow Mary Neff were taken prisoners by the Indians & carried together into captivity, & above penny cook the Deponent was by the Indians forced to travel farther than the rest of the Captives, and the next night but one there came to us one Squaw who said that Hannah Dustan and the aforesaid Mary Neff assisted in killing the Indians of her wigwam except herself and a boy, herself escaping very narrowly, shewing to myself

& others seven wounds as she said with a Hatched on her head which wounds were given her when the rest were killed, and further saith not.

her
Hannah  Bradley."
mark

The above deposition was sworn to before Joshua Bayley, of Haverhill, June 28th, 1739.

The General Court granted Neff two hundred acres of land.

About this time (1738) a ferry was established on the Merrimack, about a mile and a half below the present chain ferry, and near where Follansbee Noyes now lives. It was soon after removed a mile up river, near the present house of David Nichols.

The first rum distillery in town, was built about this time, as we find, under date of November 6, 1738, a petition from James McHard, to the Proprietors, in which he says:—"there is a small vacancy of land betwixt the parsonage Land and Merrimack river by Mr. Pecker's which I am informed belongs to the proprietors of Haverhill and I being about to build a Still House for the good of the Town of Haverhill and without any regard to my Own Interest, as I generally do," &c., and he therefore requests that they will give him liberty to erect his distillery on that lot. This they agreed to do, provided he built within three years. It stood on the stream (Mill Brook) near what is now the upper mill.

About this time, the long row of sycamore-trees that, for a century afterward, added so much to the natural beauty of the "Saltonstall Seat," (now the residence of Mrs. Samuel W. Duncan) were set out.* The work was done by one Hugh Talent, an "exile of Erin," and a famous fiddler withal. Tradition says that the village swains and lasses did not allow the cat-gut and rosin of this musical Talent to rust for want of use. He lived with Colonel Saltonstall, in the capacity of a servant. Poor Hugh! For nearly three generations after he had "hung up his fiddle and his bow," the beautiful trees he planted, were the pride of our village, and the admiration of all who beheld them. Many an one, whose head is sprinkled o'er with the frosts of many winters, as he reads these lines, will call to mind the days and scenes of the time when the "Old Battenwoods" were flourishing in all their glory, and will embalm their memory with a sigh—perhaps with a tear!

The summer of 1740 was as remarkable for the vast amount of rain which fell, and flooded the country, as the subsequent winter was for the

* May 23, 1748, "E Saltonstall" petitioned the Proprietors for about one-fourth acre of land south of his homestead, "where he had lately planted some Batten Trees." The petition was granted.

severity of its cold. It was probably the most severe winter that had been known since the settlement of the country. After a very wet summer and fall, November 4th it set in very cold. On the 15th, a foot of snow fell, but on the 22nd it began to rain, "and it rained three weeks together." This produced a freshet in the Merrimack, the like of which "was not known by no man for seventy years."^o The water rose fifteen feet in this town, and floated off many houses. On the 12th of December, the river was closed by the severity of the weather, and before the 1st of January, loaded teams, with four, six, and eight oxen, passed from Haverhill and the towns below, to the upper long wharf at Newburyport. The ice in Plumb Island River did not break up until the 30th of March, 1741. There were twenty-seven snow storms during the winter.†

By the running of the new line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in 1741, nearly one-third of the population, territory, and property of the town of Haverhill, fell to the north of the line. When to this is added the large portion set off for Methuen, in 1725, we find that more than one-half of its stock of all those elements which combine to make a first class New England town, had been taken from Haverhill within the short period of fifteen years. It was, indeed, a great change in its condition, and prospects, and must have been felt most seriously.

Soon after the State line was run, the town instructed its selectmen to take an exact list of the polls and estates on the north side of the line, which was done.‡ The list is entitled "A List of Polls and Rateable Estate Real & Personal, for the Town of Haverhill in the County of Essex, Taken in the year 1741. This list contains only those living in that part of the town that falls into N Hampshire Province according to Mr Mitchells Line."§ This document, which is still among the town's papers, contains the following names:—

Abraham Annis,	Edward Carlton, Jr,	Obadiah Perry,
John Currier,	Timothy Johnson,	Seth Patee,
John Currier, Jur,	William Johnson,	Benjamin Smith,
Richard Carlton,	Peter Patee,	Thomas Smith,

^o Stephen Jaques.

† Rev. Mr. Plant.

‡ The immediate cause which prompted this action, was the fact that those on the north side of the line refused to pay taxes any longer to Haverhill,—or even those of the current year.

§ Among the papers in the State Archives, is a petition of Nathaniel Rolfe, and John Russell, Jr., to the General Court, in 1753, setting forth that when the State line was run in 1741, the meeting house in the North Parish, with two-thirds of the inhabitants, fell on the New Hampshire side, while the minister's house, and the greatest part of the land, fell on the Massachusetts side; that some living on the latter side refused to pay their minister's rate, being in doubt about the power to raise money for such purposes; and therefore the petitioners asked that such power might be given them—If they did not then have it. The Court thereupon, April 7, 1753, resolved the portion south of the line into a separate and distinct Parish, with all the powers, &c., of a Parish.

John Smith,	Timothy Page,	Daniel Mackcafee,
Richard Patee,	Benjamin Richards,	Heugh Mackcafee,
Jonathan Wheler,	Samuel Stevens,	John Mackcafee,
John Watts,	John Stevens,	James Gilmore,
John Webster,	Nehemiah Stevens,	Samuel Patterson,
William Webster,	Samuel Stevens, Jur,	William Chambers,
Daniel Whitiker,	William Stevens,	Samuel Graves,
Benjamin Wheler,	Jonathan Stevens, Jur,	James Graves,
Stephen Wheler,	Joseph Stevens, Jur,	Moses Tucker,
David Copp,	Samuel Worthen, Jur,	William Hancock,
Moses Copp,	Jonathn Whitiker,	Nathl Heath,
Thomas Crawford,	James White,	Lemuel Tucker,
Jonathan Coborn,	Israel Webster,	John Hunkins,
John Dow, Jur,	Thomas Pope,	John Atwood,
Stephen Emerson, Jur,	Edmand Page,	Othro Stevens,
Peter Easman,	Timothy Noyse,	Eliphalet Page,
William Easman,	George Little,	John Muxsee,
Robert Emerson, Jur,	Daniel Little,	Wait Stevens,
Benjamin Emerson,	George Little, Jur,	Samuel Anderson,
Jonathn Emery,	Samuel Little,	Nathl Wackfarlee,
Humphry Emery,	Joseph Little,	John Mackcaster,
Richard Flood,	Caleb Heath,	Robert Gilmore,
Robert Ford,	Joshua Page,	Jonathan Coborn, Jur,
Joseph Gill,	John Hogg,	Daniel Poor,
Moses Gill,	William Mackmaster,	Jonathan Dusten, Jur,
Ebenr Gill,	William Mackmaster, Jr	Moses Trussel,
John Heath,	Arter Boyd,	Capt Nicolas White,
James Heath,	Askebell Kinnicum,	Francis Smiley,
David Heath,	Askebell Forsh,	John Smiley,
James Heath, Jur,	Thomas Davison,	Heugh Smiley,
Richard Heath,	Holbert morrison,	Capt Christopher Bartlet,
Jonathan Hutchens,	William Hogg,	Nathaniel Bartlet,
Thomas hall,	Walter Mackfortin,	Jonathan Bradlee,
Benjamin heath,	John Stinson,	John Bradlee,
Zacariah Johnson,	Thomas Horner,	Joseph Beartoe,
Micael Johnson,	Alexander Keloy,	Obadiah Clements,
Stephen Johnson,	Micael Gorden,	Abraham Chase,
Stephen Johnson, Jur,	Robert Mackcourdy,	Thomas Cheney,
John Kent,	Peter Christy,	Josiah Copp,
Jonathn Kimball,	William Callis,	Timothy Dow,
Nathaniel Knight,	John Miller,	John Dow,
John Kezar,	Robert Reddel,	Peter Dow,
Jonathan Merrill,	Thom Christy,	John Dusten,
Nathaniel Merrill,	William Gilmore,	David Emerson,
James Mills,	Paul Mackfarten,	Ephraim Emerson,
Joseph Page,	James Macfarten,	Timothy Emerson,
Jonathan Page,	James Adums,	Heugh Pike,
Caleb Page,	James Adums, Jur,	Joseph Earwine,

Samuel Eaton,	Leonard Harriman, Jur,	Nathaniel Smith,
Thomas Follensby,	Mathew Harriman,	Thomas Worthin,
Daniel Gile,	Abner Herriman,	Samuel Worthin,
Joseph Heath,	Joseph Herriman,	John Pollord,
Nehemiah Heath,	Henry Haseltine,	Nathl Tucker,
John Heath, Jur,	Edman Hale,	Samuel Brown,
Samuel Heath,	Jonathan Johnson,	Benjamin Stone,
Joseph Heath, Jur,	Wid mary Kimball,	Nathaniel Johnson, Jur,
William heath,	Samuel Kimball,	moses Jackman,
Josiah heath,	Jonathan Roberds,	Benjamin Pettingall,
Bartholomew heath,	Jonathan Stevens,	John French,
John Herriman,	Moses Stevens,	Nathl Gatchell.
Leonard Harriman,	Samuel Smith,	

Following the list, is a certificate, signed by Joshua Bayley, Justice of the Peace, setting forth that the selectmen were duly sworn to perform the duty assigned them, on the 9th of December, 1741.

The relative extent and value of the portion which fell to New Hampshire on the settlement of the boundary line, may be seen from the following, which we copy from the last page of the above document:—

	Heda.	Houses.	Mills.	Mowing.	Planting.	Pasture.	Orchard.	Negroes.	Oxen.	Cows.	Horses.	Swine.
Without New Hampshire Line.....	846	214	7	1128	751	723	125½	10	266	540	184	128
Within the Line.....	215	158	0	458	308	152	19	2	239	346	135	20

The following list of names, includes all in that part of the town south of the new State line, and east of the West Parish line; or, in other words, all those in what is now the First, the North, and the East Parishes. They are copied from a document, entitled

“The Town Rate for the East Part of Haver hill a List of That Part of the Tax made By the Assessors of Haverhill on December ye 10 1741 for Benjamin Gale Constable and Collector of said Part of the town to Collect and pay into The Town Treasury”

James Ayer,	Joseph Badger,	James Black,
John Ayer,	Coll Joshua Bayley,	John Boynton,
David Ayer,	Isaac Bradley, Jur,	Obadiah Belknap,
Timothy Ayer,	Daniel Bradley,	Andrew Bryant,
Samuel Ayer,	William Bradley,	Ebenezer Buck,
Samuel Apleton,	Joseph Bond,	Jonathan Buck,
William Otterson,	Ebenezer Belknap,	Joseph Badger, Jur,
John Ayer, Jur,	James Bradbery,	Barnabas Bradbery,
William Ayer,	Moses Belknap,	Samuel Clements,

Moses Clements,
 Ruben Currier,
 Caleb Currier,
 Jacob Chase,
 Abner Chase,
 Richard Colbey,
 Isaac Colbey,
 Ezra Chase,
 John Cogswell,
 Nathaniel Cogswell,
 John Clement, Jur,
 Elezander Camball,
 Ebenezer Colbey,
 John Bradbery,
 Samuel Dow,
 Josiah Chandler,
 Isaac Dalton,
 William Davis,
 Daniel Davis,
 John Davis, Jun,
 Moses Davis,
 Ephraim Davis,
 Robert Davis,
 Samuel Davis, Jur,
 Thomas Duston,
 John Duston,
 David Dodg,
 Thomas Diamond,
 John Edwards,
 Timothy Eaton,
 John Eaton,
 Moses Eaton,
 Israel Ela,
 John Ela,
 Samuel Ela,
 Jacob Ela,
 Nathaniel Edwards,
 Richard Emerson,
 Daniel Ela,
 Abiel Foster,
 Edward Flynt,
 William Follensby,
 John George,
 James Gile,
 Samuel Gile,
 Joseph Grelee, Jur,
 Peter Green,
 Benjamin Grelee,

John Gage,
 William George,
 Benjamin Gale,
 John Green,
 Gideon George,
 Robert Hunkins, Jur,
 David Hutchens,
 Robert Hastings,
 Robert Hastings, Jun,
 Richard Hazzen,
 Moses Hazzen,
 Jonathan Haseltine,
 Robert Hunkins,
 James Holgate,
 William Handcock,
 Zachariah Hanniford,
 George Hastings,
 Jonathan Haseltine Jur,
 Timothy Haseltine,
 Benjamin Haseltine,
 John Haseltine,
 Daniel Herrick,
 Stephen Huse,
 Samuel Hunt,
 Thomas Hunkins,
 John Heuston,
 Thomas Johnson,
 Daniel Johnson,
 Marverick Johnson,
 Samuel Johnson,
 Nathaniel Knotton,
 Joseph Kelley,
 Joseph Kelley Jur,
 Abner Kimball,
 Abraham Kimball,
 Ebenezer Kezer,
 John Kezer, Jur,
 John Howard,
 Jonathan Lufkin,
 Thomas Little,
 James Mehard,
 David Marsh,
 John Morrowson,
 Nathan Merrill,
 William Morse,
 Bradbery Morrowson,
 Jonathan Marsh,
 Capt John Pecker,

Nathaniel Page,
 Abraham Page,
 James Pearson,
 James Pearson Jur,
 Robert Peaslee,
 Amos Peaslee,
 Cornelius Page,
 Nathaniel Peaslee,
 Lewes Page,
 Abraham Page Jur,
 Jeremiah Page,
 Joshua Page,
 Robert Toney,
 Ezekiel Page,
 Joseph Palmer,
 Philip Rowel,
 Rowland Rideout,
 Wid Hannah Roberds,
 Col Richard Saltonstall,
 James Sanders,
 Samuel Smith Jur,
 Nathaniel Sanders,
 John Sanders,
 Jacob Sanders,
 John Sweat,
 Henry Springer,
 Jonathan Springer,
 John Sawyer,
 Samuel Shepard,
 Jonathan Shepard,
 Jonathan Simons,
 Nathan Simons,
 John Simons,
 Nathan Simons Jur,
 George Sanclar,
 Philip Stanwood,
 Samuel Simons,
 Edward Thompson,
 Jonathan Tyler,
 Joseph Tyler,
 Samuel White,
 John White,
 Samuel White Jur,
 John White Jur,
 Joseph Whittier,
 Ebenezer Whittier,
 David Whiting,
 John Whiting,

Joseph Willson,	Thomas Cheney,	Edmand Hale,
Ezekiel Willson,	Josiah Copp,	William Johnson,
William Willson,	Benjamin Clements,	Thomas Johnson,
John Willson,	Timothy Dow,	Nathaniel Johnson,
Grant Webster,	John Dow,	John Johnson,
Benjamin Wooster,	Peter Dow,	Cornelius Johnson,
John Wells,	John Davis,	Jonathan Johnson,
Jacob Woodward,	Joseph Emerson,	Daniel Johnson Jur,
Nathaniel Woodman,	David Emerson,	Wid Mary Kimball,
Nathaniel Walker,	Ephraim Emerson,	Samuel Kimball,
Wid Elizabeth Whittier	Robert Emerson,	Jonathan Roberts,
Thomas Whittier,	Timothy Emerson,	Jonathan Stevens,
John Willson Jur,	Heugh Piko,	Moses Stevens,
Israel Young,	Joseph Earwine,	Samuel Smith,
William Townsend,	Jabesh Emerson,	Nathaniel Smith,
James Bly,	Samuel Eaton,	Thomas Worthen,
Stephen Dow,	Thomas Follensby,	Samuel Worthen,
Samuel Duston,	Daniel Gile,	William Whitiker,
widw Mehitebal Emerson	Joseph Heath,	David Whitiker,
Nehemiah Emerson,	Nehemiah Heath,	John Pollord,
Thomas Mingo,	John Heath Jur,	Nathaniel Tucker,
Benjamin Moody,	Samuel Heath,	Samuel Brown,
Capt Nicolas White,	Joseph Heath Jur,	John Steward,
Joseph Mulikin,	William Heath Jur,	Benjamin Stone,
Timothy Hardy,	Josiah Heath,	Nathaniel Johnson Jur,
Francis Smiley,	Bartholomew Heath,	John Chase,
John Smiley,	John Herriman,	Humphrey Chase,
Heugh Smiley,	Leonard Harriman,	Moses Morgin,
Capt Christopher Bartlet	Leonard Harriman Jr	Joseph Johnson,
Nathaniel Bartlet,	Matthew Harriman	Moses Jackman,
Jonathan Bartlet,	Richard Harriman,	Benjamin Pettingall,
John Bradlee,	Abner Harriman,	John French,
Joseph Beartoe,	Joseph Harriman,	Nathall Gatchell,
John Clements,	Stephen Harriman,	Nathan Haseltine,
Obadiah Clements	Joshua Harriman,	Nathaniel Green,
Abraham Chase,	Henry Haseltine,	Nathaniel phersen.

We have not been able to find a list of the Polls in the West Parish, in 1741. The nearest we can get, is 1745. But as, in all probability, very few changes were made in that part of the town in the interim, and as we are desirous to complete, as near as may be, a list of all the Polls in the town at this period of its history, we give below the names in that parish for 1745. They are as follows:—

Decon Peter Ayer,	Lut Thomas Bayley,	Neamiah Bradley,
Doct William Ayer,	Dec Joseph Bradley,	William Bayley,
Simon Ayer,	Amos Bayley,	Ebenezer Bayley,
Jacob Ayer,	Ebenezar Brown,	John Buck,

Jeremiah Bayley,	Joseph Emerson 4th,	Phillip Mitchel,
Humphrey Bayley,	Ithamor Emerson,	William Mitchel,
William Borman,	Samuel Gage,	John Mitchel,
Cor Edward Carleton,	Stephen Gage,	Nathaniel Merriel,
Peter Carlton,	Capt Philip Hasltine,	Timothy Messer,
Nathaniel Clement,	Dec Samuel Hasltine,	Benjamin Hilton,
John Corliass,	Thomas Haines,	James Nimock,
Thomas Corliass,	Joseph Haines,	Edward Ordiway,
John Corliass Jr,	Samuel Hutchings,	Thomas Page,
Samuel Currier,	Joseph Hutchings,	Thomas Page Jr,
Nathaniel Clement Jr,	Nathan Hutchings,	Beniamin Patee,
Nathaniel Chase,	Joseph Heselting,	Samuel Standley,
Samuel Clement,	Samuel Hutchings Jr,	Mathew Standley,
James Cook,	Jeremiah Heselting,	John Silver,
Joseph Corliass,	Jonathan Haines,	John Silver Jr,
Nathaniel Duston,	James Haseltine,	Samuel Silver,
Jonathan Duston,	Nathaniel Haseltine,	John Smith,
Nathaniel Duston Jr,	John Haseltine,	John Steward,
Thomas Eatton,	Eldad Ingalls,	Nathan Webster,
James Eatton,	John Kezzer,	Thomas Webster,
Joshua Emery,	Ens Daniel Ladd,	Jonathan Webster,
Timothy Emerson,	Ens John Ladd,	Stephen Webster, tr
Samuel Emerson,	Daniel Ladd Jr,	Samuel Webster,
Joseph Emerson jr,	Timothy Ladd,	Nathaniel Webster,
John Emerson,	Nathaniel Marble,	Stephen Whiteier,
Mical Emerson,	Epheram Marsh,	Samuel Whiteier,
Joseph Emerson tr,	Samuel Marble,	Samuel Watts,
Jonathan Emerson,	Jonathan Marble,	Stephen Webster,
Stephen Emerson,	John Marble,	Ebenezer Webster,
Jonathan Ertton,	Joseph Merrile,	Daniel Williams,
Jonathan Emerson Jr,	Wido Ruth Merriel,	John Watts Jr,
Obadiah Emerson,	Andrew Mitchel,	Stephen Webster Jr,
Peter Emerson,	Cap James Mitchel,	Baracrah Varnon.

Previous to taking leave of our friends on the north of the line, who were thus suddenly, and without their consent, transferred to another State jurisdiction, we can do no less than insert a brief sketch of their subsequent history.^o We commence with

Hampstead.—This town is made up of two segments, one from Haverhill, the other from Amesbury, being cut off from those towns by the State line in 1741. It was originally called *Timberland*, or *Timberlane*, on account of the abundance of its timber.

The Indians never made it a place of abode, if we except one or two who lived temporarily at "Angly Pond," in the northeast part of the town.

^o Those portions of Haverhill and Amesbury which fell to the north of the new line, were soon after incorporated by the General Court of New Hampshire into a District, under the name of "Haverhill District," and continued to be known by that name until finally divided and incorporated into towns.

The first families of white settlers were Ford, Heath, and Emerson. The latter was from Haverhill, and settled near a brook in the south part of the town, where his descendants still reside.

From a petition of Richard Hazzen to the General Court of New Hampshire, under date of May, 1748, "in behalf of that part of Haverhill District commonly called Timberland," we learn that "two thirds of Rev. Mr. Cushing's hearers (exclusive of Timberland) live on the north side of the Boundary line," and that in November, 1747, the district voted that those on the north side should pay two hundred pounds as their proportion of Mr. Cushing's salary, but at a legal meeting held afterward, the inhabitants of Timberland were set off from Mr. Cushing's parish. He therefore prayed for power to levy a rate for their own minister, which was granted.

A meeting-house was built, and a minister settled^o the same year, (1748). Rev. Mr. Barnard, of Haverhill, preached the ordination sermon. The first article in Mr. True's agreement, was, "That he should have the parsonage lands, allotted by Haverhill to Timberlane, which was sometimes called Haverhill District, but now Hampstead, for the first settled minister."[†]

The town was incorporated by its present name, January 19, 1749.

Among the principal men of the new town, may be named Richard Hazzen, Daniel Little, and Captain John Hazzen, all of whom were originally from Haverhill. Richard Hazzen, as will be seen from his petition in the preceding chapter, removed to Hampstead during the border troubles. He became one of the leading men of the town. In 1750, he surveyed, and made a map, of the whole of the eastern coast, from the Merrimack to the St. Croix rivers. After his death, his widow petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for aid. From her petition, we learn that Hazzen did not receive the money previously voted him by that body. He died, suddenly, on the road from Haverhill to Hampstead, in October, 1754.

Daniel Little was also a prominent man in the town. By the act of incorporation, he was designated as the person to call the first town meeting under the charter. Rev. Daniel Little, the first minister at Kennebunk, Maine, was a son of the above.

Captain John Hazzen, was a nephew of Richard, and a man of great enterprise. After living several years in Hampstead, he went, as leader

^o Rev. Henry True.

[†] The Church was not organized, however, until June 3, 1752. Sixty-eight persons united in its formation, fifteen of whom were from the first church in Haverhill.

of a company, to settle a new town in northern New Hampshire, on the Connecticut, and had the address to have the town named for his own place of nativity — *Haverhill*.

Captain Hazzen was an officer in the old French War, and stood high in the estimation of government. Expecting a charter of a township in the "Coos," if he made a settlement therein, he, in 1761, sent on his cattle, with two men, Michael Johnston and John Pettie, (both also of Haverhill, Massachusetts,) to commence such a settlement. In the spring of 1762, Captain Hazzen went on himself, with hands and materials for building a saw-mill and a grist-mill.^o

It appears that Kingston claimed that part of Hampstead called *Amesbury Peak*, and, in 1760, writ after writ was served upon them to recover. It was finally settled in 1764, by giving Kingston "\$1000 old tenor," and a grant of a new township near the Connecticut, which was called *Unity*, as it made *Peace*.

Plaistow.—This town, a large part of which was originally a part of Haverhill, was incorporated as a town, February 28, 1749. Among its first settlers, who were nearly all Haverhill men, may be mentioned Captain Charles Bartlett and Nicholas White, Esq., both of whom were men of considerable prominence. Its first church was that of the Rev. Mr. Cushing, which fell a few rods to the north of the State line in 1741.

Atkinson was set off from Plaistow, in 1767, and incorporated September 3d of the same year. It was named in honor of the Hon. Theodore Atkinson, a large landholder in the town, and one of the principal men of the

^o Among those who accompanied him at this time, was Colonel Joshua Howard, of this town, then twenty-two years of age. (1) Johnston was drowned the same season, while descending the Connecticut.

(1) He died in Haverhill, N. H., in 1836, aged ninety-nine years. on a visit to his friends, and was buried on a small island, since known as Johnston's Island." Colonel Charles Johnston, (brother of the above,) Jesse Harriman, Thomas Johnson, David Merrill, and Ezekiel Ladd, all of Haverhill, were also among the earlier settlers of the new township. The latter afterward became one of the principal men of the place, and occupied the most responsible positions. He married Ruth Hutchins, also of Haverhill, and died in 1818, aged eighty years.

The wife of Mr. Ladd had seen and tasted some of the refinements of life, and in after years she often related her extreme mortification on the first Sabbath she attended meeting at her new home. She had been recently married, and thinking she must appear as well as any of her neighbors, she put on her wedding silks, with muffled cuffs, extending from the shoulder to the elbow, and there made fast by brilliant sleeve buttons. She wore silk hose, and florid shoes. Her husband, also, appeared in his best, and they took their seats early in the sanctuary. But, as she said, "they went alone, sat alone, and returned alone;" for it was not possible for her to get near enough to any of the women to hold conversation with them. They were actually afraid of her, and kept at a safe distance lest they should spoil her dress. The next Sabbath she appeared in a clean check-linen dress, with other articles in accordance, and found no difficulty in making the acquaintance of her neighbors, who proved to be sociable and warm hearted friends. Mr. Ladd afterward became widely known as "Judge Ladd," and was highly respected and beloved.

• 2 Hist. Sketches Coos Co. p. 45.

province. Previous to its incorporation, it was sometimes called *New Castle*. Settlements were made within the town's limits as early as 1727 or 1728. The first permanent settlers were Jonathan and Edmund Page, and John Dow,—all of Haverhill.

Nathaniel Cogswell, who for between thirty and forty years was a merchant in Haverhill, was among its first principal men.^o The land for the first meeting-house was given by him. He was born in Ipswich, in 1707, and married Judith, a daughter of Joseph Badger, of Haverhill. Out of his nineteen children, he gave eight sons to the service of the Revolution, who performed collectively thirty-eight years of service, and all survived the war! All of his children were baptised in the first church at Haverhill.[†] Mr. Cogswell was a man of large means, as well as patriotism, and loaned much money to his town to expend for the American cause.

The first minister in Atkinson was the Rev. Stephen Peabody, of Andover, Massachusetts, who was ordained November 25, 1772, at which time a church was formed.[‡] He died in 1819, aged seventy-eight.

Stephen Peabody Webster, of Haverhill, was the first person who entered college from Atkinson Academy. He was afterward Clerk of the Courts of Grafton County; a Representative, Senator, and Councillor. He for many years taught the Academy at Haverhill, N. H., and died there.

Ezekiel Little was born in the West Parish of Haverhill, in 1762; graduated at Harvard College, in 1784; taught school in Boston for many years; was author of an arithmetic called *The Usher*, published at Exeter, in 1799; and during the latter part of his life resided at Atkinson, where he died in 1840, aged seventy-seven years.

The first couple published in Atkinson were David Clement of Haverhill, and Dilley Ladd of Atkinson, in October, 1767.

^o He was a descendant of John Cogswell, a merchant of London, who came to Ipswich in 1635, and was made a freeman in 1630. On his passage to this country he was wrecked, at Pemquid, Me. He died November 20, 1669, leaving a wife and seven children.

[†] Joseph Cogswell, who died at Tamworth, N. H., in 1851, was the last survivor of this large family of children.

[‡] Rev. Mr. Peabody married, first, Polly Haseltine, of Bradford, and second, Mrs. Elizabeth, widow of Rev. John Shaw, of Haverhill. The latter was sister of the wife of the first President Adams. She married Shaw in 1777, and Peabody in 1795. There is a generally credited tradition, that Mr. Peabody had consulted Mrs. Shaw, but a short time before her first husband's death, in regard to his own "lone" condition, and asked her advice as to the most suitable person to "share his joys and his sorrows." A particular candidate for such a partnership was recommended and agreed to, but before sufficient time had elapsed to consult the third party, Mr. Shaw suddenly died, and, in his zeal to console the bereaved widow Mr. Peabody entirely forgot the claims of the original candidate, and was so soon announced as the "happy man," that it was even whispered that the previous decision was revised on the day of the funeral.

Salem was incorporated as a District soon after the State line was run, in 1741, and as a Town, in 1750. In our search among the papers in the State Archives of New Hampshire, we found several interesting documents relating to the incorporation of that town. The first is a petition (without date, but probably 1746,) from thirty-one of the inhabitants of the west part of Haverhill District, praying to be set off into a new parish or town.^o Following the above, is a petition from thirty-four of the inhabitants of the same locality, praying that they may *not* be set off, as above. They say there are sixty or seventy families settled in the district referred to; that they have been to a very great expense in building a meeting-house, and settling a minister; and though they do not object to a new town, they pray not to be disturbed as to their parish concerns.† After this comes a petition from *fifty-nine* of the inhabitants of the Haverhill District, praying for the new town, or parish. This evidently turned the scale and an act of incorporation was granted soon afterward.

The first church formed in that part of Salem once belonging to Haverhill, was organized in 1740, and before the State line was run. Rev. Abner Bailey was the first minister, and was ordained the same year. He died in 1798.

Policy Pond, which lies partly in Salem and partly in Windham, was formerly called "Haverhill Pond." A tract of land granted to Rev. Mr. Higginson, by the General Court, in 1715, began "upon said pond," and ran south "upon Haverhill Line," 730 poles to a tree "standing in Haverhill Line."

^o Among the names of the petitioners we noticed those of Thomas, Samuel, Caleb and Obadiah Dutton.

† Among these petitioners were eight by the name of Page, six named Knights, and four named Noyes.

CHAPTER XX.

1742 to 1765.

WE have already noticed, under date of 1734, the unsuccessful attempt of the inhabitants of the easterly part of the town to be set off into a separate parish. We do not find that a second effort was made until 1743, when they were more fortunate than on the previous occasion, as will be seen from the following, which we copy from the original documents in the Archives of the State: —

“To his Excy Wm Shirley Esq. Captain Genl & Govr in Chief over his Majesty’s provence of the Massachusetts Bay in New Engd. and to the honble his Majesty’s Council, and to the honble House of Representves in Genl Court assembled May 25. A D 1743.

The petition of Us the Subscribers being Freeholders & Inhabitants of the Easterly part of the oldest or first Parish in Haverhill, humbly sheweth — That the Meeting House now standing in said Parish was built in the year 1699, & then set suitable to accomodate the whole Town, for then the whole Town were but one Parish & about the year 1723 or 4 this Court was pleased to set off the Westerly part of the Town of Haverhill with divers of the Inhabitants into a Town called Methuen, & about the year 1730 this Court was pleased to set off a Parish on the Northerly part of the Town of Haverhill, & about the year 1734 this Court was pleased to set off a parish at the Westerly End of the then remaining or oldest Parish in Haverhill.

And now, please your Excy & Honrs, the Meeting House now in the old Parish stands but a mile at furthest off the West Parish Line, & the said Meeting House stands near six miles from the East End of said Parish, & we have petitioned to the said Parish for some Ease in this affair, & no help can be obtained as your Excy & Honrs may plainly see by Copies herewith exhibited — Therefore your poor Petrs pray that this honble Court would appoint a Committee to go & view the whole Parish, & make Report to this Court whether it be not just & proper to divide the whole Parish into two equal halves or distinct Parishes by themselves, & to affix a Line between them, or otherwise to provide for the Ease & Relief of your poor Petrs in the Case as your Excy & Honrs shall

in your Wisdom & wonted Goodness think best, so shall your poor distressed Petrs ever pray as in duty bound &c.

Nathaniel peaslee, -	John Morrison, -	John Sanders,
Joseph Grele, -	Green whicher,	James Bradbury,
Thos Cottle, -	Benjamin Davis,	Robert Hunkins, -
John George, -	Jacob Sanders, X	Abner Oles,
Reuben Currier, -	Humphrey Ohas, -	Antony Colby,
George Santeler,	John Chase,	Daniel Ela, -
Joseph Tyler, -	Robert Hunkins Jun, -	Benjamin page,
Peter Green, -	Thomis Hunkins,	Ezekiel page,
Nathaniel page,	Ebenezer Colby, -	James holgate, -
Timothy Eaton, -	Richard Colby,	William Georg, -
Moses Eatton, -	Isaac Colby,	Gideon George,
Abraham page, -	Samuel Ela, -	Jonathan Tyler,
Samuel Smith,	Israel Ela, -	Jonathan Tyler Jr,
Zechariah Hannaford,	James Sanders, -	Samuel Davis,
Lewis page, -	Robert Hastings,	Samuel Davis Junr,
Caleb Currier,	Joseph Kelly, -	Jacob Chase,
Robert Hastings Jun,	Ephraim Davis,	John Swett,
Georg Hastings, -	Simeon Brown,	Ebenezer Whittier. -
Joseph Kelly Jun, -	John Sanders, X	

June 1, 1743, the above petition was read in the House of Representatives, and the petitioners were ordered to serve the first parish with a copy of the petition, "that they may shew cause (if any they have) why the prayer thereof should not be granted."

June 9th, a meeting was called to consider the matter, and Joshua Bayley and Captain James Pearsons were chosen a committee to make answer to the General Court in behalf of "the old parish." The following is their answer: —

"To His Excellency William Shirley Esqr Governor and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England: And to the Honorable His Majesties Council and Honorable House of Representatives in Generall Court assembled at Boston June ye 14th 1743.—

The Answer of the first or Oldest Parish in the Town of Haverhill, to the Petition of the Inhabitants of the Easterly part of said Parish, humbly sheweth.—

That we dont pretend to deny but that the Meeting House in said Parish was erected in ye year 1699, and was then Suitable to accomodate the whole Inhabitants who were Settled, tho it was by no means near the center of the Town: We are also ready to own that a great part of Methuen was taken out of the Westerly Part of Haverhill, in ye year 1724.—

That in the year 1730 an other Parish was set off by the name of the North Parish, And in the year 1734, an other Parish was set off by the name of the West Parish, the said Parishes being north and west of our Meeting house.

But that they have petitioned the Parish for ease in the affair and could obtain no help we absolutely deny, for that it may please your Excellency and Honours they were at their requests in the year 1734 set off into a distinct and Separate Parish by a vote of the Parish & a line affixt between us as they desired, but many of the Inhabitants on the Easterly side of that line being against being a Parish. When the others petitioned this Great & Honourable Court to be vested with the powers and privileges of a Parish it was denied them, & they were turned back to the old Parish againe.

We would farther humbly suggest to your Excellency and Honours that such persons who live in the Easterly part of the Parish & have made proper application, have been eased of their Burthen & charge.

We your Respondents begg leave further to add that in the month of May last there was a vote passed to divide ye Parish, and a line was fixt which we hoped might make a peace in the Parish (tho at the same time we are humbly of opinion that the whole Parish will make but Two verry lean Parishes when divided) & we set off all such persons and their estates who were desirous to go to the new proposed Parish, Except two or three mentioned below, all tenants but one, but we could not but think it a verry great hardship to force any from us who were desirous to tarry with us, more espetially if they must go farther to the new Meeting-house then to come to the Old One, and we are yet Humbly of the same Opinion & think they had no ground for such complaint. May it please your Excellencies and Honours, it appears to us that we have been tenderly thoughtful in what we have done relating to a divisional line, having set off near one half of the Land & near Sixty Families, yea all that have desired it except two or three men which by our own Act may go with their estates to the new Parish if they please.

Upon the whole we hope that your Excellencies & Honours will not think it needful to send up a Comittee or to force any from the Old Parish that cannot be willing to be parted from it.

We beg that your Excellencies and Honours will be pleased to have a tender regard to the Old Parish that was once the Center of a verry large Town is now become (by the loss of almost all Methuen & three separate Parishes) to be verry small. We would further observe to your Excellencies & Honours that altho the Easterly part of old Parish was set off in the year

1734 & a line fixt nearer to the old Meeting House than the dividing line fixt in May last, which was occasioned by the West Parish (not then set off) Joyning with the Eastermost part of the said old Parish & affixed the line where they pleased which had not been done had the West Parish been set off first. On the whole we humbly begg that your Excellencies & Honours will be pleased to do that for us which in your great wisdom shall be thought best for us, and your humble Respondents as in duty bound shall ever pray &c.

Joshua Bayley } Committee for & behalf of the
James Pearson } old Parish in Haverhill."

June 14th, these petitions were read in the House of Representatives, and in Council, and a committee was appointed to visit Haverhill, view the parish, hear the parties, and report.

September 9th, the committee reported in favor of the petitioners for the new parish, and it was accordingly set off. The dividing line was the same as the present

The town having been divided into parishes, a proposition was made to divide the parsonage lands among them, but it was not agreed to.

The following interesting paragraphs, relating to the easterly part of the town, we copy from Mirick: —

"The house of Dr. H. Brown, at Holt's Rocks, was destroyed by fire on the 22d of January (1743), and his daughter, aged 28 years, and a young man who was then living with him, a son of D. Currier, were burnt to death. Their remains were interred in a field, now overgrown with trees, owned by John Johnson Esq., and grave-stones erected to their memory. But they are thrown down and so broken and defaced, that the letters are nearly illegible. With the assistance of Mr. Johnson, we found them, lying flat on the ground, and nearly concealed from view. It is a very romantic situation, on the side of a hill covered with young sycamores, and which slopes gently until it reaches the Merrimack. This gentleman also informs us that other persons, principally infants, were buried in the same place; but no monuments were erected to their memory, and the mounds have totally disappeared.

The little village at the Rocks, increased very slowly. We were informed by Mr. Phineas Nichols, a venerable gentleman, 94 years of age, that there were but four houses in 1750, and that he could distinctly remember them. They were owned and occupied by Dr. Brown, John Swett, Joseph Burrill, and Mr. Nichols's father. Dr. Brown moved to Fryburg, Maine, soon after."

From the proprietor's records, of November 21, 1743, we learn that Edward Flynt had leave granted him "to finish a vessel he had put up on the banks of the river near his house," and also to put up any others during the proprietors' pleasure. This is the first mention we find of ship-building since the petition of Springer, ten years before.

From the same records, we learn that John Ayer had recently built a "tan-house," on land given him by the proprietors for that purpose, "in the rear of his father's garden,"^o and had also built a bridge across the stream near it. In consideration that he would *forever* keep the bridge in repair, the proprietors granted him the piece of land west of his tan-house.

By a vote of the town, the parsonage land was, in 1744, divided into lots. A highway, two and a half rods wide, was laid out through the lots "to near the mouth of Little River, and over said river." The expense of the bridges was to come out of the sale of the lots. This highway was that now called *Merrimack Street*. The lots were laid out on the north side of it, and numbered from east to west, the lot cornering on Merrimack and Main Streets (known these many years as "White's Corner,") being "Lot Number One."

The width of the highway through these lots forms a striking contrast to that of the road from Sanders' Hill to the Merrimack above Holt's Rocks, which was laid out among the first in the town. The latter was *twelve rods wide*. This extreme width, however, became in time the cause of a deal of trouble to the town, and about the time of which we now write, the "twelve rod way" was almost continually before the town meetings. It was finally (1754) narrowed down to four rods in width, and the surplus, amounting to nineteen acres and eighty-two rods, sold to various persons along the line of the road.

The setting up of ship-builders in town seems to have been followed, as a matter of course, by the establishment of more *blacksmiths*. Thus we find that, soon after Springer was allowed to set up the business, in 1733, John Gage petitioned the proprietors for liberty to set a blacksmith's shop near the river, — which was granted; and no sooner had Flynt received permission to establish a ship-yard, than Edmund Greenleaf applied for liberty to set up a blacksmith's shop near the same, — which was also granted.

Having erected a meeting-house, and settled a minister, the East Parish immediately applied to the town for some land for a parsonage, which was

^o Near the west end of Ayer's (now Flag) Pond.

granted the following spring (1745). The land thus laid out to them was valued at "£1200 old tenor."

Thomas Cottle petitioned the town, in 1745, for liberty to establish a ferry near his house; and as he represented that the ferry might "be serviceable to the town and other travellers," and offered to ferry the town's people one-fourth cheaper than strangers, his petition was granted. This made the number of ferries across the Merrimaack at that time, between the village and Holt's Rocks, no less than five, viz.:—Swett's, at Holt's Rocks; Cottle's at the mouth of East Meadow River (Cottle's Creek); Pattee's, near the present house of David Nichols; Mulikin's, where the chain ferry now is, and Griffin's, nearly opposite the foot of the present Lindell Street, at the village.

In 1746, the town voted to exempt the first, or "old" parish, from paying anything for any other school in town, provided they would keep a grammar school constantly in their own parish, at their own expense.

At this period, the rates, or taxes, were made out in "lists," and placed in the hands of collectors, who were usually constables.^o As each man paid, his name was checked, and *sometimes*, (if he was particular to require it) he also received the collector's written receipt. The amount on each collector's book, or *list*, was charged to him, and he was obliged to pay the whole amount into the treasury, within a reasonable time, *whether he had collected it or not*. The only way in which he could dispose of a hard customer's tax, was, either to collect it in some way, or pay it out of his own pocket, or induce the town, by a special vote, to "forgive" him the amount. At first, the collectors were not allowed any pay whatever for their services; and it was not until 1780 that a regular commission was given them. It was then voted to allow them a "Poundage of Four Pence on Twenty Shillings."

That the office was no sinecure, is seen from the fact that for more than a hundred years the town's rule was, that if a man was chosen constable, he must either "stand," procure a substitute acceptable to the town, or pay a fine of five pounds, unless he was "excused," which was not common. We could probably fill an entire page with the names of those who took the last-named horn of the dilemma.

After the town was divided into parishes, each parish collected its own minister tax, in its own way. The First Parish frequently collected its minister tax in the following manner:—A contribution, as it was called,

^o For many years there was only one constable, or collector, in the town. Afterward, two were chosen—one for the portion east of the Little River, the other for that on the west. Still later, one was chosen for each Parish.

was taken every Sabbath afternoon, when any person who wished to pay his tax in this manner, had liberty to pay such a sum as he pleased. Each person was ordered to fold his money in a paper, and write his name and the amount within. A person was yearly appointed to receive these monies, and pass the amount to the credit of the name within written. If no name was written within the paper, it was considered as a free gift to the minister, and was disposed of as such. In the early days of the Colony, the contribution was usually made by each going up to the "Deacons' seat," and depositing his offering. The magistrates and the chief men led off, and the others followed in order, down to the youngest, and the humblest. This custom declined about 1665.

The following brief list of names of persons residing in this town, in 1747, with the trade or occupation of each, is compiled from various papers in the State Archives, and is not without interest. We introduce it, as we introduce many other lists of names, principally for the purpose of aiding those who may be interested in tracing the genealogy and history of families:—

James Pecker, an a Potacary,	Jonathan Webster, Hatter,
Edmond Mors, a Shoemaker or Cord-	Andrew Frink, Shipwrite,
winder,	Nathaniel Knolton, Tayler,
Daniel Appleton, Joyner,	Mr Trask, Brick-Layer,
James Parson, Husbandman.	Ebenezer Hale, Cordwinder,
John Byenton, Black Smith,	William Hancock, farmer.
grant Webster, Marchant,	

The year 1748, was another year of trouble in our town affairs, as will be seen from the array of documents which follow.

At the annual meeting, March 1st, Nathaniel Peaslee was declared chosen moderator, whereupon Samuel White and fifteen others, protested against his officiating, on the ground that "he was not chosen according to Law." After vainly attempting to have the proceedings conducted "according to law," the disaffected retired from the meeting, and those who remained proceeded to choose the other officers, and transact the other business of the town.

The "bolters" did not, however, rest quietly under the new administration, but immediately petitioned the General Court, in substance, as follows:—^o

The meeting of March 1st was called to order by Nathaniel Peaslee, one of the selectmen for the previous year, who ordered votes to be brought

^o The petition is dated March 2d, 1748, and signed by fifty-nine of the inhabitants.

in for a moderator, and was himself elected, or chosen, by a majority of *two votes*. The petitioners claimed that several votes were cast illegally, and more than seven of them at the time "requested that the vote might be decided by the Poll, but the Moderator refused to allow it," and declared that the law of deciding votes by the Poll did not take place till after a moderator was chosen. The petitioners claimed that persons were allowed to vote at the meeting who were not qualified by law — were, not "Inhabitants nor Freeholders in said Town of Haverhill, nor even in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, but in New Hampshire," and that the votes of some who were qualified were refused. The petitioners therefore prayed that some one might be appointed by the Court to look into the matter.

The following are the names of the petitioners: —

Henry Springer,	Edward Flint,	John Cogswell,
Joseph Badger,	James Pecker,	Jacob Sanders,
Nathaniel Walker,	Nathaniel Johnson,	John Sanders,
Abner Kimball,	Richard Harriman,	Nathl Sanders,
Richard Emerson,	Stephen Huse,	Samuel Ayer,
Abraham Kimball,	Stephen Harriman,	Thomas Haynes,
John Pecker,	Joshua Sawyer,	John Hinkley,
James McHard,	Richd Hazzen,	David Ayer,
Will hancock,	James Chase,	Nathaniel Knowlton,
Grant Webtser,	Nathaniel Rolfe,	Ebenezer Buck,
John Sawyer,	Nathl Balch,	Jonathan Simones,
Samuel White,	Andrew frink,	Daniel Davies,
Benja Gale,	Peter Ayer,	Edmund Greenleaf,
Joseph Patten,	Jacob Ayer,	Symonds Greenough,
Samll Appleton,	Ithamor Emerson,	William Greenleaf,
Samll White, Jun,	Simon Ayer,	Ebenezer Hale,
Edmd Mooers,	Samuel Hasaltine,	Nathan Haseltine,
Daniel Appleton,	Joshua Page,	Jonathan Webster,
John Smylie,	John Gage,	Andrew Mitchel.
Samuel Johnson,	Moses Clements,	

From a certificate attached to the petition, it appears that the petitioners held a meeting, and chose John Sanders and Peter Ayer to present their petition to the General Court.

Accompanying the petition, they sent fourteen depositions, signed by twenty-eight of the other inhabitants of the town, in further support of their charges.

Other reasons for declaring the doings of the meeting of March 1st illegal are contained in a deposition of Joshua Sawyer, and others, under date of September 17, 1748, of which the following is an extract: —

"There was not any List of Valuation Read nor any List of Non Voters nor any Wrighting of what name or nature Soever by which the

Selectmen did Pretend to Shew who was qualified by Law to Vote in Town affairs nor who was not qualified to vote in Town affairs until after the second time of Voting for the Moderator nor until some Considerable time after Mr Nathaniel Peaslee Had taken the Seat of and Officiated as Moderator by Calling to the People to Bring in their Votes."

To the above mentioned petition, the selectmen of 1747 and 1748, and others of the inhabitants, made reply in substance, as follows:—

The petition of Sanders and others contained false and abusive assertions; the petitioners were a number of uneasy persons, the greater part of whom came lately from other towns to reside among them, and were continually stirring up contentions in the town; that lately many of them were engaged in a vile riot in town, for which some of them were to appear before the Hon: Judge Berry, at Ipswich, on the day of the annual meeting, had they not agreed with the man whom they had chiefly abused, for a considerable sum of money; that they took advantage of the great depth of snow, and consequent inability of those living in the remote parts of the town from coming to the meeting, to gain some advantage to themselves; that John Sanders was greatly prejudiced against moderator Peaslee, because the latter had exposed and prevented the former from obtaining more money from the Province than belonged to him, by a false account; the moderator was duly and legally chosen, and had the Rev. Mr. Barnard open the meeting with prayer; and many of the petitioners were not qualified to vote, and some were not even residents of the town.

The petition is dated March 28, 1748, and signed by

John Ladd, Jonathan Marsh, Thomas Dustin, Barachias Farnham,	} Selectmen for ye yr A Dom 1747	John Ladd, Thomas Johnson, William Ayer,	} Selectmen for the Year A Dom 1748
Reuben Currier, Amos Peaslee, Joseph Grele, Thomas Eatton, Joseph Haseltine, Nathaniel Chase, Daniel Lad Jun, Joseph Merrill, Richard Bayley, Daniel Johnson, Samuel Webster, John Gorge, Samuel Whiticker, David Whiticker,	Wm mitchel, Jona mitchel, William George, Daniel Ela, Lewis Page, John Eatton, Town Clerk Samuel Guild, Thos Cottle, moses Davis, Joseph Tyler, George Hastings James Pike, Samuel Peaslee, Exra Chase,	Ebenezer Colby, John Chase, Humphrey Chase, Israel Ela, Joseph Whittier, James Gild, Abraham Page, Gideon George, Jacob Ela, Ephraim Marsh, John Haseltine, Jonathan Haynes, Edward Carleton, Stephen Webster Jun,	

Joseph Hutchins,	Stephen Whiticker,	Cornelius Johnson,
Jeremiah Bayley,	Edward ordway,	Saml Shepard,
Timothy Emerson,	Micah Emrson,	James holgate,
Ebenezer Bayley,	Samuel Emerson,	Ebenezer Whittier,
Thomas Page,	Nehemiah Bradly,	John Green,
John Emerson,	Jonathan Emerson,	Robert Hunkin jr,
Amos Bayley,	James Eatton,	John morrison,
Jonathan Emerson Jun,	Daniel Mcerie,	benjamin greely,
James Hascitine,	Jonathan Marble,	Peter Green,
John marbel,	Nathaniel Webster,	Maverick Johnson,

Under date of March 29th, 1748, we find a petition signed by twenty-seven of the "freeholders & inhabitants," who therein declare that they were not present at the annual meeting, on account of the great depth of snow, but had heard of the proceedings, and prayed that the petition of Sanders, and others, be not granted. The following names are attached to this petition: —

John Edwards,	Jonathan Duston Ju,	Nathl Clement,
Joseph Kelly,	John Corlis,	Thomas Corlis,
James Sanders,	Joseph Bradley,	Joseph Dow,
Robert Hunkins,	Benjamin Clement,	Joseph Kelley Jr,
Samuel Ela,	Joseph Emerson,	Samuel Davis Jr,
Timothy Eatton,	William Johnson,	Moses Eatton,
Phillip Haseltine,	Samuel Clements,	Samuel Gage,
John Smith,	Daniel Lad,	John Corlis Ju,
Nathan Webster,	Thomas Bayley,	Moses Hazzen.

The committee to whom these several petitions were referred, reported "that the town meeting held on the first day of March be sett n side, & that the selectmen for the year 1747 grant a new Warrant for the Choice of all ordinary Town officers that Towns by Law are Enabled to choose;" the meeting to be held sometime in April. The report was accepted.

A town meeting was accordingly convened, on the 26th of April, at which the officers chosen March 1st, were all re-chosen, *except*, that Thomas Duston was chosen a selectman in the place of Moses Clement. This was not, however, in the opinion of "John Pecker and others," done "according to law," and they promptly "dissented."

Soon after, (May 25, 1748,) Richard Saltonstall, and forty-one others, presented a memorial to the General Court, in which they set forth that "the affairs of the second meeting were conducted with more wickedness partiality and premeditated corruption than the first;" that the selectmen, (who were also assessors) "to cure their great Neglect in not Valuing the Estates and faculties of the Inhabitants," had, after their

term of office had expired, made a pretended valuation, by which they disqualified some of the opposite party, and admitted others who were clearly not entitled to vote,—all for the purpose of carrying their own points in governing the choice of officers; that the cause of all the uneasiness among the inhabitants, was the belief that the selectmen, or some of them, had combined with the Town Treasurer, (who was also Town Clerk) “to Imbezell large sums of the publick money & apply it to their own use.” They therefore prayed for a new meeting, to be presided over by a disinterested moderator, and that the transactions of the last meeting be set aside.

The following names are attached to the memorial:—

Richa Saltonstall,	Will hancock,	Richard Emerson,
Joshua Bayley,	Joshua Page,	Grant Webster,
John Pecker,	Jacob Sanders,	Peter Ayer,
John Sanders,	Jno White,	Joseph Badger,
Nathl Sanders,	Samll Appleton,	Ithamar Emerson,
John Ayer,	Benja Gale,	Nathaniel Knowlton,
Jonathan Simonds,	Edmund Greenleaf,	Andrew friuk,
Joseph Patten,	Edmund Mooers,	John Boynton,
Richd Hazzen,	Nathaniel Walker,	Stephen Huse,
Nathel Balch,	Jacob Ayer,	Moses Clements,
Jas Pecker,	Nathaniel Rolfe,	Ebenezer Hale,
Wm Brady,	Jonathan Webster,	John Smylie,
Simon Ayer,	James McHard,	Nathan hesseltine.
Abraham Kimball,	Samuel White,	

The General Court ordered the petitioners to serve the selectmen and moderator with a copy of their petition, and June 15th was assigned for a hearing of the parties.^o On account of the sickness “of divers of the principal persons,” who subscribed the last mentioned petition, the hearing was postponed to the next day, when a committee was appointed “to hear the parties who are now in Town,” and report.[†] The consideration was, however, again postponed to September, when the committee reported that the proceedings of the second meeting be set aside and declared null and

^o The Selectmen in their response to the General Court, on the memorial of Saltonstall, and others, deny any attempt at partiality in accepting or refusing votes; leave the Town Treasurer to vindicate himself; declare that all their own transactions in town affairs are open for the town to examine; and close by declaring the memorial false and vexatious.

[†] We find a paper, dated Boston, June 17, 1748, and signed by the Selectmen on the one part, and Nathaniel Sanders and Joseph Patten for the memorialists on the other part, agreeing for peace on the following conditions:

The memorialists are to drop their petition on condition that a new town meeting be held, and that a disinterested committee be chosen to settle with the Town Treasurer, on which committee no selectman or member of a former committee should be placed.

void, and a new meeting be called; and as no valuation had been taken the present year, "according to Law," that the valuation of 1747 be the rule for regulating the votes. The Court adopted the report, and appointed John Choate, Esq., to be moderator of the meeting.

Accordingly, a meeting was holden on the 22d of November, when Mr. Choate^o presided, and *the same persons were for the third time chosen town officers!* But this time they were chosen "according to Law"!

A proposition was made this year, but negatived, to build a school-house in each parish. From this it would appear probable that the only school-house then in town, was that in the village; although, as we have seen, the town had long before (1723) voted to build several others. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the next spring it was voted to "sell the old school house."

From an answer of the "Proprietors of the Common Lands" to the General Court, we learn that at this time (1748) a "Common Right" was worth only three pounds, Old Tenor, and they were ready to sell at that price. They say that when the old grants are all made good, they "dont think one penny will fall to the Proprietors."†

During the French and English War of 1744-48, a number of Haverhill men were in active service. Several were at the taking of Louisburg, in 1745, but as the muster rolls of that expedition omit the place of residence, or enlistment, of the men engaged in it, we are unable to give their names. On the renewal of hostilities by the Eastern Indians, who, as before, were found siding with the French, the provincial government sent a large number of troops to the eastern country, among whom were several Haverhill men. Of those stationed at Scarborough, in 1748, were nine from this town.‡ Four of them continued in that service until the peace, in the following year.

At the annual town meeting, for 1749, a proposition was made to hold the town meetings one half of the time in the West Parish, and the other half in the East Parish,— but it was promptly voted down.

^o Mr. Choate was a member of the General Court, from Ipswich.

† Peter Ayer was an original proprietor, or owner, of two Common Rights, which descended to his five daughters. One of his daughters divided her proportion among her own four daughters.

‡ Obadiah Perry, Corp.

Thomas Wescumb,

Job Gage,

Thomas Stone,

Ebenezer Brown,

Oliver Scales,

Daniel Silver,

Hart Williams,

Jonathan Dustin, *Sentinel*.

Those served from April 8 to November 30, 1748. Those designated by a ^o continued in the service until August 8, 1749.

From the proprietors' records of March 6th, we make the following extract:—

"In answer to ye petition of sundry of ye Inhabitants of ye Town of Haverhill, (' to ye proprietors of Common & undivided lands in ye Town of Haverhill & yt part of Methuen which was formerly a part of sd Town of Haverhill; together with yt part of Haverhill which falls within ye province of new hampshire, & commonly called Haverhill District')

"ye sd proprietors agreed & voted yt all their Right proprtee & Interest yt they have in the land lying betwixt ye head of ye lotts & merrimack River from Capt John Pecker's wharfe down to ye plaine gate so called (Excepting a road all along by ye head of ye lotts so wide as ye Town shall think proper) be & hereby is given, granted & appropriated to ye use & benefit of said town within ye Massachusetts, To be Disposed off as the said Town shall see Cause; with this proviso; that the said Town do Digalow & Discontinue the said road laid out by the selectmen from Kent's lott down to ye plain gate on February 11. 1724-5:

this above voted in the affirmative

Moses Hazzen Entered his Disent against giveing or selling of any land from Richard Saltonstall's Esqr Down to the plaine gate.

Edward Flint Entered his Disent against Disposcing of any of ye way or land before mentioned."

Pecker's wharf was near the mouth of Mill Brook; and the Plain Gate, as near as we can judge, was near the present house of Rev. Mr. Keely.

The summer of 1749 was remarkable, on account of a very severe drought. This was attended with swarms of caterpillars, and other devouring insects, and caused great distress in New England. The heat and dryness was so severe, that the ground cracked in many places, and where pieces of broken glass lay on the surface, it caught fire. Not more than a tenth of the usual crop of hay was cut; and much was imported from Pennsylvania, and even from England. June 9th was observed as a general Fast on account of the drought; and August 14th as a day of Thanksgiving for a plentiful rain.^o

From the time of the settlement of the difficulties between the proprietors and the non-proprietors of the common and undivided lands, (in 1724) down to, and including 1751, the former were largely occupied in disposing of their remaining lands. The lands in the extreme northwest part of the town, known as the "fifth division," and the tract north of the village, known as the "Cow Common," were the last large bodies of land

^o Rev. Mr. French's Ms.

to be disposed of. The remainder were in detached pieces, scattered here and there about the town, many of them quite small. In 1739, *forty-seven* such parcels were disposed of, many of them being given to parties applying for them, whether they chanced to be proprietors or otherwise.

Among the last lands to be disposed of, was the strip lying between what is now called Water Street and the river, and extending from the present bridge to Mill Brook. A few small lots of this had been previously disposed of, but most of it yet belonged to the proprietors, until the year 1751, when there seems to have been quite a rush for lots "to build a wharf." Enoch Bartlett led off with a petition for land enough to build a wharf fifty feet long "against the house of Joshua Bayley Esq." (This was the first lot below the present bridge.) Joseph Greelee followed, asking for a lot for the same purpose "between Richard Hazzen's grant and Capt Eastman's wharfe." Then came John Sawyer for a small piece "between Capt Pecker's or White's wharf and yo ferry place." (Pecker's wharf was near the easterly end of the street.) After him, Symond Greenouch made application for a piece "against his dwelling house." Then came Nathaniel Cogswell, for three rods wide "on ye south of his house;" Abner Kimball, for a lot "between Capt Pecker's and yo ferry place;" Nathaniel Peaslee, for one "near Capt Eastman's wharf;" Samuel Blodgett, for one near the same place; and last, but not the least, Reuben Currier desired one in the same favorite locality. These applications were all for land and liberty "to build a wharf," and they were all granted; though, from the fact that Thomas Haynes, Ebenezer Carleton, and Nathan Webster "dissented, and forbid the granting or selling of any more land on the river," it appears that some of the proprietors thought these eligible lots were being disposed of altogether too freely.

Besides these grants of land for wharves, some of the lots were also disposed of to John Watts, Deacon James Ayer, and others, for building purposes; and Richard Hazzen had given him a lot on the river, below Mill Brook, for a "building yard." His bound commenced "on the road, four rods east of Mill Bridge, and thence four rods east," and extending to the river. Hazzen was at this time a regident of Hampstead, but from the above, it would seem that he was about to engage in ship-building in this town.

Jonathan Buck, at the same time, petitioned for "a ship yard near the burying place," but was refused. Buck was afterward (1759) granted all the rights and privileges the proprietors had in the Mill Brook, "below the Great Road." Buck then owned the land on the west side of the brook, and a Mr. Morley owned that on the east side. The former soon

after removed to Maine, and was one of the founders of the town of Bucksport, where he has descendants still living. Mr. Buck lived, while in this town, in the gambrel-roofed house nearly opposite the residence of Deacon Samuel Chase, on Water Street, and which was afterward occupied by his son, who was quite a famous hunter.

The above facts, taken in connection with those already given in relation to the building of vessels, clearly indicate the date when the first considerable attention was given to commerce by the inhabitants of the town. From this time, until the breaking out of the Revolution, this branch of business rapidly increased, until Haverhill became one of the most important and extensive *interior* commercial towns in the State.

The subject of schools in the parishes was again brought to the attention of the town this year, (1751) and it was finally voted that a grammar school should be kept in each parish four months in the year. Probably one of the most effective reminders of their duty in this direction, just at this time, was the intimation of a summons to appear at Salem Court and answer to a "presentment" for not being provided with a "grammar school master." The above vote did not, however, save them from the latter, as we find that the next spring Nathaniel Peaslee, Esq., was chosen to appear and answer such a presentment against the town.

In 1752, the inhabitants of the town were greatly alarmed by the appearance of the small-pox in the neighboring towns, and John Cogswell and Samuel White were appointed to assist the selectmen to use every method to prevent its entrance into the town. A set of constables were also chosen to serve such warrants as should be issued for that purpose. When we consider that, although this loathsome disease is now much better understood, and far less fatal than formerly, the people of the present day are yet always greatly excited and alarmed at its approach, we need not be surprised that our ancestors took the most vigorous measures to protect themselves from infection. But notwithstanding their precautions, the disease at length found its way into the town, and in 1755-6, several persons died with it.^o

Before closing our notice of the year 1752, we ought, perhaps, to refer to the change in computing time which was made this year, and which originated the terms "Old Style" and "New Style."

When this country was first settled, the usual manner of writing dates was by numbering the months. March was the first month, and the 25th of March, being Lady Day, or Annunciation of the Church, was the first

^o The disease again made its appearance in 1757, when we find that the house of Timothy Eaton was used as a "pest house."

day of the year. Subsequently, the practice of numbering the months was discontinued, but, until 1752, the year still commenced with the 25th of March. In 1751, the British Parliament, by statute, provided that the then next first day of January should be reckoned to be the first day of the year 1752, and that the day following the *second* of September, 1752, should be called the *fourteenth*, thus omitting eleven intermediate nominal days. By that act, bissextile, or leap-years, are established every fourth year, excepting each hundredth year, and of each hundredth year every fourth is to be a leap-year, of three hundred and sixty-six days, commencing with the year 2000.

The manner of computing time, (to 1751) commonly called the Julian Calendar, had been in use from the time of the general Council of Nice, A. D. 325. By the Julian Calendar every fourth year was a leap-year of three hundred and sixty-six days, which calendar was discovered to be erroneous, as the spring equinox, which at the time of the Council of Nice, in 325, happened on or about the 21st of March, did happen in 1751, about the 9th or 10th of the same month; hence the necessity of omitting the eleven nominal days in September, 1752.

The correction of the calendar, made by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1582, was immediately adopted in all Catholic countries, although not established in England until 1752. From the latter cause arose the custom of indicating the change by the use of *double dates between the first of January and the twenty-fifth of March* in each year, thus, — January 1, 1751–2.

A striking omission in the town records of the time of which we write, is found in the fact that, from the year 1729 to 1770, no mention is made of the election of Representatives to the General Court, although it is an indisputable fact that such were regularly chosen. The records frequently refer to them, but never to their *election*.

In 1753, a tax was laid by the government on coaches, chariots, chaises, calashes, and riding chairs. We presume the following table, giving the number of each in this town, as officially returned, will not prove uninteresting: —

	Coaches,	Chariots,	Chaises,	Calashes,	Riding Chairs,
1753	0	0	1	7	0
1754	0	0	1	9	0
1755	0	0	0	18	0
1756	0	0	0	13	0
1757	0	0	0	15	0

Probably we cannot give a more truthful, as well as vivid idea of the general style, and appearance of the ordinary "calash," which was almost the only light, or pleasure carriage, in the town one hundred years ago, than by comparing it to a very clumsy old fashioned wagon-seat, set upon an equally clumsy pair of low wagon-wheels, with shafts attached. Those impromptu affairs that we now occasionally see, are a decided improvement over those of "a hundred years ago," in every respect, — except, perhaps, a platform for the feet to rest upon.

Chaises, of which there was a solitary one in town at this time, were those large and heavy wheeled, square-topped vehicles, of which the "oldest inhabitant" has, perhaps an indistinct recollection. They were in the possession of only a few of the "most respectable" and wealthy people, and were only made use of to ride to meeting on the Sabbath, and on great and important occasions.

Mr. Nathan Webster, now living, remembers (about 1796) when there were but two in all the West Parish. These were owned by the two Deacons of the church — Deacon Moses Webster and Deacon ——— Eaton. Soon afterward, the minister, Rev. Mr. Adams, purchased one. At that time, the most common, and indeed the almost universal mode of traveling, was on horseback. Thus the farmer rode to mill, or "to town," on a week-day; and, on the Sabbath, with his good wife on the pillion behind him, — and perhaps a child in the arms of each, — he leisurely and soberly jogged to meeting on his faithful and steady "Old Dobbin." The women rode on horseback to the village, to do their "trading." Mr. Webster remembers counting "*twenty-four in one troop*," as they were thus riding by his father's house, on their way to town, — "chattering like a flock of blackbirds!"

Wagons were unknown until about 1800, or later. In that year, Robert Hamilton, of Conway, Mass., built a one-horse wagon, and claimed it to be the first one in America, and himself the inventor. As late as 1810, such carriages were nowise common, and it was not until about 1820 that they came into general use.

The first carriage said to be built in America, was made in Dorchester, Mass., by a man named White, for a private gentleman in Boston. It was copied from an English chariot, though made much lighter. But on account of the difficulty of procuring material, and high wages, they were long afterward ordered from England and France.

In 1754, the town for the first time voted to raise a specific amount of money for the repair of the highways. The sum fixed upon was one hundred pounds. Two shillings a day were allowed for a man, and the

same for oxen "with a good cart or plow," or eighteen pence for oxen alone. The apparent difference between these prices and those previously voted to be paid, is explained by the fact of a change in the kind of currency most in use at these several periods.

At the same time, a similar proposition was made in regard to school money, but it was rejected. The next year, however, the proposition was renewed, and this time it was carried. Fifty pounds were appropriated for the support of the schools the current year; and it was voted to allow the parishes their proportion of the school money.

From and after this time, except the years 1761 to 1764, inclusive, the school in the First Parish was kept all the year round. Previous to 1761, it was termed a "Grammer School." In 1765, it was called an "English School," and "only Reading, Writing, & Cyphering," were taught in it.

The summer of 1755, was one of "excessive heat and drought;" in consequence of which there was a great scarcity of hay and provisions, and prices were very high. So serious was the condition of things, that a Fast was ordered by the General Court. Happily, refreshing rains soon followed, and the autumn harvest was unexpectedly productive.

On the 18th of November, of the same year, occurred the most violent earthquake ever known in North America. "It continued about four and a half minutes. In Boston, about one hundred chimnies were levelled with the roofs of the houses, and about fifteen hundred shattered, and thrown down in part. There was a shock every day till the twenty-second." The same year and month, is also memorable for the terrible earthquake which destroyed Lisbon.

The proprietors of the common and undivided lands in the town, having disposed of nearly every foot of land belonging to them, were now about dissolving their organization. Their work was nearly finished. No meeting was held from September 5, 1755, to November 20, 1758, and from the latter date, to 1763, there were but few meetings, and but little business transacted. In April of the latter year, Joshua Sawyer petitioned them "for liberty to flow and draw ye water off ye Great Pond," and Barrachias Farnam requested leave to build a mill on the brook, on his own land, and an equal privilege to flow and draw the Pond with Sawyer. The record does not show that either petition was granted. In July a meeting was called, at which some business was done and an adjournment made to October 10th. This proved to be the last meeting of the proprietors, and as a fitting close to our history of their doings through the long

period of their active organization, we copy the entire record of the last named date: —

"Essex Ss Haverhill October 10. A D 1763. This being the time to which ye Props meeting was adjourned. The moderator did not come, and so this meeting ended of course.

Att Nathl Peaslee Sargeant Props Clerk."

In the year 1759, Samuel Blodgett erected "pot and pearl ash" works on Mill Brook. They were among the first in the country, and continued in successful operation for some years.

In 1760, the town granted John Swett a lease of the ferry at Holt's Rocks for ten years. This ferry had for forty years previous to that time been kept by his father.

About this time, settlements began to extend rapidly toward the north and east — particularly the latter. Early in the year last named, several Haverhill men were granted six townships in the Province of Maine, between the Penobscot and St. Croix Rivers.^o

In 1761, the crops of grain in Eastern Massachusetts were mostly destroyed by a severe drought, so that many families were out of corn and rye before the winter was half gone. In this emergency, Joseph Haynes, of the West Parish, made a journey to Connecticut, on horseback, to make arrangements to obtain a supply for the needy in the town. Having agreed with the store-keepers at Hartford, Wethersfield, and vicinity, to collect a quantity for him, he returned home. In a few weeks he again went on, loaded a vessel with corn, and sailed for Haverhill, where he arrived safely with his precious cargo. Several persons offered him his price per bushel, and take the whole cargo, but he declared he did not buy it to speculate on himself, and that nobody else should have it for that purpose. He sold the cargo in parcels, *not exceeding five bushels each*, and only to those who actually needed it for food, or for seed. Such an act well deserves honorable mention in a history of the town.

Sometime in the summer of 1763, the bridge over Little River near the present flannel factory, was rebuilt. The following materials were required for the job: Two gallons and three quarts of rum, two and a half pounds of "Shugar," one hundred and twenty-one feet of two-inch plank, one hundred and thirty feet of two and a half inch plank, and twenty feet of white oak timber. The first article was doubtless used for *bracing*.

^o David Marsh, Enoch Bartlet, Isaac Osgood, Jonathan Buck, James Duncan, James McHard, "and others." Buck was the only one of the petitioners named, who actually settled on the lands. In June, 1775, he, with other inhabitants of Belfast, Majabigwaduce, and Benjamin's River, applied to the Provincial Congress for a supply of corn and ammunition, of which they were in great want. The Congress voted them a supply of arms and ammunition, and two hundred bushels of Indian corn.

At the annual meeting in 1764, the proposition to divide the parsonage lands among the four parishes was again negatived.

Previous to 1765, there had been but one church, one meeting-house, and one mode or form of religious worship in each of the parishes; and but one form or standard of religious faith. The "established church" in the town, and indeed in the colony, was the "orthodox congregational" church. This was emphatically "the religion of the State," and it was not until more than a century after the establishment of the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies that any other system was even *tolerated*. But the attempt to *oblige* men to any particular form, or doctrine, produced in time the very state of things which was so much feared by the founders of these colonies. New doctrines were proposed, believed, and taught, and new sects arose, despite of the most stringent laws against them, and in the face of even persecution itself.

Among the earliest of the sects which sprang up in Massachusetts and claimed recognition as such, were the Baptists. From an obscure beginning they gradually worked their way until the disciples of the new doctrine were numbered by thousands, among whom were some of the ablest minds of that time. One of these was Rev. Hezekiah Smith, a man of rare powers as a preacher, and who became an acknowledged leader in the "New Light" movement. He visited Haverhill in the fall of 1764, and labored with such success that a church of "Separatists," or as they soon came to be called, "Baptists," was organized the following spring, and immediately proceeded to build themselves a meeting-house. So rapid was the growth of the new church, that in less than three years it numbered over one hundred members. As we give a particular account of this church in another place, we pass over it for the present without further notice.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FRENCH WAR.—1756 TO 1763.

AFTER a very short period of actual peace between the French and English in North America, the New England colonists were again thrown into a state of anxiety and distress by another war against France. The war actually commenced in 1754, though not formally declared till May, 1756. Early in the spring of 1755, preparations were made by the colonies for vigorous and extensive operations against the enemy. Four expeditions were planned:—one against the French in Nova Scotia; a second against the French on the Ohio; a third against Crown Point; and a fourth against Niagara.

In the expedition to Nova Scotia were a number of Haverhill men, but, for the reasons given in another place, we are unable to give their names. This expedition resulted in the surrender of several of the French forts in that province, and in the dispersion of the "neutral French." This last act deserved, and has received, the severest condemnation. Four hundred and eighteen inoffensive people were kidnapped, and over seven thousand were transported, and their property confiscated. And, as if this was not enough, *families were separated, and transported in different ships to widely separated parts of the country!* Devils incarnate could not have devised a more cruel scheme.

About one thousand of these poor Acadians were landed in Boston, at the opening of winter. These gradually became dispersed among the towns in Massachusetts. Many of them fell upon the towns for support. This town, in 1759, paid twelve pounds, ten shillings, toward supporting eight of them, who had been assigned the town as its proportion to support. These eight persons were all *women and children*.

In the expedition to Crown Point were the following from this town:—

At Lake George, November 22, 1755, were Nathan Merrill, John Presley, Filbrick Colbey, and Nathan Page.

In a Muster Roll, (dated February 24, 1756,) of "men who went to Albany," we find nearly an entire company from this town. The following are the names, with the time of entering and leaving the service:—

Edmund Mooers, Capt,	entered	Apl 4, 1755,	Discharged	Jan 5 1756
Jonathan Duston, Ensign	"	" " "	"	Dec 12 1755
Daniel Mooers, Serjt	"	" 12 "	"	Oct 18 "
Michael Amy, Corp	"	" 8 "	"	" 15 "

Daniel Griffin, Corp.		entered May 6, 1755, discharged Oct. 22 17	15
Bartho Pecker, Private	"	Apl 7	" Dec 12 "
Joseph Brown	(k)	" " "	" Sep 8 "
James Clement	"	" " "	" Dec 12 "
Wm Townsend	"	" " "	" " "
Wm Pell	"	" " "	" 15 "
Page Harriman	"	" " "	" Oct 9 "
Joseph Bayley	"	" " "	" Dec 12 "
David Eaton	"	Apl 12	" " 15 "
Samuel Ordway	"	" 15	" Oct 22 "
Samuel Staples	"	" 26	" Dec 15 "
John Frink	"	" " "	" " "
Samuel Thompson	"	" " "	" " "
Jona Haseltine	"	" " "	" Oct 9 "
Stephen Woodward	"	" 29	" Dec 15 "
James Emerson Jr	"	May 2	" Oct 24 "
Moses Eaton	"	" 14	" Dec 12 "
Daniel Williams	"	" 14	" " 15 "
Timothy Clements	"	" " "	" " 12 "
Joshua Corliss	"	" " "	" " "

In the company of Captain Samuel Gerrish, of Newbury, were the following from Haverhill:—

Jonathan Sergeant, Serjt,		entered Sept 15, 1755, Dischd Dec 17, 1755
Joseph Silliway,	"	" " " " " " "
Bradbury Morrison, Clerk,	"	" " " " " " "
Amos Currier, Drummer	"	" " " " " " "
Austin George Private	"	" " " " " " "
William Guy,	"	" " " " " " "
Zechariah Hunniford	"	" " " " " " "
Abiel Knight	"	" " " " " " "
Jona Dustan	"	" " " " Nov 27 "
William Emerson	"	" " " " Dec 17 "
Philbrook Colby	"	" " " " " " "
Eleazer Smith	"	" " " " " " "
Barton Pollard	"	" " " " " " "
Wm Middleton	"	" " " " " " "

In the company of Captain Henry Ingalls, of Andover, were
 James Emerson, Private, entered Oct 3, Dischd Dec 13
 Peter Fling " " " " " 18

* The letter (k) annexed to his name, signifies killed.

In the return of Captain James Richardson's company, under date of May 5, 1756, we find the following from this town: —^o

Lewis Ricker (miner),	Ephraim Perry,	Daniel Williams,
Thomas Worthing,	Stephen Heath } deserted	John Dow,
Asa Gile,	Wm Kimball }	Joshua Perey.†
Oliver Page,	Edmund Pillsbury,	
Moses Merrill,	Philbrook Colby,	

In the "Muster Roll of Men raised in 1756 for the Expedition to Crown Point," in Colonel Saltonstall's regiment, we find the following from Haverhill. They all enlisted previous to April 15th: —

Capt Edmund Mooers,	Edmund Pillsberry,	Nathan Page,
Lt James Russell,	Benj Howard,	Moses Eams,
John Frink,	John Burrel,	Oliver Page,
John Presley,	Lt Moses Hazzen,	Peter Ingerfield,
Edmund Black,	Moses Clark,	Moses Stickney,
William Middleton,	Lt Nathan Baker,	Philbrook Colby,
William Hoyt,	Zebediah Sergeant,	Daniel Williams,
James Hide,	Bartholomew Pecker,	Nathl Smith,
John Ingerfield,	Asa Guile,	Samuel Foster.

In the Muster Roll of "Major Saltonstall's Company of Impressed Men," April, 1756, we find the following Haverhill men: —

Samuel Haseltine,	Joshua Page,	Samuel Ayer,
Joseph Emerson,	Joseph Haseltine,	Ithamore Emerson,
John Coon,	Moses Merril,	John Emerson Jr,

From documents accompanying the above, it appears that *fifty* men were called for, for that particular service, but *ninety-five* were enlisted. The number wanted were selected from the whole number enlisted. The following were selected from Haverhill: —

Lt Moses Hazzen,	} from Col Saltonstall's Comp
Samuel Foster,	
Nathl Smith,	
Moses Clark,	
Samuel Ayer,	} from Maj Saltonstall's Comp.
Joshua Page,	
Ithamore Emerson,	
John Emerson Jur,	

^o From these returns, it will be seen that the same names were not unfrequently reported in several different companies the same year. This is explained by the fact that they enlisted from time to time for a particular service, and for short periods. To take up each name separately, and give the times and places of service, would require more space than we can afford to spare for that purpose, and we therefore give the names as we find them, and leave to those particularly interested, the task of tracing out the entire period of service of individual soldiers.

† Joshua Perry was in Captain Hodge's company, on the west side of the lake, when an attack was made by the enemy, and all of his company, except himself and four others, were killed or captured.

In the Muster Roll of Captain Timothy Parker's company, at Fort Edward,^o July 26, 1756, were the following who give this town as their last place of residence, though not all of them were born here: —

Jeams Russell, Ens,	Silas Flood, cordwainer	John Con,
Samuel Hog, cordwainer	Edmund Pillsbury,	Timothy Page,
Jethrew Clugf,	Moses Merrill,	Philbrook Colby, Black-
Asa Gile,	Thomas Worthen,	smith,
Oliver Page,	Joshua Perre, Blacksmith	Daniel Williams.

In the company of Jonathan Pearson, at the same time and place, was William Perry, boat-builder.

In the company of Captain James Parker were

Samuel Currier,	Serjt,	aged 43,	Joyner
James Silver,	"	" 33,	Cordwainer
Timothy Ingalls,	Private,	" 36,	Trader
James Emerson,	"	" 45,	Husbandman

In Captain Edmund Mooers' company were

Capt Edmund Mooers,	Cordwainer
Lt, Moses Hazzen	aged 23 Tanner
Serjt, Micah Amy	yeoman
Clark, Samuel Foster	aged 18 Taylor
Private Daniel Roberds	" 56 Laborer
"	Benj Black Mason
"	Wm Hoyt Tanner
"	Page Harrimen Carpenter
"	Samuel Ayers, aged 28 Tanner

Soon afterward, the above company was stationed at Fort William Henry,[†] and from a Muster Roll dated October 11, 1756, we find in addition to the above names, those of Christopher Connely, Jonathan Harris, Jonathan Blaisdell, and John Presscy.

The return of Captain Stephen Webster's company, at Fort William Henry, dated August 9, 1756, gives the following Haverhill names: —

Gideon Challis,	Serjt,	agd 39,	b in Amesbury,	now of Haverhill,	carpenter
John Burrill,	Corp,	" 31,	" Lynn,	" " "	"
Peter Johnson	"	" 25,	" Haverhill	" " Suncook,	"
Bradby Saunders	Soldr	" 19,	" " "	" " Haverhill,	"
John Castleng,	"	" 18,	" " "	" " "	"
Bartholomew Pecker	"	" 25,	" Boston,	" " "	"
Joseph Silvia	"	" 35,	" Amesbury,	" " "	"
Zebediah Sergant	"	" 36,	" " "	" " "	"
Morrell Wicher	"	" 28,	" Haverhill,	" " "	"

^o Fort Edward was a wooden fort, near the Hudson River, erected in May, 1756.

[†] Fort William Henry, was a wooden fort, erected at Lake George, in May, 1756.

In Major Stephen Miller's company, at the same place and date, were
 Hezekiah Hutchins, Lt. aged 29, born in Haverhill now of Newbury.
 Thomas Thompson, Corp " 24, " " " " Exeter.
 Ebenr Green, Private, " 18, " " Ipswich " " Haverhill.
 Gideon George " " 19, " " Haverhill " " "
 Josiah Young, " " 17, " " " " Salem.

In Colonel Kingsbury's company, at the same place and date, was
 William Brown, private, born in Haverhill, now of Newbury, Shipwright.

In Captain John Nixon's company, August 28, at the same place was
 Jno Presson, private, aged 18, born in Haverhill, now of Lester.

A "return of men ordered to be raised" in the town, dated August 23,
 1756, shows that Colonel Saltonstall ordered fifteen, and the full number
 had "gone."

In the company of Captain Gideon Parker, of Newbury, at the last
 named fort, (under date of December 22, 1756,) we find

Nathan Baker, Lieut,	entered Feb 18,	Dischgd Dec 22,	1756
Benja Howard, Serjt,	" Mar 29,	" Oct 4	"
Moses Howe, Clerk	" " 20,	" Nov 27	"
Nathan Page, Private	" " 29,	" Dec 4	"
Edmund Black	" " " "	" " "	"
Solomon Page	" " " "	" " "	"
Moses Ames	" " " "	" " "	"
Moses, Stickney	" " " "	" " "	"

In Captain Samuel George's company, was John Frink, Ensign, entered
 February 18, 1756, discharged December 2, 1756.

In the Muster Roll of Captain Timothy Parker's company, "in the ex-
 pedition to Crown Point,"† (dated March 3, 1757,) we find the following:

James Russell, Ens,	entrd Feb 18 to Dec 6
Moses Merrill, drummer,	" Apl 1 " "
Silas Flood, Private,	" " " " "
Thomas Worthing	" Mar 15 " "

° A "Taylor."

† TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT. In 1731, the French took possession of Crown Point; and in 1735, they threw up an advanced work on Ticonderoga. Nature and art joined to make this a very strong and important fortress. In the years 1750 and 1757, large armies were kept up by the British colonies, at the south end of Lake George. In 1738, Abercrombie passed Lake George with an army of twenty thousand men, to attack Ticonderoga. On July 8th, he attempted to carry the works by storm. The attack proved unfortunate, and his army was defeated with great slaughter. The French abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and they were taken possession of by General Amherst, July 5, 1759. In the beginning of the American Revolution, Colonel Ethan Allen undertook to reduce these posts, and on the morning of May 10, 1775, he entered and took Ticonderoga, and the same day took Crown Point. July 6, 1777, Ticonderoga was abandoned to the British under Burgoyne, and again given up to the Americans the same fall.

Joshua Peirce, Private, entrd Mar 25 to Dec 6
 Jethro Clugif " " Apl 2 " Oct 8 (dead)
 Asa Guile, " " Mar 15 " Dec 6
 Philbrook Colby " " " " " "
 John Con " " Apl 1 " Sept 20 (dead or capt)
 Oliver Page " " Mar 15 " Oct 11
 Timothy Page " " Apl 1 " " 24
 Edmund Pillsbry " " Mar 15 " Dec 6
 Daniel Williams " " " " " "

Since the preceding pages were written, we have found the following interesting certificate, which, though in part a repetition of names already given, we consider too valuable to be left out, or even abbreviated.

"Haverill: Janry 28th 1757.

Sr

This may Certify that the Persons Belonging to this Town whose names are as follows were in the Service on the Expedition for Crown Point and were not rated in the Year 1756—

out of the first Compy	Wm Middleton, Christopr Connelly, Nathl Smith, Wm Hoyt, Benja Black.	In 3d Company
Cap. Edmd Mooers, Lt James Russell, Lt Nathan Baker, Lt Moses Hazzen, Lt Jno McCurdy, Zebediah Sargent, Ensn Jno Frink, Jno Burrill, Saml Foster, Bartw Pecker, Jno Presleey, Asa Gile, Edmd Black, Nathan Page, Moses Ayres, Abrm Kimball, Saml Middleton, Oliver Page, James Hide, Peter Ingerfield, Jno Ingerfield, Moses Stickney, Edmd Pillsbury, Gideon Church, Benja Howard, Danl Williams,	in 2d company Maj R Soltonstall, Danl Haseltine, Jona Haseltine, James Emerson, Jno Bradley, — Greenough, Ebenr Brown, Saml Currier, Simon Ayer, — Simon. Jno Emerson Jur, John Conn, — Uran, Moses Merrill, and Jos Heseltine jur Saml Heseltine and Josiah Emerson, enlisted and hired others in New Hampe to go for them	Jos Osillaway, Gideon Challis, Gideon George, Samuel Sargent, Sanders Bradbury, Green Whittier, & Jno Page was Pressed and hired a man in New Hampe to go for him In the whole 53 & the others that Hired out of New } 4 Hamp Total 57 The Poll Tax for 48 a 9s £24,15,0 Poll Tax to the } Deputys pay is } 2,9,3 a 1d ½ } £27,12,11 £24,15,0 2, 9,3

And we are Informd that we are to have an allowance for all those persons Poll Tax out of the Province 'Treasury — (which we Desire may be paid to Enoch Bartlet one of us) for the Benefit of our Town.

To Harrison Gray Esq	} Selectmen for Haverhill
Prove Treacurer in Boston	
Moses Clements	
Daniel Johnson	
Cornelius Johnson	
Enoch Bartlet	

George Wetherby out of the first Company."

For a well written account of the disastrous campaign of 1756, in which so many Haverhill men were engaged, we would refer the reader to Barry's excellent *History of Massachusetts*.

Before the close of the year 1756, the party which had mismanaged affairs for over forty years went out of power, and William Pitt, the early and devoted friend of America, assumed the reins which had fallen from the hands of the Duke of Newcastle. From this time, the affairs of the war assumed a new aspect. A military council was held in Boston in January, 1757, at which it was decided to attempt the reduction of Canada, and of the four thousand men levied on New England, Massachusetts was to furnish eighteen hundred. These were all mustered before the last of March, and ready for service.

From the Muster Rolls of these forces, we learn that the following Haverhill men were engaged in the expedition : —

Jan 26, 1757, in Capt Robert Roger's company, John McCurdy, clerk.

Feb 8th, in Capt Jona Bagley's Company, Peter Johnson, armourer.

Feb 13, in Capt Stephen Miller's Comp (at Boston) were Corp Thomas Tompson, Allen Greenough, Gideon George (son of David), Joshua Young.

Feb 16th, in Timothy Ruggles's Regiment, Major Richard Saltonstall.

Feb 17, in Lt Col James Frye's Company (at Boston) were

John Urine,	James Emerson,	Simon Ayers,
Jonathan Simonds,	Isaac Foster,	Joseph Emerson.
Daniel Hazelton,	Jonathan Hazelton,	
John Eastman,	John Emerson,	

Below we give the name of every man enrolled in the militia in this town in the spring of 1757. The list, of course, includes the name of every man in the town, not exempt from military duty : —

"A List of the first Company in Haverhill.

Lieut Benja Gale,	Wm Greenleaf,	Oliver Sawyer.
Ens Joseph Bager,	David Marsh,	_____
Sergeants	Drummers	
John Ayers,	James Pearson,	Daniel Appleton,
Samuel Sheppard,		Jacob Ayer,
		Nathan Ayer,

Peter Ayer,	Stephen Gullishan,	John Sawyer,
Enoch Bartlit,	Austin George,	Jonathan Sawyer,
Enoch Bager,	Jonathan George,	Jeremy Stickney,
Nathaniel Bager,	Thomas Gage,	John Smyly,
Isaac Bradley Junr,	John Gile,	Solomon Springer,
John Baker,	Job Gage,	Joshua Springer,
Nathl Balch,	John Hall,	Jonathan Simons Junr
Edmund Black,	John Hall Jun,	John Straw,
William Briant,	Nathaniel Hall	Richard Simons,
Michael Bodwell,	Charles Haddock,	Isaac Snow,
John Cogswell Jun,	Stephen Harriman,	Peter Sanders,
Samuel Clement,	Joel Heariman,	Moses Smith,
Stephen Cross,	Nathl Johnson,	Samuel Shackford,
Samuel Calf,	Timothy Kezer,	Thomas West,
Isaac Chase,	Benja Leach,	Nathl Walker,
Ezra Cottle,	Dudley Ladd,	Thomas Whittier,
Peter Clement,	Henry Lebeter,	Timothy White Junr,
John McCasling,	Moses Marsh,	John White,
Joshua Dustin,	Enoch Marsh,	Joseph Whitaker,
Isaac Dow,	Nathl Marsh,	Jonathan Webster,
Ezra Tucker,	Silvanus Heath,	Samuel Whiting,
Bartholome Perkins,	James Simonds,	Nathl Cogswoll,
Mark Emerson,	Benja Moors,	Ebenezer Gage,
Thomas Whitaker,	Cornelius Mansise,	Samuel Johnson,
Nehemiah Emerson,	Ammiruhama Moore,	Jonathan Shepard,
Samuel Eames,	Thomas McHard,	Nathan Simond,
Richard Emerson,	Israel Morrill,	Ezekiel Wilson,
David Eaton,	William Middleton,	Jonathan Sargent,
Moses Eames,	Jacob Nicholls	Daniel Moores,
Josiah Fulsom,	Samuel Middleton,	Samuel Gile,
Rowel Foot,	David Newhal Jun,	Peter Ingerfield,
John Farnham,	Benja Poor,	Richard Emerson,
Joseph Flagg,	Samuel Pears,	Samuel Forster,
Benja Foules,	Edmund Pilsbry,	Cutting Marsh,
Samuel Gale,	Edward Russel,	James Sawyer,
Daniel Gale,	Ebenezer Russel,	William Chase,
Ephraim Gile,	David Bunnils,	Elisha Moody,
Asa Gile,	Winslow Richardson,	Samuel Midleton,
Samuel Gile,	Nathl Redington,	James Calf,
John Bointon,	Daniel Redington,	Maxe Haseltine.
Symonds Greenough,	John Stuard,	

"The Alarm List."°

the Rev Edward Barnard	Timothy White Cler,	Lieut Nathan Baker,
Samuel White Esqr,	John White Cler,	Ens James Russell,
James McHard Esqr,	Capt Edward Moors,	Ens John Frink,

° The Alarm List includes all between the ages of sixteen and sixty years of age, who were exempt from ordinary military duty. Upon extraordinary emergencies, these were liable to be called out to do duty in their own town.

Dn Benja Clement,	James Leacount,	Nathl Rolfe,
Dn David Marsh,	David Newell,	Stephen Heriman,
David Ayer.	Isaac Osgood Cler,	Lieut John Russell,
Jonathon Buck,	Dr James Pecker,	Dr Cast,
Benja Baker,	William Swanton,	James Cook,
Moses Clement,	Nathl Peasly Sergeant,	Jacob Willard,
John Cogswell,	Mathew Soley,	Dr John Huse,
James Dunkin,	John Mulleian,	Joshua Swyer,
John Eaton,	David Farnup,	Lieut Moses Hazzen,
William George,	Timothy Clement,	Dn David Marsh,
Dr. Stephen Huse,		

Haverhill April 18th 1757.

Attest Samuel Appleton Clerk."

"A List of the Second foot Company in Haverhill, whereof Major Richard Saltonstall Esq is Capt.

First Lieut	Nehemiah Bradly,	Thomas Merril,
Daniel Bradly,	Joshua Emery Junr,	Samuel Cronnid,
Second Lieut	Benja Eaton,	Timothy Eaton,
Timothy Emerson,	John Emery,	John Swadock Corlice,
Ens John Mitchell,	Joseph Hanes,	John Goss,
Sergants	Nathan Heaseltine,	Benja Ordiway,
Jonathan Emerson,	Joseph Hale,	Daniel Ladd Jun,
Jonathan Webster,	John Kezer,	Toothaker Webster Em-
Samuel Watts,	Ezekiel Ladd,	erson,
Nathl Dustin,	Ebenezer Mitchell,	Amy Ruhamy Hayns,
Corporals	Enoch Marble,	Ebenezer Baly Jun,
Ebenezer Baly,	Samuel Merrill,	David Bradley,
James Haseltine,	Joseph Hill Ordway,	Timothy Emerson Jun,
Samuel Haseltine,	William Page,	James Webster,
Joseph Emerson,	Nathan Parely,	Edward Ordiway,
Drumers	John Smith,	Joseph Emerson 2d,
Moses Bradly,	John Smith Junr,	Jonathan Harrice,
William Ladd,	Samuel Silver,	Joseph Atward,
Soldiers	John Silver Jun,	Thomas Spear,
Richard Bayly,	John Stuart,	Jacob Woodard
Amos Baly,	Jonathan Sheppard Jun,	Nathliel Clark,
William Baly,	Steven Webster 3d,	James Atwood,
Daniel Bradly,	John Hastings,	Jonathan Dustin Jun,
Amos Bradly,	John Symonds,	Samuel Bradly,
Nathl Bradly,	David Harrice,	James Emerson Jun,
George Corlice,	Daniel Heath,	Jonathan Heaseltine,
Joseph Corlice,	William Hutchings,	Enoch Johnson,
Samuel Clemont,	William Mitchell,	Jonathan Simonds,
Micah Emerson,	William Bradly,	Samuel Ayer,
Jonathan Emerson Jr,	Jeremiah Haseltine,	Peter Ayer Jun,
Peter Emerson,	Peter Carleton,	David Haynes,
Joseph Eaton,	James Kimball,	Jeremiah Hutchings,

Samuel Lovekin,	Samuel Celley,	Jonathan Eaton 2d,
John Heaseltine,	Page Herimon,	Abel Page,
James Merrill,	Daniel Heaseltine,	Peter Webster,*
Joshua Corlice,	Peter Page,	Enos Webster,
Asa Ladd,	Moses Webster,	Isaac Webster,
John Emerson Jun,	Moses Merrill,	Simon Ayer,
Humphry Baly,	James Eaton Jun,	Samuel Webster,
Daniel Griffing,	Ithamore Emerson,	Daniel Ladd,
Joseph Heaseltine,	Obediah Belknap,	John Emerson,
Josiah Brown,	Moses Eaton,	John Jaquish,
Thomas Whitteker,	Samuel Ordiway,	Samuel Whitteker,
John Bradley,	Richard Kelley,	John Marble,
Joshua Emery,	Amos Emerson,	James Emerson.
Josiah Emerson,	Elezer Emerson,	

The Alarm List.

Revd Samuel Batchelder	Nathaniel Clements,	Ebenezer Webster,
Dn William Ayer,	Bradly Mitchel,	Jonathan Herriman,
Dn Stephen Webster,	William Boarmon,	Amos Page,
Ens Stephen Whitteker,	Stephen Gage,	David Merrill,
Jonathan Marsh,	John Clements,	
Jeremish Bayly,	Thomas Webster,	

Haverhill April 14th 1757

attest Richard Ayer Cler."

"A List of the third foot Company in Haverhill.

Capt Daniel Johnson,	Samuel Davies,	Timothy Johnson,
Lieut Ruben Currier,	John Davies,	John Jeffers
Ens Ezra Chase,	Amos Davies,	Daniel Morison,
Sergants	Moses Eaton,	Samuel Morison,
Robert Hunkins,	Nathaniel Edwards,	Henry Morse,
Joseph Kelley,	Samuel Esterbrooks,	Samuel Page,
Lewis Page,	Samuel Elee,	John Partridge,
Ebenezer Colby,	John Edwards,	William Page,
Drummer	Gedion George,	Samuel Sanders,
Amos Currier,	David George,	John Sanders,
	Gedion George Jun,	Joseph Silliway,
Samuel Ayer,	Samuel George,	Timothy Sweat,
Samuel Bradbury,	William George,	Timothy Smith,
Sanders Bradbury,	Joseph Grelec Jur,	Benja Sanders,
Thomas Bretman,	Stephen Gale,	Henry Sargent,
Calib Currier Jun,	William Guie,	Samuel Sergeant,
Isaac Colby,	Thomas Hunkings,	Ebenezer Wood,
Theophilous Colby,	Robert Hastings,	Nathaniel Whittier.
Ebenezer Chase,	Maverick Johnson,	
Ruben Currier Junr,	Seth Johnson,	

* Peter Webster, Nathl Sanders, and Avery Sanders, were taken prisoners at Fort Wm. Henry in 1757.

"The Alarm List."

Revd Benja Parker,	Thomas Cotle	Benja Grelee,
Joseph Grelee,	John Morse,	Jacob Sanders,
John George,	Ebenezer Whittier,	Joseph Nickels,

Haverhill March 17, 1757

attest Richard Colby Cler."

From the above Rolls, it will be seen that the First Company was composed of residents of the First Parish; the Second, of those belonging in the West Parish; and the Third, of those in the East Parish.

On the 31st of July, Gov. Pownall received information by express that Montcalm, with a large force of French and Indians, was moving to besiege Fort William Henry. He immediately hastened to forward reinforcements and supplies, but before they had reached their destination, the gallant commander had been compelled to surrender. He did not yield, however, until half his guns were burst, and his ammunition was expended. The Indians, with their usual ferocity, fell upon his troops after they were disarmed; and, in the slaughter which ensued, six hundred dispersed among the woods and fled to Fort Edward, whither they were followed by their comrades, one after another.

Immediately upon the above alarm, a detachment from each of the three companies in this town was ordered to march to the relief of the besieged garrison. Below we give the returns made for the first and third companies; that for the *second* we have been unable to find:—

"A Muster Roll of a Detachment out of the first Foot Company in Haverhill, Commanded by Joseph Badger Junr, Ensign of said Company, out of Lieut Coll John Osgood's Regiment, that marched on the last alarm, for the relief of Fort William Henry, as far as Worcester—August ye 16th 1757.

Ens Joseph Badger Jun	Joel Harriman,	Elisha Moodey,
Privates	Thomas Whitaker,	William Farnam,
Daniel Appelton,	Nathaniel Reddington,	Samuel Eames,
Moses Marsh,	Jonathan George,	Asa Guile,
Timothy White Jun,	John Baker,	Benjamin Harris,
Samuel Middleton,	Stephen Cross,	Israel Morrill,
Samuel Middleton Jun,	Nathaniel Johnson Jun,	Michael Bowden,
Wintrop Bagley,	Asa Tucker,	Moses Ames,
John Knapp,	Jeremiah Sticknee,	Benjamin Fowler."
Aaron Sargent,	Edward Russell,	
Timothy Kezar,	Isaac Dow,	

"A Muster Roll of a Detachment out of the Third Foot Company in Haverhill Commanded by Reuben Currier Lieut of said Com-

pany out of Lieut Coll John Osgood's Regiment that marched on the Last alarm for the Relief of Fort William Henry as far as Worcester, August 16: 1757.

Lieut Reuben Currier,	Timothy Johnson,	Thomas Butman,
John Sanders,	Asa Currier,	Calib Currier,
Ebenezer Wood,	David Morison,	William Page."
Amos Davice,	Henry Morse,	

All the above, except Israel Morrill, (who was in service only three days) were in service nine days, eight of which were occupied in travelling to and from Worcester. They were "impressed" August 15th, and received two shillings and eight pence a day, each.

Since writing the above, we have found, among the papers relating to the Reduction of Canada, the following roll of names, which, we think, must be the missing list of those detached from the *second* foot company at this time: —

John Osgood, Lt Coll 2d foot Company,

Maj Richard Saltonstall Capt,

Daniel Bradly 1st Lt,	James Haseltine Cornet,	Joseph Haynes,
Timothy Emerson 2d do	Saml Haseltine	" Toothaker Webster,
John Mitchel Ens,	Joseph Emerson	" Jonathan Marsh,
Jonathan Webster Serjt,	Henry Bailey	" Nathl Clement,
Nathl Dustin	" Moses Bradly Drum	John Clement,
Saml Watts	" Wm Ladd	" Bradly Mitchell,
Jonathan Emerson	" David Haynes,	Jonathan Harriman,
	Ammi R Haynes,	Rev Saml Batcheldor.

Of the Haverhill men "in the capitulation," of August 9, we can only find the following: —

In Capt Richard Saltonstall's Company:

Richard Saltonstall, Capt, entd Feb 12, dischgd Nov 7, 1757

Isaac Chase, Corp, " Mar 16, " Oct 23, "

Edmund Black, private, " " 22, " " "

In the list of names of those "*not* in the capitulation," we find the following^c: —

Jonathan Blaisdell, private, entd Mar 15, Dischgd Sept 29

Philbrook Coleby, " " " 21, *deserted*† in Sept

Joshua Perry, " " " 14, Dischgd Dec 3

Thomas Stone, Corp, " " 21, " Nov 17

Early in 1758, large preparations were made for a vigorous campaign. Three expeditions were planned, — the *first* to besiege Louisburg, the

^c The date of the list is December 23, 1757.

† Among the one hundred and thirty-three deserters from the Massachusetts forces in the year 1757. we find only this Haverhill name!

second to scour the Ohio valley, and the *third* to proceed against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, — all of them having in view as a grand object and aim, *the reduction of Canada.*

The following gleanings from the muster rolls of this year show that our town was well represented in the campaign : —

“RETURN of the Men inlisted for his Majesty's Service within the Province of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY in the Regiment whereof John Osgood Jun, Esq: is Colonel, to be put under the immediate Command of His Excellency JEFFRY AMHERST, Esqr: General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, for the Invasion of CANADA.”

NAMES.	When Inlisted.	In a former Expedition.	Where.	Where Resident.	Age.
William Atwood.....	Apl 6			Haverhill	18
James Scamons.....	" 6			"	18
Samuell Middleton....	Mar 28	1758	L. George	"	46
David Farnum.....	" 28	"	"	"	44
Benja Fowle.....	" 28	"	"	"	26
Wm Richardson.....	" 29	"	"	"	21
Ebenezer Kimball.....	Apl 2	"	"	"	18
Obediah Page.....	Mar 28	"	"	"	27
Wm Clements.....	Apl 2	"	"	"	18
George Hadly.....	Mar 28	"	"	"	18
Sampson French.....	" 28	1757	"	"	40
Joshua Springer.....	" 29	"	"	"	25
Philbrook Colby.....	Apl 4	"	"	"	23
Jackson West.....	Mar 28	"	"	"	17
Joshua Heath.....	" 28	"	"	"	17
William Cook.....	" 31	"	"	"	18
Sampson French Jur....	Apl 6	"	"	"	17
Joseph Morse.....	Mar 28	"	"	"	21
John Guile.....	" 27	"	"	"	19
James Rix.....	" 27	"	"	"	17
Timothy Johnson.....	" 29	1758	"	"	21
Benja Hunkings.....	" 29	"	"	"	18
Caleb Currier.....	" 29	"	"	"	19
William Page.....	" 29	"	"	"	21
Michel Page.....	" 29	"	"	"	18
Joseph Osilaway.....	Apl 2	"	"	"	39
Moses Worthien.....	Mar 24			Sandown	39
William Farmer.....	Apl 2	1758	L. George	Haverhill	19

Following the above are the names of ten others, from Bradford, Newbury, &c., but none from Haverhill. Of the following names, a part only were Haverhill men; but as some of them were, and we are unable to designate all of them with certainty, we copy the whole list: —

“Roll of Capt John Hazzen of Haverhill, for the Reduction of Ticonderoga & Crown Point.”

John Hazzen, Capt,	Stephen Prescottt,	Peter Whitteker,
John Goffe Jun 1st Lieut	Nathan Colly,	John Tarbox,
Joseph White 2d Lieut	Silas Flood,	Phillip Emerson,
Wm Richardson Ensign	Richard Dow,	Levi Wyman,
Jabez Hought Sergeant	Richard Knight,	Asa Curtis,
Benja Stone	“ Jeremiah Kent,	Jona Colby,
Mathew Bryant	“ John Lovewell,	John Giles,
James Bryant	“ Daniel Flood,	Jona Worster,
Jona Kemble Corp	Parish Richardson,	Edmind Colby,
Benj Batchelder	“ Caleb Marble,	Abner Wheeler,
Stephen Page	“ Jessa Wilson,	Asa Worster,
Stephen Dow	“ Wm Whittaker,	John Foster,
Aaron Copps, Private	Noah Emery,	Robert Young,
Thomas Crofford,	Joshua Howard,	Jona Hunt,
Bond Little,	James Dow,	Robert Greenough,
Joseph Sawyer,	Jeremiah Dow,	Jona Stickney,
David Copps,	Amos Pollard,	Josiah Heath,
Caleb Emery,	Jona Stevens,	Benoni Coburn,
John Gage,	Daniel Clifford,	Micajah Morrill,
Joshua Chase	Abner Sawyer,	Timothy Page,
Joshua Gile,	Jonas Clay,	Benoni Rowell,
Joseph Gage,	Abel Wright,	Nathl Wood,
Robert Cannada,	Wm Heath,	Francis Knowlton,
Joseph Webster,	Henry Benson,	Joseph Lovewell.
Thomas Cannada,	Wm Flanders,	
James Duston,	Enoch Hale,	

In addition to the above, we find in Captain William Osgood's company, Oliver Page, who served from April 1, to November 15, 1758.

But our limits will not allow us to follow up the whole history of this war; and with the following extracts, showing the names of those from our town who took part in the struggle, and shared in the glorious results, we must again turn our attention homeward. We may, however, be permitted to say, in passing, that the campaign of 1758 was a brilliant one. In July, Louisburg was taken; the next month, Fort Frontenac surrendered; and in November, Fort du Quesne (now Pittsburg) was wrested from the French. The next year, the British arms were completely successful. In July, Niagara and Ticonderoga were taken, and when, on the

18th of September, Quebec surrendered, the joy of the people seemed to know no bounds.

In the Muster Roll of the foot company of Captain Samuel George, dated February 7, 1759, we find Joseph Silliway entered May 2, discharged November 20,^o Joseph Springer entered April 3, discharged November 20.

In the Muster Roll of the regiment of John Osgood, Jr., "for the invasion of Canada," were

Col Richard Saltonstall,		
Capt Edmund Moores,		
James Emerson, inlisted Apl 6,	aged 48	
Richard Knight	"	36
Timothy Kimball	Mar 29,	18
Benja Emery	Apl 6,	23
Nathl Bixbee	"	19
Joseph Hutching Jar,	Mar 29,	16
Daniel Griffing	" 31,	29
Wilkes West	Apl 3,	19
Timothy Clements	" 6,	49
—— Dowf	" 6,	41
—— ———	" 6,	21

Captain Edmund Moores' company, in Colonel Bagley's regiment, for the Reduction of Canada,† consisted of one hundred and one men. The following were from Haverhill: —

Edmund Moores Esq, Captain,	entered Mar 13,	Dischd Dec 9
Jonathan Buck, Lieut	" "	" Nov 20
Peter Carleton "	" "	" Nov 20
Samuel Foster, Serjt	" Apl 8,	" "
Timothy White, "	" "	" "
David Farnam, "	" "	" Oct 26
John Baker, "	" "	" Nov 20
David Eaton, Corporal	" Apl 1,	" "
Bartholomew Pecker, "	" " 8,	" "
Samuel Middleton, "	" " "	" "
John Bradley, Drummer	" " 3,	" "
Jonathan Serjeant, Private	" " "	" "
Richard Simonds	" Mar 20,	" " 11
John Steward	" Apl 4,	" " 3
Ebenezer Kimball	" " "	" " 20

Joshua Perry	Private entered	Mar 30	Dischd	Nov 20
James Leacount	"	Apl 7	"	Oct 21
Henry Greenleaf	"	" 8,	to	Nov 20
Samuel Stickney	"	" "	"	" "
Moses Little	"	" 7,	"	" "
Elisha Moody	"	Mar 8,	died	June 24
Benjamin Fowle	"	Apl 10,	to	Nov 20
Ezra Cottle	"	" 14	"	" 20
John Swoodick Corliiss	"	" 3	"	" 4
John Pell	"	" 8	"	" "
Daniel Williams	"	" "	"	" "
Enoch Marsh	"	" 10	"	Aug 6
Timothy Kezer	"	" "	"	Nov 20
Michal Bowden	"	" 8	"	" "
William Clement	"	" "	"	Dec 3
William Colby	"	" 12	"	Oct 9
Joseph Hale	"	" 13	"	Nov 20
Silvanus Heath	"	May 1	"	" 3
George Hadley	"	Apl 8	"	" 20
Daniel Appleton	"	June 1	"	" "
Jonathan Urien	"	May 2	"	" "
Daniel Ladd Jun	"	Apl 4	"	" "
Ebenezer Bailey Jun	"	" "	"	" "
Jonathan Harris	"	" 14	killed	Aug 8
Webster Emerson	"	" 3	to	Nov 20
David Merrill	"	" 7	"	" "
John Goss	"	" 7	"	" "
Peter Emerson	"	" 14	"	" "
William Hutchins	"	" 3	"	" "
Samuel Crowel	"	" 14	"	" "
Micah Amy	"	" 10	"	" "
Daniel Corly	"	" 13	"	" "
John Foot	"	" 11	"	" "
Nathaniel Webster	"	" 1	"	" "
Joseph Mooers	"	May 2	"	" 11
Jonathan Haselton	"	" "	"	" 13
James Emerson ^o	"	" "	"	" 20
Winslow Richardson	"	" "	"	" "

^o From James Emerson's petition to the General Court, shortly afterward, we learn that in marching from Crown Point to Ticonderoga, December 30, 1780, he fell through the ice, lost his pack, and narrowly escaped death. He was so badly frost-bitten that he was forty days in getting home, and was confined for thirty days after arriving home. He was "at Cape Breton, and in the service every year since the beginning of the Canada expedition."

In the rolls for 1760, we find the following from Haverhill:—

In Capt Henry Young Brown's Company were

H Young Brown Capt	entd Feb 14 to Dec 30.
John Page Serj	" " 29 " " 8
Wm Farnum "	" " " " " "
Wm Colby Pr	" Mar 10 " " "
Nathaniel Moulton "	" Feb 29 " " "
Daniel Milliken "	" " " " " "
Moses Sanborn "	" " " " " "
Charles Hall "	" " " " " "

In the Company of Samuel Watts, of Haverhill,

Samuel Watts Capt	ent June 10 to Jan 1 1761
John Bayley Corp	" 18 " Dec 28
Francis Dinsmore Pr	" 28 " " 2
John Gile "	" 14 " " 2
Daniel Hibbard "	" 27 " " "

In the Company of Nathl Bailey

Wm Mores	ent Apl 14
Benonie Wigans "	" " 7 to Dec 6

In the Muster Roll of Capt Joseph Smith, of Rowley, from Feb 14 to Dec 9, 1760,* were

Nathan Baker Lieut	ent Feb 14 to Dec 4
Robert Peasley Ens	" " " " " "
John Bradley Serj	" Mar 10 " " "
William George Corp	" " 31 " " "
Edmund Black Private	" Feb 29 " " "
Ezra Cottle "	" Mar 31 " " "
David Clemens "	" Apl 14 " " "
Benja Durgan, "	" Mar 8 " " "
Benja Davis (dead) "	" Apl 14 " Oct 10
Moses Duston "	" Feb 29 " Dec 4
David Eaton "	" Mar 10 " " "
Richard Emerson "	" " " " " "
Nathaniel Eaton "	" " " " " "
David Farnom (dead) "	" Feb 29 " Dec 12
Sampson French "	" Apl 8 " " 4
Timothy George "	" Mar 31 " " 4
John Hazelton "	" " 10 " " "
William Hutchins "	" " " " " "

* This was a " Battalion Company."

Joseph Kimball	Private	ent	Mar 10	to	Dec 4
Jonathan Kimball	"	"	Feb 29	"	" "
Daniel Ladd	"	"	Mar 27	"	" 5
Henry Maxfield	"	"	Feb 29	"	" 4
David Merrel	"	"	Mar 13	"	" "
Edward Ordaway	"	"	" 10	"	" "
James Pearson	"	"	" 10	"	" "
James Rix	"	"	Feb 29	"	" "
Richard Simons	"	"	Feb 29	"	Jan 10
Ezekiel Stone	"	"	Mar 10	"	Dec 4
Joshua Trussell	"	"	" "	"	" "

The following is a list of the Haverhill names in the Muster Roll of Captain Edmund Mooers' Company, dated "from Nov 2, 1759 to January 7, 1761."

Edmund Mooers, Capt,	entered	Nov 2, 1759,	to	Feb 1, 1761
William Greenleaf, Lieut	"	"	"	Jan 12. "
Daniel Griffin	"	"	"	" 2 "
Timothy Johnson	"	"	"	" 12 "
Samuel Middleton	"	"	"	" "
William Atwood	"	"	"	" "
William Clements,	"	"	"	" "
William Cook	"	"	"	" "
James Cook	"	"	"	" "
Benja Emory	"	"	"	" "
Phillip Emerson	"	"	"	" "
Benja Fowls	"	"	"	Jan 17 "
Sampson French	"	"	"	" 5 "
Daniel Greenleaf	"	"	"	" 12 "
Joseph Hutchins	"	"	"	" "
George Hadley	"	"	"	" "
Joshua Heath	"	"	"	" 5 "
Benja Hunkins	"	"	"	" 12 "
Eben Kimball	"	"	"	" "
Jos Orsilliway	"	"	"	" "
William Page	"	"	"	" "
Michael Page	"	"	"	" 17 "
Winslow Richardson	"	"	"	" 12 "
James Scammon	"	"	"	" "
Jackson West	"	"	"	" 5 "
Philbrook Colby	"	"	"	" "

In the return of enlistments for 1760, we find Josiah Ingraham, Samuel Steward, Timothy Kimball, John Jakish, James Webster. The above enlisted between March 6th and April 9th, 1760.

In the Muster Roll of Captain Thomas Swett's company, March 19th, 1761, we find

Henry Marshall, entered June 14, Dischd Dec 8.

In that of Captain Aaron Fay's company: —

John White, entered Apl 25, Dischd June 14.

In that of Captain David White's company: —

Solomon Gage, entered May 9, Dischd Nov 24.

In Captain Nathaniel Bailey's company, were

Joshua Perrey Serjt (dead) from Mar 10 to Sept 15

Abel Hadley Corp " Apl 14 " Dec 6

Joseph Atwood Private " Mar 10 " " "

Jona Barker " " " 24 " " "

In the fall of 1760, the Collector of this town was allowed the rates of the following persons, who "were gone into his Majesties Service."

Joseph Oselway,	Joseph Springer,	William Page,
Timothy Johnson,	David Chalico,	Mickel Page,
Benjamin Hankings,	Gideon Chalico,	Elias Johnson,

In the "Pay Roll of Capt Mooers' Company from Apl 8, 1761, to Jan 1, 1762," we find

Edmund Mooers, Capt,	from Apl 18 to Jan 1
Nathan Baker Lieut	" " " " Dec 7
John White, Ensign	" " " " Nov 17
William Atwood Serjt	" July 1 " Dec 7
Charles Hall, Drummer	" June 29 " " 6
Edmund Black, Private	" " 9 " " 7
William Cook	" " 12 " " "
Thomas Corser	" June 13 " " "
Samuel Corser	" July 9 " " "
Joseph Emerson	" " 15 " Nov 17
James Emerson	" May 29 " " "
Webster Emerson	" June 23 " Dec 7
Nathaniel Eaton	" July 19 " " "
George Hadley	" May 12 " Nov 17
Zeehh Humerford	" July 1 " Dec 7
Negro Jack (Servt	
Edmd Mooers)	" " 21 " " "
Jonathan Simonds	" " 1 " " "

David Wells Private from June 26 to Dec 7

Nathaniel Ash " " Aug 22 deserted.

In the Pay Roll of Captain Henry Young Brown's^o company for April, 1761, to February, 1762, were the following:—

Hy Yg Brown, Capt, from Apl 18, 1761 to Feby 7, 1762

James Scammon, Serjt " May 4 " " Jan 6 " "

John Bradley " " Apl 29 " " Dec 13 " "

Jacob Brown Corp " May 1 " " Jan 11 " "

Wm Clement " " " 4 " " " 6 " "

Saml Middleton " " " 28 " " " 6 " "

Ezra Gatchell Drumer " " 18 " " " 6 " "

Samuel Annis Private " " 1 " " " " " "

Phinehas Ash " " Apl 23 " " " " " "

Benj Dow " " May 4 " " " " " "

Jno Moody Gilman " " " 1 " " " " " "

Job Gage " " " 7 " " " " " "

Nathaniel Gilman " " " 6 " " " " " "

William Guye " " " 1 " " " 10 " "

Asa Hanniford " " " 29 " " " 6 " "

David Heath " " " 22 " " " " " "

David Kimball " " " 4 " " " 6 " "

Timothy Kimball " " " 11 " " Dec 13 " "

Daniel Levett " " " 29 " " Jan 6 " "

John McKissich " " " 1 " " " " " "

Peter Middleton " " " 16 " " " " " "

Hezh Marsh " " June 2 " " Nov 24 " "

David Moody " " May 6 " " Jan 6 " "

Henry Maxfield " " " 11 " " " " " "

Elipha Maxfield " " " 4 " " " " " "

Oliver Page " " " 7 " " " 13 " "

Francis Perry " " Apl 29 " " " 6 " "

Wm Wilks Perry " " " " " " " " " "

John Rowe " " May 29 " " " " " "

Reuben Sergeant " " Apl 24 " " " " " "

Simn Smith " " May 11 " " " " " "

Richd Simons " " " " " " " " " "

Frans Whittier " " " 16 " " Dec 13 " "

^o Captain Brown served through the whole war, and with such acceptance, that in 1770, the General Court granted him eleven thousand acres of land on Saco River,—where, we believe, he settled, and his descendants still reside.

Jackson West	"	from May 4	1761 to Dec 13	1872
Benja Weed	"	" " " "	" " " "	"
Nathl West	"	" " 11	" " Jan 7	"
Nathl Weed	"	" " 7	" " Dec 13	"

In the Pay Roll of Captain Moses Parker's Company (Chelmsford) were

Levi Cottle	Private	from May 12 to Jan 10
Jesse Turrell	"	Mar 19 " Nov 1
Moses Sanborn	"	May 3 " " "

In the Pay Roll of Henry Young Brown's^o Company from March 4, 1762, to November 30, 1762, we find

Moses Greenough,	Serjt,	from March 17 to Nov 18
Jacob Brown	"	" " " " " "
Samuel Annis	Private	May 7 " " 1
Richard Colby	"	" 3 " " 18
Wm Colby	"	" " " " 23
Wm Cook	"	Mar 19 " Jan 1
Isaac Colby	"	" 17 " Nov 18
Moses Dusten	"	May 7 " " 1

In the Pay Roll of Captain John Nixon's Company, from July 1, 1762, to January 7, 1763, were

John White,	Ensign,	from July 1 to Nov 29
James Emerson	private	" " " " 23
Joseph Emerson	"	" " " " "
Samuel Middleton	"	" " " " "

From the foregoing lists of names, it will be seen that Haverhill furnished its full proportion of soldiers during the whole of this war. We regret that we cannot give more definite information in regard to the names and number of those killed, wounded, or captured, but the meagreness of the records as to individual histories, and the time which has elapsed since the occurrences took place, have put it beyond our power to do so. We have no doubt that other persons from this town, besides those whose names we have given, were in the service; but, as the place of residence or enlistment is not always given in the rolls, and as it frequently happened that persons of the same name, but from different towns, were found in those lists where the residence was given, we have found it impossible to obtain a more perfect list. As a specimen of the imperfection of the records, we may cite the fact, that although Dr. James Brickett of this

* *Middle* names are very seldom met with previous to 1730, and from that time they increased slowly until about 1780, when they were considered "fashionable." Captain Brown was one of the first Haverhill men we find thus honored.

town was in Colonel Frye's regiment, as surgeon's mate, from March 30, 1759, to July 30, 1760, yet we do not find his name in any of the rolls, and were it not for his petition in 1761, for his pay, we should hardly have known that he was in the service at all.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REVOLUTION.—1765 TO 1783.

ALTHOUGH the war with France had resulted in the expulsion of the latter from all their possessions in the northern part of America, it had been carried on at a vast expense, and had added largely to the national debt of England. To relieve it from future embarrassments of this sort, the scheme was suggested of raising a revenue in America. The first act in this direction was the revival of the sugar act, in 1764. This placed a duty on sugar, molasses, coffee, wines, &c., of foreign production, and required that the proceeds of the tax should be paid into the treasury of England.

An act laying duties on some of these articles had existed since 1733, but had never been rigidly enforced. But now instructions were given to the officers of the customs to enforce the law rigidly. This action led to a discussion of the right of parliament to tax the colonies. James Otis wrote a pamphlet, in which he denied the right; and the House of Representatives of Massachusetts took the same side of the question. Boston instructed her representatives to use their exertions to procure a repeal of the act. The discussion of this question developed such bold views of independency as to alarm the British ministry, and the measures they adopted only tended to widen the breach.

On the 22d of March, the "Stamp Act" was passed, to go into effect on the first of the November following. This act required the people of the American Colonies, in all their legal and mercantile transactions, to use papers stamped with the Royal Seal. It was spiritedly opposed, however, by the Colonies, especially in Boston, where the inhabitants collected and assaulted the house of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, who was a warm friend of the act. In other places, the bells were tolled, and effigies of the stamp-officers were burnt. So strong was the excitement, that every stamp-officer throughout the country, unable to resist the public opinion, resigned his commission, and when the time arrived for the act to go into operation, there were neither stamped papers to be found, nor officers to execute the act.

The feeling in this town may be judged by the following proceedings of a meeting specially warned a few days before the act was to go into operation: —

At a meeting of the town, October 14th, 1765, called "To see what Instructions the Town will give to their Representative Relating to the stamp act & Excise act; or Concerning anything else as they shall Judge proper," &c., "the following Resolves and Instructions were considered and voted: Whereas some matters of great Importance to this Town & province In general are likely to Come under Consideration at the next sitting of our great and general Court; it is therefore thought proper at this Critical Juncture to draw up and give our representative Coll Saltonstall some special Instructions & resolves & to lodge a Copy of them In our Cleark's office:

As the time prefixed by act of parliment is neare when these much disputed & oppressive Stamped papers were required; when our navigation, Courts of Justice, &c may not be carryed on without them; & the offenders against said act be subjected to a Court of admiralty; unless it be repealed of which we have no certain account, it is resolved that we Esteem it our Indspencable duty to pay a due regard to all the Legall Injunctions of our King & parliment; & to duly resent all arbitrary Impositions; & to declare that we think the Stamp act to be unconstitutional; which with the Extensive power lately granted to Courts of admiralty are great Infringments upon our rights and priviledges; & that they were unjustly obtained by reason of wrong Information; and recommend it to our Representative to Exert himself to the utmost of his power for the Recovery or preservation of our Just liberties hoping that what has & may be done by the several Colonies In America will convince those who preside at the head of affairs in our mother Country that the Stamp act & such Exertions of power would not only ruin their Colonys but greatly affect and distress trade & the manufactories in England; & Influence them the Guardians of libertie to restraine the power of Courts of admiralty to proper bounds; & to promote & procure the repeale of said act as best for the nation in general; and there having been of late several riotous assemblies within this province that committed great violence on the persons & Estates of Sundry persons who were suffered to destroy & pillage houses, &c, which require large Damages to the unhappy sufferers; it is resolved that we beare Testimony against all such proceedings and Reccommend it to our Representative that an act or law of the Province be made requiring that all the like Damages by any such riotous assemblies then or hereafter shall be satisfied & paid agreeable to the laws of England by the

Town where permitted to be done & not by the province in general; It is also Resolved that our Representative use his Influence that there be no Excise on Tea Coffee &c for the future; Resolved that he use his Influence that Excise be taken off from the private Consumption of Liquers; and that it be not more then four pence on the Gallon to Licensed persons and that he use his Influence for taking of the oath Respecting other Governments money or bills of the other Governments."

There could be no mistaking the spirit and meaning of the American people in this matter, and the British government hastened to repeal the obnoxious act.

In July, 1766, Governor Wentworth, of New Hampshire, was appointed by the King "Surveyor General of all his Majesty's woods in North America," for the purpose of putting into execution the acts of parliament concerning the preservation of "the King's woods from trespass & waste." By these acts, all white pine trees from fifteen to thirty-six inches in diameter, were reserved for the royal navy, and any owner of land, before he commenced cutting, was under the necessity of employing a deputy surveyor to mark the trees upon his land, reserved for the use of the king, and if he neglected to have his land thus surveyed, either from inability to pay for such survey, or other cause, and proceeded to cut his timber, the same was forfeited to the king! In this way, whole mill-yards of lumber, got out by the settlers for building their houses, and barns, were often forfeited. Seizures were made in all parts of the Province, wherever the pine abounded; and mills had been erected. Samuel Blodget, of Goffstown, was appointed, in February, 1772, deputy surveyor for thirty-one towns in the province of New Hampshire, and the towns of Haverhill, Andover, Dracut, Chelmsford, and Ipswich, in the province of Massachusetts Bay.

The seizures and proceedings under this law of parliament, tended greatly to aggravate the people wherever such proceedings were had, and fostered the deep-seated feeling of discontent.

While the colonies were resting from the agitation into which they had been thrown by the past acts of the British parliament, that body was preparing new causes of excitement. England could not yet relinquish her scheme of raising a revenue in America, and besides passing an act laying duties on glass, painter's colors, tea, and paper, she passed another, asserting a right "to make laws of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever," and established a board of commissioners for the management of the customs in America.

The passage of these acts occasioned at first no violent outbreaks, like those which followed the stamp act, but rather a firm determination of the people to abstain from the use of the dutiable articles, and to encourage, by every means, domestic manufactures of every kind. But the strict execution of the revenue act, at length produced new mobs and riots in the seaport towns, which led the government to call to its support a naval and military force.

At this juncture, Samuel Adams drew up a remonstrance against the revenue act, which was read in the House of Representatives, and after being debated several days; "Seven times revised; every word weighed; every sentence considered;" it was adopted to be sent to the agent at Court, and to be published to the world as expressing the unchangeable opinion of Massachusetts. A proposition was then made and adopted, to lay these proceedings before the other colonies, that, "if they thought fit, they might join them," and a masterly circular, also draughted by Adams, was accepted. The latter circular reached England in April, (1768) and was at once denounced as of a "most dangerous and factious tendency," and the General Court was ordered to rescind their resolutions, upon pain of dissolution by the Governor. The message of the Governor, conveying this order, was read in the House once, and ordered to a second reading in the afternoon, when the clarion voice of Otis rang through the hall in a masterly speech of two hours in length, setting forth his objections to a compliance with the requisition.

For a full week the affair was in suspense. At length, the Governor demanded a definite answer. The House asked a recess, to consult their constituents: — it was refused. Upon this, the question was taken *viva voce*; and out of one hundred and nine votes cast, only seventeen were in the affirmative! In accordance with his instructions, the Governor thereupon dissolved the Court, and thus Massachusetts was without a legislature.

Soon after, (September 1st) a town meeting was called in this town, "to see if the town approves of the proceedings of the late House of Representatives in not Rescinding;" and on its being put to vote, "The thanks of the town were voted to the Gentlemen of the house of Representatives for their firmness in defending the liberties of the people."

On the 8th of September, information was received that a body of troops had been ordered to Boston, and, almost immediately, a town meeting, the great engine of those days, was summoned in Boston. This meeting recommended that a convention of committees from all the towns in the

province should be held at Faneuil Hall, to concert and advise such measures as the public peace and safety required. This proposition met a hearty response from the principal towns in the province.

In this town, at a meeting specially warned for that purpose, (September 20) "Samuel Bachellor was chosen as a Committee Man to Joyn in a Convention with a Committee of this province held in the Town of Boston on the twenty second day of September Instant; to consult advise and act; as his majesties service and the peace and safety of his subjects in this province may Require."

"As a principal Instruction to Mr Samuel Bacheller, voted that the king's troops should not be hindered their landing by force of arms;

"Further voted that Mr Bacheller be Directed in Every Constitutional way & manner Consistent with our Loyalty to our Gracious Sovereign; to oppose & prevent the Levying or Collecting of money from us not granted by our selves or our Legal Representatives."

The result of the convention was a calm enumeration of grievances, strong professions of loyalty, and a discountenancing of all tumultuous expressions of the feelings.

On the 23th of the same month, two regiments arrived in Boston, and landed about one thousand men without opposition. But both the General Court and the town of Boston refused to furnish the troops with quarters or supplies, although the Governor repeatedly applied to them for that purpose.

The continuance of the troops in Boston was a constant source of vexation to the people, as difficulties were often occurring between the inhabitants and the soldiers.

The merchants of Boston, after vainly endeavoring to have the duties on goods removed, renewed an obligation formerly made, to import no more goods, unless the revenue law should be repealed, and recommended that the inhabitants of the province should not purchase goods from those who violated the agreement.

The collision between the British troops and the inhabitants of Boston, on the 5th of March, 1770, was the signal for renewed manifestations of determined resistance to the odious laws; and a meeting of this town was soon after called, to consider what course should be pursued by the inhabitants in the critical emergency. The following is a copy of the whole record of the meeting:—

"At a Legall Town Meeting In Haverhill on April 9: 1770 warned by the Constable by virtue of a warrant received from the Selectmen for his so doing &c:

1stly To see if the Town will vote something respecting the importers or the Importing British Goods Contrary to the agreement of marchents In General or with respect to the late resolve about them :

2dly To see if the Town will vote something with respect to those who shall or may purchest such Goods or promote the bringing them Into this Town or what they will otherwise Resolve :

3dly To see if the Town will Chuse a Committee to see that all Salutory Resovles and agreements about such Goods be Duly observed and to give notice and Expose all such persons who shall violate them."

Mr. Nathaniel Walker was chosen Moderator.

" Voted, That we will by all Lawfull ways & means Exert ourselves and Expose to shame & Contempt all persons who shall offer to make sale of British Goods Imported Conterary to the agreement of marchents or that shall purchase such Goods In this Town or be aiding or assisting to bring them Into it, till a General Importation of such Goods shall take place and that all persons who shall violate or Counter act this vote and resolve shall be renderd Incapable of being Chosen to any office of profit or Honouer in this Town.

Voted, That Messrs Thomas West, Deac John Ayer, Capt William Greenleaf, Nathaniel Peaslee Sargent Esq, Nathaniel Walker, John Young, and James Carr, be a Committee to Inspect and see that all salutary resolves and agreements with respect to such Goods be Duly obsarved and to Give Notice & Expose all who shall violate them ; that their names may be remembered with Infamy ; and to have the Custety and keeping of all such goods stored dureing said Term.

Voted the thanks of this Town to the truly patriotic marchants who have acted with firm resolutions for preventing the Importation of British goods for the good of their Country tho much to their private loss and to the Town of Boston and the several Towns In this province & Else where which have by their spirited resolves prevented the sale of British Goods lately Imported In the principle Towns & places in the Colonies.

Voted that the proceedings of this meeting shall be published in one or more of the public news papers.

The Moderator dismissed the meeting."

Such thorough and determined opposition to the odious laws, induced parliament to modify them, as far as it could without relinquishing its right to legislate over the colonies. In this view, they rescinded the duties upon all articles except tea.

The General Court, which had heretofore met in Boston, was, by "a signification of the King's pleasure," convened at Cambridge, on the 15th

of March, 1770. This led to a long controversy between the Governor and the Legislature, the latter protesting against the removal, and well-nigh resolving not to proceed to the transaction of business unless they were removed to the ancient place of sitting—“at the town house in Boston.”

Such was the situation of affairs in September, when this town sent the following letter of instructions to its Representative:—

“Instructions given to Mr Bachellor, Representative
Sr.

Understanding that in times past you have voted against the General Assembly's proceeding to business as they are not allowed to meet in the Town of Boston we your Constituents think it our Duty to give our opinion relative to that Important matter; & Important it is considering the present state of our Interlal polity; the expiration of the laws for regulating fees; Choice of Jurymen; restraining Excessive usury; are some of the matters that need Imediate redress. The operation at this time of the law for Limitation of actions whereby much of our property lies wholly at the mercy of Debtors is a grievance that almost every person In the province is affected with; and finally an Exorbitant Tax laid on the province this year; will nearly render the misery of those of our fellow subjects who are now struggling with poverty Compleat; these things & many others might be mentioned; we think are more than a ballance for any little Inconvenientcy that may arise by means of the General Court setting out of Boston; wee know that some years past it was opinion of many that the Court setting In Boston was an Inconveniencie; and the General Court refusing still to Do Business will be detrimental only to the province; not to those by whose Influence it was removed; we therefore now Exercising our Constitusanel right advise and Intruet you to give your vote & use your whole Influence that the general Court should at their next sessions act upon the Business of the province; & afford us all Due release from the Grievences above mentioned as well as any others that may be: this we Expect from you as our Representative & wish you success in your Endeavours.*

to Mr Samuel Bachellor Representative for the Town of Haverhill,”

Slowly, but surely, the people of the colonies were led, or rather driven, toward open revolt. The embarrassments of the East India Company hastened the final struggle. Through mismanagement, and the continued

* The meeting at which these instructions were agreed upon, was held September 20, 1770.

refusal of America to import their teas, — which were thus thrown back upon them in great quantities, — they were on the verge of bankruptcy, and applied to parliament for relief.

A loan was granted them, accompanied by a bill empowering them to export teas direct from their own warehouses, upon their own account, and granting them a drawback of the whole duty payable in England on such teas as were exported to the British plantations in America. The colonial tax of three pence on the pound was still to be paid; nor would Lord North listen to the proposal that this should be abandoned. *America was not to be relieved from taxation.* The king was determined "to try the question in America," — and he did *try* it, but did not *decide* it.

Cargoes of the tea were sent to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. At the two former places, the consignees resigned their trust; but in Boston they declined doing so, whereupon the inhabitants, in public meeting, voted, "that the tea shall not be landed, that no duty shall be paid, and that it shall be sent back in the same bottom." Seven thousand persons were present at the meeting, and yet the vote was unanimous! The owner of one of the vessels containing the tea had already promised that it should not be landed, but should be returned, but had been refused a clearance. He was instructed "to protest against the custom house, and apply to the governor for his pass." But the Governor had stolen to his residence at Milton, and before the owner returned, darkness had settled upon the town. Within the dimly lighted walls of the "Old South," upon this cold December eve, the audience awaited his return. At a quarter before six he made his appearance, and reported that the Governor^o had refused him a pass. "We can do no more to save the country," said Samuel Adams; and a momentary silence ensued. The next instant a shout was heard at the door; the war-whoop sounded; and forty or fifty men, disguised as Indians, hurried along to the wharf, posted guards, boarded the ships, and in three hours' time three hundred and forty-two chests of tea had been broken and thrown overboard. So great was the stillness that the blows of the hatchets, as the chests were split open, was distinctly heard, and when the deed was done, every one retired and the town wore its accustomed quiet.

The die was now cast. It was impossible to recede. When, upon the news reaching England, it was proposed to pass conciliatory measures, Mansfield exclaimed, "The sword is drawn, and you must throw away the scabbard;" and besides voting, one hundred and eighty-two to forty-nine, against the repeal of the tax on tea, a bill was carried for "the better

^o Hutchinson.

regulating the government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay," which abrogated so much of the charter as gave to the legislature the election of the council; abolished town meetings, except for the choice of town officers, or on the special permission of the governor; conferred on the executive the appointment and removal of sheriffs at pleasure; and intrusted to the sheriffs the returning of juries; — a bill "for the impartial administration of justice," &c., which transferred the place of trial of magistrates, revenue officers, or soldiers indicted for murder, or other capital offences, to Nova-Scotia or Great Britain; — and a bill for legalising the quartering of troops in Boston. Governor Hutchinson was re-called, and Thomas Gage appointed in his stead, and four regiments were ordered to enforce submission. By his instructions, the governor was to close the port of Boston.

General Gage arrived at Boston on the 17th of May, (1774) and on the appointed day, (June 1st) as the clock struck twelve, the port was closed, and the courts were suspended, amid the solemn tolling of bells. The day was improved, not only in Massachusetts, but even in Virginia, and other colonies, in fasting and prayer.

Satisfied that the time had come when a union of the colonies was absolutely necessary, the House of Representatives, by a vote of one hundred and seventeen to twelve, decided that "a committee should be appointed to meet, as soon as may be, the committees that are or shall be appointed by the several colonies on this continent, to consult together upon the present state of the colonies." The committee was chosen, and funds provided for their expenses. This was on the 17th of June. On the 28th of July, notwithstanding the new law to the contrary, a town meeting was held in this town, the proceedings of which we think justify an insertion of the full record in this place.

"At a legal Town meeting held in Haverhill on July 28th 1774, warned by the Constable by virtue of a Warrant Received from the Selectmen for his so doing &c

1st For those to whom the Town is indebted, to bring in their Claims in order to be allowed

2dly To see what Money the Town will Vote to Raise to defray Town Charges the present Year

3dly To Recieve the Report of the Committee chosen to Reckon with the Town Treasurer

4thly In answer to two Petitions from the Inhabitants of this Town, To see if the Town will Vote that they will not Buy or purchase any Goods or Merchandise imported from Great Brittan, from and after the

Time agreed upon by the Colonies in general, or the General Congress to be held at Philadelphia and not to have any Commercial Intercourse with them that will not come into the nonimportation agreement—and to Chuse a committee of Inspection, to inspect and find out those Men or Women who shall expose to Sale, Tea, or any new imported Goods, contrary to the general agreement, and expose their Names to the Publick: that they may avoid them; and to act further on the affair as the Town shall Judge proper

5thly To Chuse a Committee of Correspondence, to Correspond or consult with the Committee of the Town of Boston, & other Towns in this Province relating to the distressed Situation the Province in general, & the Town of Boston in particular is brought into by the late Acts of the British Parliament—to consult (if possible) of Some Measures of Redress—and also to Draw up a Solemn Agreement for the Inhabitants of this Town to Sign (if they Judge it proper) that they will not buy or purchase any Goods or Merchandise of any Person, which shall be imported contrary to the general Agreement of the Colonies in General Congress—if the Town likes not that already drawn and also to act further on the whole Affair as the Town shall Judge proper

6thly To see if the Town will Vote to Draw Three Pounds Nineteen Shillings and Ten Pence out of the Town Treasury, for the use and benefit of the Committee to meet at the general Congress, in behalf of the Province—and Chuse a proper Person to draw said Money out of the Treasury, by order from the Selectmen, for the Purpose above said, and be accountable to the Town

7thly To see if the Town will vote to accept of some Person to serve as Constable in the Room of Mr Richard Ayer, if he desires it

8thly To see if the Town will vote to allow Mr John Sawyer liberty to erect a Scale for weighing of Hay in some convenient place in this Town. Mr Isaac Redington was chosen Moderator for said Meeting.

Voted, agreeable to the 2d Article, To Raise One hundred and Fifty Pounds to defray Town Charges the present year.

Voted, the 4th article in the affirmative—also Voted that Messrs Samuel Appleton, Samuel Souter, Thomas West, Samuel Merrill, Nathl Rolf, Thomas Cogswell, Doc William Bachellor, John Sawyer, and Nathaniel Walker Junior, be a Committee of Inspection

5th article voted in the affirmative—also the following Resolves

Whereas The Importation, Sale, or Consumption of East India Teas, is evidently counteracting the peaceable Measures which have been pursued, and are now pursuing, by the province in general, for the Relief of the

Town of Boston, the Restoration and Continuance of our Charter Rights — and whereas it is highly probable the approaching Congress of the Deputys from the respective Colonies, will come into a Determination that a general Plan for a nonimportation and nonexportation of Merchandize to and from Great Britain and Ireland; will be most effectual means for attaining this desirable End; and whereas it is necessary and becoming that every community should communicate their Sentiments and Resolutions to their Brethren at this alarming Crisis of Our public Affairs — Therefore

1. *Resolved*, That we will not import, purchase, vend or consume any East India Tea, until the Duty imposed upon Importation into the Colonies shall be taken off; & the port of Boston opened.

2. *Resolved*, That we will not purchase any kind of Merchandize of those persons, who shall (by importing, purchasing or vending Said Tea) act contrary to the sense of the above Resolutions.

3. *Resolved*, That we will abide by any Determination of the approaching Congress which shall be rational & generally adopted; in particular, if a nonimportation and nonexportation of Merchandize to and from Great Britain and Ireland, and a nonconsumation Agreement, shall be their Determination, we will both collectively and individually abide by the Same.

4. *Resolved*, That if a nonimportation and nonexportation of Merchandize to and from Great Britain and Ireland shall be agreed upon and generally adopted and any person should be so lost to every feeling of Humanity and Regard to posterity, as to counteract such Agreement: We will not purchase any kind of Merchandize of them; and will use our influence to deter others from doing the same.

5. *Resolved*, That there shall be a Committee of Correspondence for this Town to correspond with the Town of Boston, and other Towns in this province, and that this Committee shall consist of Five or more persons.

6. *Resolved*, That Samuel White Esq, Mr Isaac Redington, Mr Joseph Haynes, Mr Richard Ayer, Mr Jonathan Webster Junior, Mr Daniel Denison Rogers, & Mr Timothy Eaton, be a Committee for the above purpose, any Four of whom when met together to proceed on business.

7. *Resolved*, That there shall be a Committee of Inspection; to inspect into the Conduct and inform of those persons who shall counteract the above Resolutions.

8. *Resolved*, That A. B. & C. as Recorded under the 6th Resolve be a Committee for this purpose of Inspection or Correspondence.

9. *Resolved*, That the Committee of Correspondence be desired to transmit a Copy of these Resolutions to the Committee of Correspondence for the Town of Boston.

6th article in the Warning Voted in the affirmative, Nemine Contradicto also voted that Mr Jonathan Webster Jun Draw out said money & be accountable to the Town.

By Vote this Meeting is Adjourned to the 15th day of September next 1774 to this Place at 3 of the Clock afternoon."

Though there were then three companies of Militia in the town, the patriotic citizens determined to organize a fourth. The latter was formed as an "independent" company, and it being the first one in the town, and organized at a time when serious work was expected, *and counted on*, we feel justified in giving a somewhat extended notice of it.

We copy the following from the original paper : —

"Haverhill Sept, 5th. 1774.

We the Subscribers, sensible of the importance of a well regulated Military Discipline, do hereby covenant and engage, to form ourselves in to an Artillery Company at Haverhill according to the following Articles, —

First. That there shall be four officers (viz) a Capt, Lieut, Ensign and Sergeant, who is to act as Clerk, To be chosen by a majority of the Company when met together,

2d. That we will meet together (on the first and third Mondays of September, October and November following, and on the first and third Mondays of the six Summer months annually till the Company shall agree to dissolve the same) for the exercise of Arms and Evolutions, And that the role shall be called two hours before Sunset, and the Company shall be dismissed at Sun set N. B. If it be fowl weather the Day appointed, the Company shall meet the next fair Day —

3dly. Any one neglecting Due attendance shall be subject to a fine of eight Pence, for the use of the Company; unless on a reasonable Pica; excused by the Company,

4thly. That no new member be admitted without the vote of the Company,

5thly. That each member shall be Equiped with Arms, Accoutrements and Dress, according to Vote of Company,

6thly. That each member shall be supply'd with one Pound of Powder and Twenty Balls; to be reviewed twice a year; upon the Days of chusing

Officers, to commence the first Monday in October, from that time, the first Monday in May and August annually,

James Brickett,	James Duncan junr,	Edward Barnard,
William Greenleaf,	John Cook,	Benj. Mooers junr.,
Nathaniel Marsh,	John Wingate,	William Greenough,
Phineas Carleton,	Bailey Bartlett,	Daniel Kenrich,
Oliver Peabody,	Daniel Greenleaf,	David Marsh junr,
Joshua B. Osgood,	Paul Thomson,	Samuel Duncan,
Thomas Cogswell,	Eben. Greenough,	Enoch Marsh,
Israel Bartlet,	James Harrod,	Thomas West,
Jonathan Barker,	Samuel Greenleaf,	William Lamson,
Isaac ———,	Moses Clements junr,	John Sawyer,"
Daniel Appleton,	Timothy Eaton junr,	
Abraham Swett,	D W, D N Rogers,	

The first meeting of the subscribers was held the same day the agreement is dated, when James Brickett was chosen Captain, and Israel Bartlett Clerk, of the company. . They voted to meet twice each week for drill, — one hour before sunset. October 3d, the organization was completed, by the choice of Doctor James Brickett, Captain; Israel Bartlett, Lieutenant; Joshua B. Osgood, Ensign; and Edward Barnard, Clerk and Sargeant. November 12th, it was "Voted, that this company look upon themselves to be an Independent Corps; also upon their Officers to be equal in Rank and Command to Field Officers, of any Regiment in this County, and subject to the Command of no officer, but such as the Field Officers of the several Regiments are subject to." November 21st, the company "voted to use the exercise as ordered by His Majesty in the year 1764." Several of the members immediately sent to England for a copy of the "Norfolk Militia Book," which arrived in due time. The work cost them £6.15. The names of those who thus manifested their zeal in the pursuit of correct military knowledge, were "Bailey Bartlett, Israel Bartlett, Thos Cogswell, Nathl Marsh, Doctr Brickett, Nathl Walker."

The following extracts from the records of the company are worth preserving, (November 21, 1774.): —

"Voted, to meet Mondays, at 6 o'clk in the evening, precisely, for the above purpose. Voted, to pay a fine of 6d for non-appearance. Voted, that we meet once a week (Mondays) as Volunteers. Voted, that the Clerk provide candles for the use of the Company out of the fines. Voted, that N Saltonstall, D Marsh, J McHard, & John Sawyer be of this Company."

"Dec 5 1774. Met at Mr Osgood's Still house. Voted, that the Officers of this Company shall not assist in choosing the Field Officers of the Regiment."

"Jan 1775. Met at Mr West's Distill House. *Voted*, that any Member who shall leave the Company before he is discharged by the Commanding Officer, shall pay a fine of 4d.

"Feb. Met at Mr West's Distill House. *Voted*, that we hire Mr George Marsdin for 4 days at 12s a day, & that he be paid out of the fines.

"March 21, 1775. Met at Capt Greenleaf's. *Voted*, that Nathan Blodget and Heman Ladd be admitted as members of this Company. *Voted*, that we Dress in a Uniform consisting of a Blue Coat, turned up with Buff, and yellow plain Buttons, the Coat cut half way the thigh; and the Pockets a Slope. *Voted*, Also, that we have Buff, or Nankeen Waistcoat & Breeches, and White Stockings with half Boots or Gaiters. Also that the Hats be cooked alike. And that each one have a bright gun, Bayonet, & Steel Ramrod. *Voted* that the Company be equipd in this Uniform by the first Monday in May."^o

"May 1st. Made choice of Edw Barnard as Clerk. *Voted*, that William Greenleaf be Capt of this Company — that Israel Bartlett be Lieut. *Voted*, that N Marsh be Ensign of this Company. *Voted*, that the Clerk act as Sargeant."

"May 18th. Met on the Parade. *Voted*, that we meet on Mondays at sunrise for Exercise of Arms."

"May 24th. *Voted*, to meet Sun an hour high for the future."

The above is the last vote entered in the record book as that of the *Artillery* company. The first entry upon the next page is, "Records of the first Company in Haverhill." This is followed by the records of that company, and we find no subsequent allusion to the artillery company. In the records of the first company, we find the names of most of the previous members of the artillery company. These facts, with the absence of record or reliable information to the contrary, lead us to the conclusion that the heavy drafts and constant activity and readiness required of the militia, (to which, of course, every member of the artillery also belonged, by law,) led to the necessity of a disbandment of the latter. Whether it was afterward resuscitated, or not, we cannot say.†

On the 15th of September, (1774) the town again met, agreeably to the previous adjournment. The first vote passed, was to lay an additional

^o Though organised under the name of an *Artillery* Company, they never had any artillery, but were strictly a Company of Light Infantry.

† In 1788, there were "four companies in Haverhill." These four companies were divided into "two Bands," viz.: the Training, or "Train Band," and the "Alarm List." An allusion to "both bands," in the records of 1776, was probably the occasion of the statement by Mirick, that there were then but *two* companies in the town. He was evidently mistaken, as there had been for many years three companies of militia in the town.

town tax of one hundred pounds for the present year. They next "voted to buy 800 lbs powder with Balls and Flints answerable, as the Town's Stock." Then it was "voted that the Town Treasurer hire money to procure 600 lbs of powder towards the Town's Stock;" and, that nothing should be wanting in the time of need, a committee was chosen "to examine the stock of powder in the powder house." Having thus unequivocally committed the town to the cause of American liberty, the meeting adjourned to the 10th of October.

The proceedings at the adjournment were brief, but significant. The following was the only business done, or vote passed:—

"By Vote the Constables are to pay no more Money into the Province Treasury until further Orders from the Town—but that They pay it immediately to the Town Treasurer; and take his Security for the Same without Interest."

While the almost universal sentiment of the inhabitants of the town was that indicated by their proceedings at these meetings, there were a few among them who did not sympathize with them. They were "Loyalists,"—those who adhered to the cause of their sovereign,—and deprecated the revolutionary measures so vigorously carried on by the "Patriots;" and while they doubted their success, they hoped (and some of them labored also) for their defeat. Among the most prominent and influential of these loyalists in this town, were Colonel Richard Saltonstall and Rev. Moses Badger, (brother-in-law of the above). Colonel Saltonstall was a man who had always commanded the confidence and respect of his townsmen, and the esteem of all who knew him. At the early age of twenty-two years, he was commissioned as Colonel, and was in active service through the whole of the French War. But he was now a loyalist, and, as a consequence, there could be but little sympathy between him and the large majority of the people of the town. This wide difference of opinion, upon what was then a matter of the most vital importance, as may readily be supposed, gradually led to a feeling of coldness toward him, and finally to that of distrust, and uneasiness at his presence. Sometime not long after the July meeting above noticed, an incident occurred which is thus recorded by Mirick:—

"The principles of Col. Richard Saltonstall, who was a Tory, were very repugnant to the Whig party, which composed a majority of the voters. A party from the West Parish, and Salem, New-Hampshire, collected before his house, armed with clubs and other instruments, to mob him; but he made them rather ashamed of their conduct. He came to the door, and with much dignity, told them his reasons for pursuing a different

course from that which they had adopted. He ordered refreshments for them, and requested them to go to the tavern and call for entertainment at his expense. They accepted of his invitation, and huzzaced to his praise. He soon after went to England, to escape the resentment of the Whigs, where he was well received by his connexions."

This account is, in substance, taken from the "Sketch of Haverhill," a paper prepared and read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1816, by Leverett Saltonstall, Esq., and is, we think, a partial account of the affair.

It is a tradition in the family of Timothy Eaton, who was the leader of the party that called on Colonel Saltonstall, that the bold and unpatriotic words and actions of the latter, had become so obnoxious to the public opinion of the town, that a large party was made up to call on him, and notify him that such was the case. They went, and Mr. Eaton, leaving his company a short distance from the house, called the Colonel to the door, and informed him of his errand. Upon this, the Colonel "drew himself up" and exclaimed, "Is that any of *your* business?" Eaton quickly replied, "I'll let you know that it *is* my business," and was about retiring to his companions, when the Colonel, finding that the affair was like to terminate seriously, dropped his lofty air, held a parley, promised to give them no more cause for offence, and invited them all to refreshments at his expense.

After hearing several versions of this affair, and an examination of the town records, (which seem to have been altogether overlooked by Mirick) we have concluded that the facts were probably something like these:—

Colonel Saltonstall had, for years, and, indeed, from the beginning of the troubles between the colonies and the mother country, espoused the cause of the latter. When, in 1768, the House of Representatives were ordered to rescind the obnoxious resolutions already referred to, Colonel Saltonstall was a "rescinder;" and he was not a man to disguise his sentiments, or remain quiet and silent when such a contest was going on. Hence he became known as a "Tory"—an enemy to the patriot cause; "an enemy to his country." Timothy Eaton was a zealous patriot, and one of the leading ones in the town. He had just been chosen to the second place on the "Committee of Inspection," and was also one of those chosen to "show each man his proportion" of the one hundred pounds voted for the relief of Boston. He was also one of the town's "Committee of Correspondence." It is, therefore, quite reasonable to suppose, that he called on Colonel Saltonstall *officially*, taking with him a sufficient posse to prove to the Colonel that it was not a matter to be trifled with.

The recent action of the town, and this ominous visit convinced the latter that it was no longer safe or consistent for him to remain in the town, and he decided to leave. That the company were "treated" at his expense, is equally creditable to both parties. It was an earnest that they parted as personal friends, though divided as to the all-absorbing question before the colonies.

In further proof that neither rioters nor a "mob" managed the affairs of the patriots, in the times of which we write, we quote the following, from the original paper now in the archives of the State:—

"The Committee of Correspondence &c for Haverhill In Compliance with the orders & directions of this Great & General Court, took possession of the House and about an half acre of land in sd Haverhill belonging to Mr Moses Badger late fled from Boston with the Ministerial fleet and leased the same for the Term of one year, to Mr Isaac Redington of Haverhill for Seven Pound to be Paid at the years end.

Also took possession of the Personal Estate of Coll Richard Saltonstall of Haverhill who fled as aforesd, (after having carefully Examined Respecting his Real Estate and in the opinion of the Committee according to Law Justice & Equity he had not any as the House & land he lately occupied was Mortgaged for the full Value thereof)

Made an Inventory of the Same which is as Followeth viz:

(Here follows, in the original paper, a minute inventory of Colonel Saltonstall's personal estate.)

Haverhill June 4th 1776

by order of the Committee

Isaac Redington Chairman.

To the Honble James Warren Esq
Speaker of the Honble House of
Representatives Massachusetts
Bay."

Colonel Saltonstall left town soon after, and ere long embarked for England. The King granted him a pension, and he passed the remainder of his days in that country.

While these proceedings were being had in this town, the other towns in the colony, and in the other colonies, were by no means idle, or indifferent. At a meeting of the committees of correspondence of those towns which had such committees, held at Faneuil Hall, August 26th and 27th, it was resolved that a Provincial Congress was necessary, to counteract the systems of despotism. The next step in the progress of the cause, was the holding of county conventions of delegates from each town. That

of Essex was convened at Ipswich, on the 6th and 7th of September, 1774. The delegates from Haverhill were Samuel White, Esq., Mr. Jonathan Webster, Mr. Isaac Redington, Mr. Joseph Haynes. After passing a series of resolutions, the convention dissolved.

In the meantime, (September 5th) the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS assembled at Philadelphia, where the glowing eloquence of Patrick Henry recited the wrongs which the colonists had suffered, and for which redress was imperiously demanded. After a careful examination of the subject, and an interchange of thoughts, sentiments, and opinions, the Congress unanimously resolved "that from & after the first day of December next, there be no importation into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, of any goods, wares, or merchandise whatever, or from any other place of any such goods, wares, or merchandises, as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; and that no such goods, &c imported after the said first day of December next be used or purchased."

To return again to our own province. Writs had been issued convening the General Court at Salem,^o on the 5th of October; but before the time arrived, a proclamation from the Governor dissolved the assembly. For this step, the patriots were prepared; and, pursuant to the course which had already been agreed upon, after meeting at Salem on the appointed day, they resolved themselves into a PROVINCIAL CONGRESS. The delegates to the Congress from this town were Samuel White, Esq., and Mr. Joseph Haynes.† After organizing, the Congress adjourned to Concord, and, still later, to Cambridge.‡

This body took the government of the province into their own hands, and made vigorous preparations for the approaching contest. Towns were recommended to provide arms and ammunition, and to enlist and equip *minute-men*, who should hold themselves in readiness to march "on the shortest notice," and in the meantime "to use their utmost diligence to perfect themselves in military skill."

This town had already anticipated the Congress in the first recommendation, and it now lost no time in carrying out the others.

^o Whither it had been previously removed by instructions to the governor.

† The delegates from this town to the second and the third Provincial Congress, were Nathaniel Pease, Esq., and Jonathan Webster, Jr.

‡ The First Provincial Congress convened at Salem, October 7, 1774, and adjourned the same day. Convened at Concord, October 11th, and adjourned the 14th. Convened at Cambridge, October 17th, and adjourned the 20th. Convened at Cambridge, November 23d, and dissolved December 10th.

The Second Provincial Congress convened at Cambridge, February 1st, 1775, and adjourned the 16th. Convened at Concord, March 22d, and adjourned April 15th. Convened at Concord, April 22d, and immediately adjourned to Watertown, where it again convened the same day, and dissolved May 29th.

The Third Provincial Congress convened at Watertown, May 31st, 1775, and dissolved July 19th of the same year.

As soon as their delegates to the Provincial Congress returned home, and reported the doings of that body, a town meeting was immediately warned, for January 3d, 1775, to consider their recommendations. Among the matters specified in the warrant for this meeting were the following: —

“To agree on some measures for the carrying into execution the Recommendation of the grand Continental and Provincial Congresses; and all those matters and things which Respect us: o o o o

“To see what Encouragement the Town will give for the inlisting one Quarter part of the Military:

“To see what Money the Town will give the Poor unhappy Sufferers of the Town of Boston, occasioned by the oppressive Port Bill:

“To see what number of Arms the Town will vote to purchase for its own use:

“To see if the Town will chuse one or more meet Persons to attend the Provincial Congress in February next or sooner according to the Direction of the late Congress.”

Jonathan Webster, Jr., Samuel White, Esq., Samuel Merrill, Nathaniel P. Sargeant, and Doctor James Brickett were chosen to consider the first matter above mentioned and report at an adjourned meeting.

It being “put to vote to see if the town would give anything to the Minite Men,” it was decided in the affirmative, and Isaac Redington, Daniel Dennison Rogers, Deacon Joseph Kelly, and Deacon John Ayer, were added to the above committee, to whom the whole matter was referred.

It was then “voted to give unto the Poor of Boston one hundred pounds. Voted that the said hundred pounds be Raised by a Rate or an equal proportion — *but none are to be compelled to pay*”!

The following persons were chosen committees “to show each man his proportion”: — For the West Parish, Timothy Eaton, Stephen Webster, and Samuel Merrill; for the Old Parish, Nathaniel Bradley, Moses Clement, and Captain William Greenleaf; for the East Parish, John Ela, Ephraim Eliot, and Captain Daniel Johnson; for the North Parish, Deacon Benjamin Clements, and Isaac Snow.

The meeting adjourned to the 12th of the same month, at which time Nathaniel Peaslee Sargeant, and Jonathan Webster, Jr., were chosen delegates to the Provincial Congress. The town “voted to stand by, and firmly adhere to the Resolves of the Continental Congress;” and also “to sign a covenant similar to the Association agreed upon by the Continental Congress;” and Nathaniel Peaslee Sargeant, Esq., Joseph Haynes, and Jonathan Webster Jr., were chosen a committee “to draw a Covenant for the people to sign.”

Fifty pounds were voted to the Provincial Congress, for its use.

The vote in relation to the "Poor of Boston" was at this meeting reconsidered, and it was determined to raise money for them by voluntary subscription. Edward Ordway was added to the committee for that purpose, and the meeting then adjourned to the 30th of the same month.

January 30th, the town met according to adjournment. At this meeting, the vote "respecting the peoples signing a Covenant," was reconsidered, and it was then unanimously voted "to adhere strictly to & firmly to abide by the association of the Continental Congress." It was then

"Voted that there be a Committee consisting of 15 Persons (which are called the Committee of Inspection) to Inspect & Duly observe that the association of the Continental Congress is put into Execution. The Committee are as followeth: — Messrs Samuel Merrill, Timothy Eaton, Doctor William Bachellor, Richard Ayer, Isaac Redington, Thomas West, Doctor James Brickett, Thomas Cogswell, Enoch Marsh, James Sawyer, John Ela, Dea Ezra Chase, Dea Ebenezer Colby, Isaac Snow, Edward Ordway."

The committee chosen to consider the proposition relating to raising "Minute Men," made the following report: —

"We have carefully examined Our Numbers and find we ought to Raise Sixty three Men including three Commission officers to make up one Quarter part. We Recommend it to the Town to appoint three Commission officers to inlist, discipline, and upon occasion when called for in defence of the Province to march the same. We further Recommend it that the Minite Men be duly disciplined in Squads three half days in a Week, three hours in each half day, and that they be allowed for each half day, eight pence till ye middle of March next, and one shilling for each half day afterwards, until they are called out to actual service from home, or disbanded. That when they are called to leave home on actual service they shall Receive ye same wages & subsistence as Soldiers received the last war. That if they are called upon & do actually march from home in defence of the Province they shall be intituled to recieve three dollars each as a Bounty, either from the Town or Province. Further that the three chief officers recieve for each half Day two Shillings Each till ye middle of March next, & after that time three shillings each half Day till called upon to march from home, or are disbanded — when called upon to march to recieve such pay as shall be ordered by the Province. All inlistments to be for the Space of one year from this time, unless sooner disbanded by the Town or Province.

N. B. The words to march the same — meaneth Sixty Three men including Three officers, being one Quarter part of the Soldiers in Town."

(Signed) Jonathan Webster, per order."

The report and its recommendations were adopted.

After a long and tedious search for the names of these minute-men, we have been so fortunate as to find a list of them, which we give below. The paper of which the following is a copy, and several other exceedingly valuable documents relating to that period, were found among the town's old papers, and proved to be part of a parcel of loose papers found in an old bag which had been kicked about the assessors' room for years. They were finally carefully placed with the town's other papers, by R. G. Walker, Esq., and thus luckily preserved: —

"A Rol of the Minit Men in Capt James Sawyer's Company & the Number of days Each man Trained according to the Voat of the Town of Haverhill in March and Apirel 1775"

	Days		Days
James Sawyer Capt	5	Samuel gips Mitchel	
Timothy Johnson Lieut	5	Joshua Emory	6
Nathaniel Eaton Lieut	5	Jerimiah Stickney	5
Mitchel Whiticher Sargt	6	Joseph Webster	5
Moses Heselton Sargt	5	Isaiah Eaton	5
Wm Rolf Sargt	5	Ebenezer Grifen	4
Charles Davis Sargt	5	Samuel Emerson	5
Enock Eaton Coprel	4	John Silver	
Chas Sarjant Coprel	3	Seth Wymon	4
John Bery Coprel	6	Daniel Lord	5
Ruben Sargent	3	Nathan Peabody	5
Asa Currer	5	James Whiticker	4
Thomus Tiytor	5	Samuel Sanders	3
Daniel Colby	3	Henerey Springer	1
John Dow	6	Ebenezer Webster	
John Eaton	4	Johnthan Dusten	4
Joseph Emorson	5	Daniel Grifen	3
Simon Pieck	4	Moses Emorson Juner	4
Lewis George	5	John gipson	3
Wm Davis	2	Nathan Ayre	4
Mosse Emorson	5	James Townsend	4
Job gage	4	Stephen Runels	4
Peter Emorson	3	John Tiytor	3
Samuel George		James Wilson	
John Cheney	1	Daniel Remock	3
Nathaniel Cahaney		Stephen Jackson	3
Samuel Ealy	2	Joshua Moors	1
Wm Sawyer	4	Philip Bagley	4
James Smiley	5	Humpree Nicols	4
Joel Harrimen	5	Dudley Dusten	3
James Snow	5	Johnthan Lowger	4
Mark Emorson		attaset	
John Sanders	4	Mitchel Wittier Serjant	

At the annual meeting, March 14, thirty dollars were voted to procure a military instructor to "instruct the Militia in the Art Military" in the town. One week later, it was voted that the minute-men should train one whole day in each week, instead of three half days as previously voted. They were to be trained by "Mr George Marsden, whom we have hired," and to receive two shillings each for that day. We have now before us a return of the minute-men of this town, that "met at Andover for Exsise" on Thursday, the 18th of April. Forty-six men of Captain Sawyer's company were present. Little did they probably think that this was their last opportunity for preparatory "training," but so it proved. Before another week had passed, the fearful struggle had commenced.

We need not repeat the story of the morning of the immortal Nineteenth of April, 1775. The soil of Lexington and Concord was baptized with the blood of American Patriots, and the whole country was aroused. The news probably reached this town soon after noon of the same day, and the minute-men immediately left for the scene of action. *Before night, one hundred and five Haverhill men were "gone to ye Army."* This was almost one-half of the entire militia force of the town. Surely we can do no less than to place the names of these noble patriots on our pages.

The first of the following lists, is a roll of the "Minito Men" who marched upon the alarm.

"Cambridge April 26 1775

"A List of the men who Recieved their Part of the Billiting or Bounty Money from ye Town of Haverhill"

Capt James Sawyer,	Danl Colby,	Humphy Nichols,
Lt Tim'y Johnson,	Saml Sanders,	Thos Tyler,
Lt Nathl Eaton,	Saml Ela,	Josiah Fesenden,
Sargt Heseltine Moses,	John Gibson,	Joel Herrimn,
John Barry,	John Dow,	Nathan Peabody,
Simn Pike,	James Townsn,	Phillip Bagley,
Moses Emerson,	Saml Emerson,	Charles Davis,
Jonathn Duston,	Joseph Webster,	James Wilson,
Lewis George,	Jonathn Louger,	Chase Sargeant,
Job Gage	Danl Lord,	James Whitaker,
Isaiah Eaton,	Wm Sawyer,	Seth Wyman,
Joseph Emerson,	Asa Currier,	Ebenr Griffin,
John Sanders,	James Snow,	Peter Emerson,
Stephen Jackson,	Nathn Ayer,	Ruben Sargt,
James Smyley,	John Eaton,	Danl Griffin,
Joshua Emery,	Mitchal Whitier,	James Kimball,
Daniel Chincy,	Wm Davis,	Enoch Eaton.

Each of these men, (except Peter Emerson, who received 5s, and Enoch Eaton, who received 6s) received nine shillings Bounty money. It was paid them by Colonel Brickett, and the original list of the company

is in his hand-writing. June 26, 1776, the House of Representatives "Resolved, That there be allowed & paid out of the Public Treasury of this Colony, to the Selectmen of Haverhill, the sum of Fifty seven pounds four shillings and six pence in full of their account of provisions supplied the Army, at the time of Lexington fight, on the 19th of April 1775."

"A Muster Roll of the Company under the Command of Capt Daniel Hills in Colo Johnsons Regt of Militia which marched on ye alarm April 19th 1775, from ye Town of Haverhill to Cambridge under the Command of Lt Saml Clements."

Persons names	No. miles with horse	Am't at 1d 8 mls	No. days each man was in service	Wages due to each man	Total of Travel & Wages
1st Lt Saml Clements, ..	70	5s 10	6	£0.17.2	£1.3—
2 Lt Ebener Gage,	"	"	7	0.17.6	1.3.4
Serjt Jno Downing,	"	"	6	0.10.3	0.16.1
Serjt Jas Ayer,	"	"	6	0.10.3	0.16.1
Serjt Saml Middleton, ..	"	"	5	0.8.7	0.14.5
John Gage,	"	"	7	0.10.	0.15.10
Timothy George,	"	"	5	0.7.1	0.12.11
David Peasly,	"	"	7	0.10.	0.15.10
Moses Witcomb,	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Enoch Cordwill,	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Moses Herriman,	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Nathl Bodge,	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
James Walker, °	"	"	7	0.10.	0.15.10
James Kimball,	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Jacob Green,	"	"	4	0.5.8	0.11.6
Nehh Emerson,	"	"	7	0.10.	0.15.10
Wm Cooke,	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Ebenr Ballard,	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Wm Wingate,	"	"	7	0.10.	0.15.10
Cotton Kimball,	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Edward Shaw,	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Phillin Colby,	"	"	4	0.5.8	0.11.6
Jno Serjant,	"	"	5	0.7.1	0.12.11
Jno Perley,	"	"	4	0.5.8	0.11.6
			141	£11.1.5	£ 18.1.5

Saml Clements Lt

a true copy

G Tailer

° James Walker was of the sixth generation since the settlement of the town. During the war, he was an ensign in a company raised here, and afterward commanded a detachment of men who had charge of the boats belonging to one of the divisions which crossed the Delaware, on the night previous to the memorable battle of Trenton, December 25th, 1776. From 1818, until his death, Mr. Walker received a pension of twenty dollars a month. He died February 8th, 1846, in the ninety-eighth year of his age.

"A Muster Roll of the Company under ye Command of Capt Ebenezer Colby in Colo Johnsons Regt of Militia wch marchd on ye alarm April 19th 1775 from ye Town of Haverhill to Cambridge."

Persons names	No miles out & home 1 d 8 milr	Amt at 5s 10	No days each man was in service	Wages due to each man	Total of Travel & Wages
Capt Ebenr Colby,.....	70	5s 10	4	£0.17.½	£1.2.11½
Jos Greeley Sergt,.....	"	"	6	0.10.3	0.16.1
Josiah Brown do,.....	"	"	5	0.8.7	0.14.5
John Gutridge,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
John Page,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Barnard Sargent,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Jacob Ealey,.....	"	"	4	0.5.8	0.11.6
Samuel Page Jr,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Edmd Brown,.....	"	"	4	0.5.8	0.11.6
Jona Ealy,.....	"	"	4	0.5.8	0.11.6
Ephm Chase,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Leonard Chase,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Jona Hunkings,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Saml Bradbry,.....	"	"	4	0.5.8	0.11.6
Phinea Nichols,.....	"	"	4	0.5.8	0.11.6
Francis Carr,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Richd Currier,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Francis Morrill,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
David Mors,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Jos Robinson,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Abner Kimball,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Jos Hardy,.....	"	"	6	0.8.6	0.14.4
Ezra Chase,.....	"	"	2	0.2.10	0.8.8
Nehh Ordaway,.....	"	"	2	0.2.10	0.8.8
David George,.....	"	"	2	0.2.10	0.8.8
Saml Ayer Junr,.....	"	"	2	0.2.10	0.8.8
Saml Page,.....	"	"	2	0.2.10	0.8.8
Wm Bradbry,.....	"	"	2	0.2.10	0.8.8
Benja Ordaway,.....	"	"	2	0.2.10	0.8.8

Ebenr Colby Capt

£18.12.3½

a true copy

G Tailer

Essex Ss

Haverhill Jan'y 9th 1776

Then Capt Ebenr Colby within named, appeared & made Oath to ye truth of ye within accott by him subscribed

Before Me Saml Phillips Jus Peace

Examined and compared with the Original

Edwd Rawson

James Dix

Committee.

In addition to the three companies here given, we must add the name of "Col James Brickett," (afterward *General*) who probably hastened to Cambridge on the first alarm, as we find he was there on the 20th, and subsequently.

The following letter, from our delegates to the Provincial Congress, dated the next day after the battle at Lexington, is additional evidence that these men marched immediately on the alarm:—

"Haverhill April 20th 1775.

Sr

The late dreadful Fire in this town*—The great Number of our People gone to ye Army—The great Numbers from ye other Government that pass & repass thro this town, & ye disturbances in it, renders it absolutely necessary, as we apprehend, that we attend at home to preserve Order & quiet—

Therefore Sr, we hope you will excuse our nonattendance this Session—wishing that he that giveth wisdom liberally, would enlighten your Paths, we subscribe, Sr

your Humble Servts

Nathl Peaslee Sargeant

Jonat Webster."

The letter is directed to

"The President of ye Provincial
Congress,

now Sitting.

Ford by Isaac Merrill Esqr."

The letter was received, and read, on the afternoon of the 25th, and the following answer was returned to the Town Clerk of Haverhill:—

"Sir: The Congress have this day received a letter from Nathaniel Peaslee Sargeant Esq. and Jonathan Webster Esq. acquainting them that the late dreadful fire in Haverhill, together with some public disturbances in said town, make it necessary that they should be at home at this time. The Congress apprehend that the important business of the colonies requires that every town should be now represented; and therefore desire that if neither of those gentlemen can attend, others should be elected in their room, that the wisdom of the whole colony may be collected at our hour of need."

* On Sunday, 16th of April, a destructive fire broke out in Main Street, and all the west side of it from what is now Court Street to the corner, was burnt. Seventeen buildings were destroyed, including, a large brick tavern, owned by Mr. John White, the store of Deacon Joseph Dodge, the store of James Duncan, Esq., a house occupied by Mrs. Alley, and a distillery. The earth was parched with a drought, and everything was combustible. The meeting-house was frequently on fire, and there being but one engine, it was difficult to subdue the raging element.

At the opening of the third Congress, at Watertown, May 31st, Mr. Webster was present, and took an active part throughout the session. We notice that he was almost daily appointed on important committees.

In the midst of the excitement, anxiety, and distress, of the inhabitants of the town, consequent upon the news from Lexington and Concord, and the departure of so many men for the war, now actually begun, there occurred an event which added ten-fold to the distress of those left behind. Those who witnessed it, can never forget its scenes, and those who did not, can have but a faint idea from any description. We allude to what has been sometimes called "the Ipswich fright," and which happened something in this wise:—

On the afternoon of the second day, after the Lexington fight, a man named John Tracy, of Marblehead, came riding into town, bare-headed, and in the most excited manner cried out that the British were marching toward the town, and would be here by the next morning,—that they were "cutting and slashing all before them." The news spread like wild-fire, and being generally credited, it produced a complete and most distressing panic. As a large part of the militia of the town were gone to the scene of action, the terror and alarm, particularly among the women and children, exceeded the power of language to describe. Preparations were immediately made, by all who could command any means of transportation, to remove at once into the back country; and many who had neither horse nor oxen of their own, hastily collected a bundle of such necessaries as they could carry, and started on foot. The scene on the village common that night can scarce be imagined. Guards had been posted at a distance to give the alarm if the enemy should appear, and, with horses saddled, and ox-carts loaded, and the oxen yoked, the affrighted inhabitants repaired to the grounds around the meeting-house, and the "old town pump," and anxiously waited for daylight, to take up the line of march. Those who lived near by, put their children to bed undressed, and many who lived in more distant parts of the village, brought their children to the houses of those near the meeting-house. And so the night wore slowly away. With the morning, messengers were dispatched to learn more of the dreaded enemy. But no reliable information could be obtained, either of them, or as to the truth of the first report, and gradually the inhabitants became convinced that it was a false alarm, and one after another returned to their own dwellings with lighter hearts than they had left them only a few hours before.*

* In the East Parish, large numbers of the affrighted inhabitants flocked to the "hamlocks," on the east side of Kanosa Lake, where they remained concealed during the night.

The origin of the alarm is still involved in obscurity. By some it has been supposed to have been a regularly concocted scheme to alarm and distress the inhabitants, and it is remarkable that the same story, in substance, was *simultaneously* told, from Ipswich to Coos. In every place the "regulars" were but a few miles behind the messenger. How, or by whom, or with what motives, the report was first started, no one could ever tell. It lasted but one night, and in the morning all who were informed that the rumor was without foundation,

"Returned safe home, right glad to save
Their property from pillage;
And all agreed to blame the man,
Who first alarmed the village."

Two days after the Lexington fight, the Committee of Safety resolved that eight thousand men should be immediately inlisted out of the Massachusetts forces for seven months, unless sooner discharged. Two days later, the Provincial Congress, which had been hastily summoned to convene, resolved that it was necessary an army of thirty thousand men should be immediately raised, of which Massachusetts should furnish thirteen thousand, five hundred. These were afterward known as the "eight months service men."

A careful examination of the rolls, shows that at least *ninety-four* Haverhill men enlisted in this service. Below, we give their names, with the company and regiment to which each was attached:—

In Captain James Sawyer's company, in Colonel James Frye's regiment, were

James Sawyer, Captain	Francis Dinsmore	Priv't Simeon Pike ^o	Private
Timothy Johnson, Lieut	Joseph Emerson	" Joseph Page	"
Nathaniel Eaton, "	Joseph Emerson Jr	" Nathan Peabody	"
Nathan Ayer, Corporal	Peter Emerson	" Steven Runiels	"
Asa Currier	" Moses Emerson	" Wm Sawyer	"
Reuben Sargent	" James Emerson	" Edward Sawyer	"
Benjah Clement Fifer	Joshua Emery	" Lemuel Sanders	"
John Tyler Drummer	Samuel Ele	" John Sanders	"
Moses Hesseltine, Serjt	Isaiah Eaton	" James Snow	"
James Rix,	" John Eaton ^o	" Chase Sargent	"
Seth Wyman,	" Daniel Griffin	" Henry Springert†	"
Phillip Bailey, Private	Lewis George	" Thomas Tyler	"
Nathl Chiney	" Ebenezer Griffin	" James Townsend	"
Jonathan Dustan	" Lemuel Gage	" William Whittier	"
William Davis	" Job Gage	" James Whittier	"
Charles Davis	" James Kimball	" Caleb Young	"
John Dow	" Joshua Moors	" (Total 52)	
Dudley Duston	" James Pike Jr	"	

^o Killed at Bunker Hill, June 17th, 1775. † Enlisted in another company.

In Captain Moses McFarland's company, in Colonel John Nixon's regiment,

Moses McFarland, Capt Cornelius Mansise, Priv James Pecker, Private
 Bartholom'w Pecker, Cor Nathl McFarland " James Smiley "
 Mark Emerson, Fifer Phillip Nelson " Hugh Smiley "
 John Alley, Private David Powers " William Smiley "
 William Cook " David Peaslee " (Total 14)

In Captain Micajah Gleason's company, in Colonel Nixon's regiment,
 Wingate Bradley, Fifer Lemuel Bradley, Private Samuel Rand, Private
 James Kimball, Lieut Nathaniel Kimball " (Total 5)

In Captain ——— Gilman's company, in Colonel Nixon's regiment,
 David Bryant, Corporal William Case, Private Moses Emerson, Private
 Jonathan Nelson " Christopher Clement " Oliver Page "
 William Lamont, Ensign Daniel Dow " (Total 8)

In Captain ——— Butler's company, in Colonel Nixon's regiment,
 John White, Qr Master Matthew Jennerson Sergt
 (Total 2)

In Captain John Davis's company, in Colonel Frye's regiment,
 Peter Carlton, Private^o Ebenezer Carlton, Serjt†
 (Total 2)

In Captain ——— Wells' company, in Colonel Whitcomb's regiment,
 Jacob Castle, Private John Crout, Private
 (Total 2)

In Captain ——— Francis' company, in Colonel Mansfield's regiment,
 Nathaniel Duston, Private

In Captain ——— Cogswell's company, in Colonel Gerrish's regiment,
 Daniel Reamick, Corp David Nickels, Private John Whicher, Private
 Richard Hesseltime Priv Jonathan Peaslee " (Total 5)

In Captain ——— Poplin's company, in Colonel Gridley's regiment,
 Samuel Heath, Private

In Captain ——— Moore's company, in Colonel Nixon's regiment,
 Jacob Whittier, Private.

The above regiments were all stationed at Cambridge, — excepting that of Colonel Gerrish, which was stationed at Malden and Chelsea. The Haverhill men, with the two exceptions noted, were all (probably) enrolled previous to May 19, 1775, at which time nearly all the above named officers were commissioned.‡ The time of enlistment was until the following January.

^o Did not enlist until July 18th, and served two months and twenty-two days.

† Enlisted February 14th, and served six months and twenty-one days.

‡ The returns were sent to the Provincial Congress, June 10th. Colonel James Brickett received his commission as Lieutenant-Colonel, in Colonel James Frye's Essex Regiment, May 20th.

It is worthy of mention, that although but thirteen thousand, five hundred men were called for, fifteen thousand voluntarily enlisted before the middle of June.

The town of Harpswell having applied to the Provincial Congress for a supply of powder, (which was very scarce in the whole colony) that body requested (May 7) the selectmen of Haverhill to let them have one half-barrel, promising that it should be replaced as soon as it could be had. The supply of powder continuing to be very scanty, a committee was appointed to ascertain how much each town had, and report how much could be safely spared for the public service. They reported that in forty towns, a total of sixty-seven and three-fourths barrels could be spared. Of this amount, Haverhill furnished two barrels. Only ten towns in the whole colony were able to spare an equal amount each.

May 13th the Congress ordered post-riders to be immediately established between Cambridge and the principal towns in the province, and established post-offices in such towns. Simeon Greenough was appointed post-master at Haverhill.

On the 15th day of June, the Committee of Safety, after long deliberation, decided to occupy Bunker Hill, in Charlestown, and passed a secret vote to that effect. The next day, orders were issued to Colonel William Prescott, Colonel Bridge, and the Commandant of Colonel Fry's^o regiment, to be prepared for an expedition, with all their men fit for service, and one day's provision. The same order issued for one hundred and twenty of General Putnam's regiment, and Captain Gridley's company of artillery with two field-pieces.

Early in the evening of the 16th, Colonel Prescott was ordered with these troops to proceed immediately to Charlestown, take possession of Bunker Hill, and erect the necessary fortifications to defend it. Profound secrecy was to be observed. The troops were silently assembled on Cambridge Common, where a solemn prayer was offered up by Rev. President Langdon, of Harvard College. At dark, the detachment left the camp, and proceeded to Charlestown. Colonel Prescott led the way, dressed in a simple calico frock, with two sergeants, having dark-lanterns open only to the rear, about six paces in front of the troops. Profound mystery

^o Colonel Frye was at the time ill of the gout, and, moreover, president of a court martial. His regiment was, therefore, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel James Brickett. Colonel Prescott, under date "Camp at Cambridge Aug 25, 1775," writes to John Adams, at that time a Delegate to the Continental Congress:—

"On the 16th June, in the evening, I received orders to march to Breed's Hill in Charlestown, with a party of about one thousand men, consisting of three hundred of my own regiment, Colonel Bridge and Lieut. Brickett, with a detachment of theirs, and two hundred Connecticut forces commanded by Captain Knollton."—*Frederick's Siege of Boston*, 205.

hung over the object of the expedition until they crossed Charlestown neck and found wagons loaded with intrenching tools, fascines, gabions, and empty hogsheads.

But we cannot continue thus minute. Suffice it to say, that the tall, granite shaft on "Bunker's Height," has been erected to commemorate the events of that night and the day following —

"THE GLORIOUS SEVENTEENTH OF JUNE."

In that *first battle of the Revolution*, Haverhill was largely represented. In the detachment that marched to occupy the hill, on the evening of the 16th, were Lieutenant-Colonel Brickett, one; in Captain Davis's company, one; in Captain Sawyer's company, fifty-two — Total fifty-four. The whole number of the detachment was not above one thousand men, — thus giving this town one man in every twenty. Of those actually engaged in the battle, the most careful and reliable accounts give us the following:— Lieutenant-Colonel Brickett, one; in Captain Sawyer's company, fifty-two; in Captain Moses McFarland's company, fourteen; in Captain Gleason's company, five; in Captain Davis's company, one; in Captain Moor's company, one — total, seventy-four.*

The number of Americans engaged in the battle, fluctuated largely, and the crude state of the army organization at that time, render it impossible to say with precision how many men took part in the action; but after a long and patient examination, we give the above as very nearly the true number of Haverhill men who took part in the glorious struggle on that day.

Of the one hundred and fifteen killed, two were from this town — John Eaton and Simeon Pike — both in Captain Sawyer's company. This company evidently performed hard service on this occasion, as we find in the official list of those "who lost guns, &c., at the Battle of Bunker Hill," the names of *twenty-one* from this town, — most of whom were attached to this company.† They are as follows: —

Timothy Johnson,	William Sawyer,	Charles Davis,
Nathaniel Eaton,	John Jepson,	Joseph Emerson,
Nathan Ayer,	William Whittier,	Joseph Emerson Jr.,

* David How and Samuel Blodget, both of whom afterward became prominent citizens of this town, were also in the battle. Blodget was one of those who succeeded in arresting the retreat of the New Hampshire troops.

Colonel Scammon, of Saco, — who commanded a large regiment from Maine, on that day, — was at one time previous a resident of Haverhill. He was not, however, actually in the battle, although "ordered to go where the fighting was!"

† We also find in the Province Treasurer's book for 1776, — under the head of "Sundry payments made for Losses sustained at the Battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, paid in 1776," — the following: "June. Paid James Brickett & others £382, 6.1." We presume this was paid him for the persons above named.

Moses Emerson,
James Pike,
John Dow,
Seth Wyman,

Daniel Griffin,
James Townsend,
Joshua Moors,
John Cockle,

John Tyler,
Stephen Runniels,
Reuben Sargent,
Phillip Bagley.

Of the three hundred and five Americans wounded in the battle, we can, with certainty, name only one from this town, — Colonel Brickett. He was standing by the side of General Putnam, in the early part of the action when a cannon-ball struck the plank upon which they stood, knocking them both down. Colonel Brickett was wounded in the foot, and the shock was so great as to cause a "rupture," from which he suffered to the end of his life.*

Colonel Swett, in his account of the battle, says that General Warren, as he went on the hill, to fight as a volunteer, obtained his arms of Lieutenant-Colonel Brickett, "who came off with the first wounded."

The tune of the Americans, at Bunker Hill, was "Yankee Doodle." It was the first time of its use by them, but ever after it was their favorite, and has become our most popular national air.†

* James Fry's regiment, from Essex, was commissioned May 30. The latest return is dated May 26. James Brickett was lieutenant-colonel; Thomas Poor, major; Daniel Hardy, adjutant; Thomas Kittredge, surgeon. Colonel Fry did not go to Breed's Hill with his regiment on the evening of June 16, on account of indisposition; but was in the battle, behaved with spirit, and was active in urging on reinforcements. Lieutenant-Colonel Brickett, a physician, was wounded early in the action, and, with other surgeons, repaired to the north side of Bunker Hill, and remained in attendance on the wounded."—*Frothingham's Siege of Boston*.

† *Yankee Doodle*. — To every Yankee, be he boy or man, who can whistle, hum, or sing, the tune of *Yankee Doodle* is familiar; but the burlesque song which in old time so often accompanied it, is fast passing into oblivion, and we cannot resist the temptation to give it a place in these pages. The story runs, that the song was composed by a British officer of the Revolution, with a view to ridicule the Americans, who, by way of derision, were styled *Yankees*. The song has had many commentators and collators, and undergone many additions and alterations. The following version gives it as sung at least seventy years ago, and is probably as near the original as we can now expect to secure it:

"Father and I went down to camp,
Along with Captain Goodwin,
Where we see the men and boys
As thick as Hasty-pudding.

There was Captain Washington
Upon a *slapping* stallion
A giving orders to his men —
I *guess* there was a million.

And then the feathers on his hat,
They looked so *tarnal fine*,
I wanted *pockily* to get
To give to my *Jemima*.

And there they had a *swampin'* gun,
As large as log of maple,
On a *deuced* little cart —
A load for father's cattle;

And every time they fired it off,
It took a horn of powder,
It made a noise like father's gun,
Only a *nation* louder.

I went as near to it myself
As Jacob's *underpinnin*,

And father went as near again —
I thought the *deuce* was in him.

And there I see a little keg,
Its heads were made of leather —
They knocked upon't with little sticks
To call the folks together.

And there they'd *afe away like fun*,
And play on *cornstalk* fiddles
And some had *ribbons* red as blood,
All wound about their middles.

The troopers, too, would gallop up
And fire right in our faces;
They scar'd me almost half to death
To see them run such races.

Old uncle Sam, come there to change
Some pancakes and some onions,
For *lasses-cakes*, to carry home
To give his wife and young ones.

But I can't tell you half I see
They kept up such a smother;
So I took my hat off — made a bow,
And scamper'd home to mother."

At a town meeting, held September 19th, it was

"Voted to dismiss the old Committees of Correspondence; and of Safety, and Inspection; and to Chuse a new one in their Room."

"Voted that a Committee of Seven Men be chosen to Serve as a Committee of Correspondence, Safety and Inspection; and are as followeth Vis: Dea Jonathan Shephard, Mr Isaac Redington, Capt Richard Ayer, Lieut Samuel Merrill, Mr Ephraim Elliot, Lieut Isaac Snow, & Mr Thomas West."

At a meeting held December 11th, the town granted permisson for Nathaniel Marsh and Isaac Bartlett to establish a manufactory of saltpetre, and voted them fifty pounds, for their encouragement. But owing to the unsettled state of the times, it was discontinued.

From the records of the First Company in this town, we copy the following list of the names of those who were drafted from that company for the continental service in 1775 and 1776:—

Thomas Cogswell, Capt	Stephen Jackson,	Samuel Buck,
Samuel Kimball, 1st Lt	David Harris,	Daniel Tyler,
William Lemont, 2d Lt	Jonathan Harris,	William Greenleaf,
Samuel Walker, Ensign	Nehemiah Emerson,	David Moores,
John White, Qr Master	Jonathan Dustin, jr,	Stephen Runnels,
John Dow,	Samuel Middleton,	William Gage,
James Pecker,	Samuel Middleton, jr,	Daniel Remich,
Theodore Tyler,	William Baker,	Moses Keczar,
Joseph Whiting,	John Stickney,	Samuel Locount,
John Eaton,	John Tyler,	Joshua Moores,
Stephen Dustin,	Job Gage,	Joseph Wakefield,
Jonathan Sargent,	David Perley,	James Rix,
Moses Harriman,	John Downing,	John Whittier,
Nathan Ayer,	Nathaniel Kimball,	Bart Pecker,
James Townsend,	Samuel Woodman,	John Alley,
Joseph Johnson,	Ephraim Dodge,	Philip Bagley, private.

The following is a list of those who served six weeks at Roxbury. They were commanded by Captain Eaton, and marched in December, 1775:—

Obadiah Ayer,	John Whiting,	Moses Whittier,
Daniel Hill, jr,	Nehemiah Emerson, jr,	Samuel Greenleaf,
Moses Willcomb,	Peter Middleton,	
Amos Clement,	Ebenezer Ballard,	

The following is a list of those "who hired for two months in February 1776, at forty shillings L. M. pr man." Samuel Appleton, John Cogswell, jr., Isaac Redington, John Green, Theodore Tyler, Amos Gile, William Wingate. David Marsh, Enoch Marsh, and Nathaniel Marsh, were classed, and hired one man; James Duncan, Samuel Duncan, and Jonathan Barker, were classed, and hired one man; Israel Bartlett and Phineas Carlton, were classed, and hired one man.

It is impossible, at this time, to give the names of *all* who served in the army of the Revolution, from this town, or even to give the time, and place, and length of service, of all those whose names are still preserved. It frequently happened that, when an order came to draft soldiers, two, three, and four men were classed, and were obliged to hire one man to serve in their room. This was done so as to make each man bear an equal portion of the burthen.

At the annual meeting, March 19, 1776, the same persons that were elected in September, were re-chosen a "Committee of Correspondence, Safety, and Inspection."

April 23d, a meeting was held and Thomas West, Esq., was chosen a delegate to a county convention to be held at Ipswich, "to consider of some method by which they may obtain an equal representation, by every man's having a like voice in the election of the legislative body of this Colony."

On the 30th of the same month, a meeting was called, and Captain John Mulliken, and Captain Cornelius Mansise, were chosen "a committee to attend a meeting of Committees of Newbury, Newburyport, and Amesbury, May 2d, at the Town House in Newburyport, to fix on a plan of a Fort to be built on Plumb Island."

At a meeting, warned for the purpose, June 25, 1776, the town

"Voted, That if the Honorable Congress for the Safety of the United Colonies should Declare them Independant of the kingdom of Great Britain, this Town do engage *with their Lives and Fortunes* to support them in the Measure."

"Voted that the Town Treasurer is hereby impowered to hire money for to purchase Arms &c for the use of the Poor in this Town."^o

June 29th, the towns of Haverhill and Newbury applied to the General Assembly for arms and ammunition, "on account of their exposed situation." The Assembly decided that they were "unable to furnish them."[†]

On the same date last mentioned, (June 29, 1776,) an order arrived to raise forty-three men in this town. The quota of the First Company was eleven. They were destined for Ticonderoga, and marched July 23d. Their government pay was nine pounds per month. The following were furnished by the above company:—James Brickett, Brig. Gen.; Doct

^o They purchased twenty-five "Fire arms," at a cost of seventy-five shillings each. The money was borrowed for the purpose, of Nathaniel Marsh.

[†] Several British vessels had already been taken by privateers and brought into Newburyport; and but a few days before, a Newburyport privateer, (the *Yankee Hero*) after a sharp engagement, had struck to a British frigate.

75
93.75

John Wingate, Ens Abraham Sweat, James Rix, Nathan Ayer, Benja Moores, jr, John Gage, Peter Middleton, Dudley Duston, Joshua Mooers, James Clements, and Doct Pecker.

Rix was hired by Isaac Redington and Enoch Marsh; Ayer, by Deacon John Ayer; Benj Mooers, Jr., by Benj. Mooers and Samuel Souther; Gage by Daniel D. Rogers and Phineas Carleton; Middleton, by John Sawyer and Joseph Dodge; Duston, by Nathl. Marsh and Israel Bartlett; Joshua Mooers, by Isaac Osgood; Clements, by John White; and Pecker, by James Duncan.

On the 4th of July, the members of the Continental Congress affixed their names to the *Declaration of Independence*, and the last hope of reconciliation with the mother country expired. But, as we have seen, this town was prepared to do its part in the contest, and cheerfully and promptly furnished "men and material" whenever called upon. They had early put their hands to the plough, and during the whole of the long and bloody struggle, we do not find the least sign or symptom of an inclination to *look back*.

On the 18th of July, order was received from Colonel Whittier^o to draft every twenty-fifth man, destined for Ticonderoga. John Bailey, Thomas Hopkins, and Nathaniel Bodge, were drafted from the first company, and marched on the 17th of August. On the 25th of the same month, every twenty-fifth man was raised, and marched for Dorchester. On the 22d of September, an order was received to raise every fifth man in the town, under fifty years of age, destined for New York. The quota of the First Company was twelve, and it was so classed that three men were to furnish one soldier each, and twenty-two were to furnish nine. In December, another was received, to raise every fifth man in the town, to march to New Jersey. The quota of the First Company was again twelve; three of whom marched, and the others employed substitutes.

* The following letter, from Colonel Whittier, will be read with interest. Though excused from marching to the field, he appears to have continued in charge of the home regiment:—

"To the Honorable James Warren Esqr Speaker.—To be communicated to the Honorable House of Representatives at Watertown.

Gentlemen,—

I have very lately heard that I am appointed to the command of a Regiment for the Canada Expedition. I most sincerely & heartily thank the Honorable Court, for their repeated Honors done me—and should gladly have accepted the appointment—were it not, that my health of late, has so far failed me, that at present, I find myself unable to perform a Journey of Twenty Miles without much difficulty & delay,—notwithstanding my willingness to assist in this (as I apprehend) just & righteous Cause—yet the great & constant care of a Regiment, & the Fatigues of such a long Journey, render it impossible for me to accept the invitation, with honor to myself, & any Advantage to the Province,—therefore I trust, that the Honorable Court will justify me, in declining to accept, at present, of such an appointment. Gentlemen, That you may have all that wisdom which is profitable to direct,—& that the American Arms may be crowned with Victory & Success, is the Ardent Prayer of Your most humble & obedient Servant

JOHN WHITTIER.

Haverhill, July 1st, 1776."

From the index to the Muster Rolls of Colonel Nixon's regiment, in 1776, — which rolls are now in the possession of the Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Mass., — we copy the following names of those who were from this town. The whole number is 63 : —

Joseph Ayer, Sergt, in Capt Gilman's Company.

The following were all in the Company of Captain Moses McFarland, also of this town.

Joseph Wood, 1st Lieut	Peter Onshing,	Charles Pierce,
Dudley Tyler, 2d "	Noah Church,	Daniel Bemick,
Joniah Jones, Sergt	James Durgan,	Wm Serjeant,
Moses Porter, "	Moses Downing,	Wm Smith,
Jona Serjeant, "	Moses Dennis,	John Smith,
Eliph Cole, Corp	Reuben Donalds,	Jeremiah Stickney,
John Jipson, "	Joseph Elkins,	Joshua Stevens,
David Peaslee, "	Ebenezer Eastman,	James Smiley,
Wm Baker, Drummer,	Alpheus Ferren,	Paul Sawyer,
John Tyler, Fifer	Samuel Fulsom,	Benja Straw,
Benj Burnham, Servant	Oato Frost,*	Daniel Tyler,
William Ayer, Private	Grant Duncan,	Theodore Tyler,
James Brady,	Joseph Johnson,	Thomas Tyler,
Abiel Boynton,	Oato Kittredge,*	Francis Toll,
James Bradbury,	Benj Long,	John Taggart,
Saml Baker,	Thos McWhite,	Jona Woodman,
Christr Bartlett,	Hugh McDurmid,	Samuel Woodman,
Fortune Burneaux,	Joseph Morse,	James Watta,
George Craigo,	Samuel Marble,	John Wallace,
Wm Cook	Benj Pettengill,	Joshua Willett,
Stephen Clark,		

While our town was thus freely sending its sons to the field of strife, it was not neglectful of those other measures that required consideration, as a part of the great plan of American Independence, as may be seen by the following copy of the warrant for a town meeting, October 14, 1776 : —

" 1st To see if the Town will Vote to give their consent that the present House of Representatives of this State of the Massachusetts Bay in New England — Together with the Counsel, if they consent in One Body with the House and by equal Voice should consult; agree on; and Enact such a Constitution and Form of Government for this State as the said House of Representatives and Counsel as aforesaid, on the fullest and most mature Deliberation shall judge will most conduce to the Safety, Peace, and Happiness of this State, in all after Successions and Generations :

* Those to which a * is prefixed were probably "colored persons," of whom there was a large number in the army. The first blood drawn in the Revolution, was that of a negro — Crispus Attacks — at the Boston Massacre, on the 5th of March, 1770.

2dly and if Voted—Then—.

To see if the Town will Vote and direct that the same be made publick for the inspection, and perusal of the Inhabitants; before the Ratification thereof by the Assembly."

Upon both of these propositions the town voted affirmatively.

The Continental Congress having called for 88 battalions "to serve during the war, or for three years," fifteen of which were apportioned to Massachusetts, a resolve passed the Assembly January 26, 1777, making a requisition on the towns for "every seventh man of sixteen years old and upward, without any exceptions, save the people called Quakers."

The whole number who enlisted in this town, under this requisition, was sixty four. The following table, prepared from the "Regular Army List," gives the name, time of service, &c., of each man:—

Names	Bounty Reed	Regiment	Time of Service	Time of Enlistment	d. dead a. de- serted	Name of Com- manders or Cap- tains
Edmund Baker,.....	\$20	9th	mo. d 14-0	D W ^o		Dix
Timothy Betle,.....		"	9-18	3 yrs	d	Blanchard
Samuel Buck,.....		"	35-0	D W		2d Co
Jacob Buck,.....		"	47-0	"		" "
Fortune Burnix,.....		"	48-0	"		" "
Eliphalet Buck,.....		"	11-7	"	s	Cogswells
William Baker,.....		13	12-25	"		Page
Ebenr Ballard,.....	\$20	16	43-9	"		Lt Inf
William Case,.....		6th	12-24	3 yrs	d	Holden
Joseph Curriaur,.....	20	9	46-6	D W		Carr
Asa Currier,.....		"	11-24	"	d	Colos Co
James Clements,.....		11	33-0	3 yrs	Invalid	Greenleaf
James Clements Jr.		11	5-20	"	d	"
John Dow,.....	50	9	35-0	"		2d Co
Moses Downing,.....		"	36-0	"		" "
Charles Davis,.....		"	45-6	D W		Carr
William Davis,.....		"	36-0	3 yrs		"
John Davis,.....		"	0-0	"	s	"
Edward Deacon,.....		10	36-0	"		4th Co
John Gross,.....		2d	12-0	D W		Bradford
Samuel Gage,.....		11th	18-16	3 yrs	d	Greenleaf
Job Gage,.....		"	35-4	"	Invalid	"
William Greenleaf,....		13th	6-15	D W		Page
William Hermon,.....		9	4-17	3 yrs	d	2d Co
William Harriman Jr.,..		9	46-3	D W		"
William Harriman,.....		"	4-17	3 yrs	d	"

* During the war.

Name	County Resid	Regiment	Time of Service	Time of Enlistment	d. dead a. de- serted	Names of Com- manders or Cap- tains
Perley Haynes,.....		9	36-0	3 yrs		Blanchard
John Hutchins,.....		11	34-17	"		Greenleaf
John Hutchins,.....		13	15-16	"	d	Smart
John Jepson,.....		9	6-29	"	d	Blanchard
John Johnson,.....		11	34-7	D W		Greenleaf
Abner Kimball,.....		9	36-0	3 yrs		Carr
Moses Keener,.....		11	34-19	"		Greenleaf
Moses Lacount,.....		6	3-4	"	d	Daniels
Jonathan Langer,.....		9	36-0	"		Blanchard
John Lowgee,.....		11	19-27	"	d	Greenleaf
John (or Jona) Moore..	50	4	0-0	"		Pope
Nathaniel Moody,.....		9	36-0	"		2d Co
Bonja Moody,.....		9	36-0	3 yrs		2d Co
Samuel Middleton,.....	20	"	34-16	D W		" "
Humphrey Moody,.....		9	36-0	3 yrs		" "
Moses Morris,.....		13	36-12	"		Page
Daniel Parker,.....		8	31-0	D W		Wiley
Daniel Page,.....		9	36-0	3 yrs		Blanchard
Benjamin Pressey,.....		9	34-20	"		Wesson
Nathan Peabody,.....		11	35-10	"		Greenleaf
William Pecker,.....		"	36-0	"		"
Oliver Page,.....		"	9-10	"		"
David Peasley,.....		13	0-2	"	s	Page
Joseph Richards,.....		5	45-11	D W		Col Co
James Rix,.....		9	35-4	3 yrs		Blanchard
Jacob Row,.....		"	46-21	D W		2d Co
Samuel Remick,.....		"	14-20	"	d	" "
Elias Rowell,.....		9	12-20	3 yrs	dead	Blanchard
Samuel Renes,.....		13	35-13	"		Smart
William Smith,.....		9	43-21	D W		Blanchard
Samuel Staples,.....		"	12-0	3 yrs	d	"
John Straw Jun,.....		13	36-0	"		Page
John Straw,.....		"	17-11	"	d	"
John Thomas,.....		9	0-1	"	s	Blanchard
John Thomas,.....		"	48-0	D W		2d Co
John Willson,.....		9	0-1	3 yrs	s	Blanchard
Nicolas Wilcome,.....		"	37-14	D W		Carr
James Pecker,.....	(Hazens Regt)		30-23	"		Hughes

In the above list we find the names of five who *deserted*. As we must make a corresponding discount from our town's patriotic account, it is no small satisfaction to give their names. Here they are: — Eliphalet Buck,

John Davis, David Peasley, John Thomas, John Wilson! As Buck first served almost a year, perhaps we should have placed his name last on the list, instead of the first.

At the annual meeting (1777) "Brig Gen James Brickett, Capt Timothy Eaton, Dea Ezra Chase, Lt Isaac Snow, Capt John Mulliken, Capt Samuel Merrill, and Samuel Ayer," were chosen the Committee of Correspondence and Safety for the year.

In April, eleven men were drafted from this town, for two months service at Bristol, R. I. The following is a copy of their Pay Roll:—

"Pay Roll for Capt Johnson's^o Company in Coll Titcoms Regmt of Militia from the State of Massachusetts Bay to the State of Rhodisland for two months Service from their arrival in Providans in said State with addition of Days travil from their several homes to the place of Distination and Return home to the several towns where they came" &c.

Bristol, June 27, 1777.

		Service.					
James Crowel, Lieut.		2mo 10d	arrivd	Apl 27.	Dischd	June 27	1777
Benjamin Ordaway Sergt.		"	"	"	"	"	"
Caleb Cushen,		"	"	"	"	"	"
John Alley, Pr.		"	"	"	"	"	"
James Kimball,		"	"	"	"	"	"
Joshuay Kimball,	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Daniel Adams,	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
William Sergeant,	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Daniel Mitchal,	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Joseph Ayers,	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Jonathan Hayns,	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

May 21, 1777, a meeting was held, principally "To see if the Town will Vote to instruct their Representatives to form a new Constitution of Government in Conjunction with the Counsel—and when so formed to be laid before the Town for their Inspection and Approbation or Disapprobation, or alteration before it be Enacted."

2dly "To Chuse a Committee to see that the Regulating Act shall be carried into Execution, agreeable to an Act of the General Assembly."

Upon the first article the town voted "not to instruct;" and upon the second, voted to choose a committee of three, to see the Act carried into execution. At an adjourned meeting, June 2d, "Brig Gen James Brickett, Capt James Sawyer, and Dea Jonathan Shepard," were chosen such committee.

^o Captain Samuel Johnson, of Andover.

In July, another draft was made, for men to reinforce the northern army till January 1st, 1778. The First Company furnished eleven.

In September, a volunteer detachment turned out to reinforce the northern army. Through the kindness of John Bartlett, Esq., a son of Lieutenant Israel Bartlett, we are enabled to give the names of these volunteers, and also a copy of the Journal kept by the latter, during the time:—

"Sept. 1777. Recd an invitation for half this Regt to turn out as volunteers to reinforce the Northern Army for 30 days after their arrival at head quarters: the following turned out of this company:

Capt. Nathl Marsh,	Moses Emerson,	Thomas Hanes,
Lieut. Israel Bartlett,	Ebenezer Greenough,	Cotton Kimball,
James Ayres,	John Gage,	Dudley Ladd Jr,
Benj. Moors Jr,	Jacob George,	Saml Souther,
Nathan Ayers,	David Green,	John Souther,
Joan Baker,	James Haseltine,	Jeremh Stickney,
Edmund Chase,	Saml Walker,	Ebenezer Duston.

Benj. Baker recd half a hire from David Marsh. Ebenezer Porter paid by Charles Haddock. Joshua Moors paid by Ebenezer Wood. Joan Harris paid by Phineas Carlton and Enoch Marsh. Mark Withan by Simon Mannies. John Clark recd 8 Dollars of J. Reddington. Enoch Caldwell paid 20 Dollars. James Pell paid 20 Dollars. Marched 4th. Oct. 1777. Was absent 5 weeks. hire £6.0.0. Gen. Bricket turned out at the same time."

"Journal

of a march in the year 1777, when the British Army Surrendered to General Gates; kept by Israel Bartlett.

Oct. 4 Marched, put up at Osgood's in Andover.

5 Marched and put up at Bedford.

6 Breakfasted at Concord; Dined at Stow; poor house, but fine people — Put up at Bolton, good house —

7 Breakfasted at Lancaster — Dined at Holton — Put up at Rutland at one Bartlet's, a very good farm.

8 Breakfasted at Oakham — Passed through Newbraitree and dined at Hardwick — Put up at Hinse's in Greenwich —

9 Breakfasted at Amherst — passed through Hadley and put up at Northampton.

10 Dined at Chesterfield — Stop'd and baited at Partridgefield — Put up at Worthington —

11 Put up at Pittsfield —

- 12 Marched to Hancock — Stopd & viewed the spring & dined at Philipstown, put up at ditto —
- 13 Settled all accounts in Company — Arrived at the New City of Albany & passed over the North River, and put up at Half Moon —
- 14 Marched and arrived at the Old Camp at Stillwater.
- 15 Marched and arrived at Head Quarters at 12 O'Clock. Encamped in the Woods — Good House & Grand fire.
- 16 A fine morning, opens with expectations of seeing Mr. Burgoyne & all his troops in our possession this day — 10 O'Clock, we were alarmed and ordered to turn out, for that Gen. Burgoyne had refused to sign the capitulation, and hostilities would Commence in one hour. Defered till 12 O'Clock — Sunset; news again, that the articles are signed — General orders, that men lay on their arms, for the General suspects treachery.
- 17 Parade at 10 O'Clock to receive Gen. Burgoyne, who accordingly arrived at 12 O'Clock, and the troops followed at three O'Clock. we are ordered to draw three days provision, and march in order to take charge of the prisoners, who are to march to Boston.
- 18 Marched to Stillwater — This day very fatiguing. Encamped this night.
- 19 Marched this day at 1 O'Clock 8 miles and encamped in the woods.
- 20 Marched this morning & gained 10 miles, which brought us to the front of the army at a place called St. Croix.
- 21 Marched 18 miles to Williamstown, through a severe snow storm, put up at a very good house —
- 22 Halted all day at Williamstown to draw provisions —
- 23 Marched at 10 O'Clock towards Lanesborough — The army in two divisions; we in the rear of the first division.
- 24 Marched 7 miles to Pittsfield and halted at good quarters —
- 25 Saturday. We marched to Worthington 20 miles, through exceedingly bad mountains and deep mud — We marched late, but got good quarters —
- 26 Sunday we rested — The people very religious. We are to march tomorrow to Northampton.
- 27 Monday. We marched to Northampton to day, 18 miles, through the rain & mud, very fatguining. Arrived at 2 O'Clock — Three men left came up to day and tell us that the people, we thought religious, deny our paying reckoning.

- 28 Tuesday. We rested at Hampton all day on account of a very severe storm of rain and snow.
- 29 Wednesday. We are ordered to advance in front. We marched and crossed the river at 10 o'clock, and advanced four miles from Hadley: place called Amherst.
- 30 Thursday. We marched thro' Belcher and Ware and put up at Weston, about 20 miles from Amherst.
- 31 Friday We marched $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and halted in front of the British Army—Breakfasted & marched to the furthest part of Brookfield 11 miles from our last quarters. Were forced to march 4 or 5 miles further than we intended, for want of quarters.
- Nov. 1 Saturday—We marched $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to Spencer & halted all the rest of day to draw provisions; the commissary being absent, could not draw
- 2 We drew one day's provision and marched thro' Leicester and halted at Worcester, 14 miles from our last quarters.
- 3 Monday. We marched to Northborough and halted 10 miles from our last quarters.
- 4 Tuesday—Marched from Northborough to Marlborough, 8 miles and halted—we are mustered and obliged to march, occasioned by the Artillery's advancing beyond the lines set—we marched 5 miles and halted at Sudbury.
- 5 Wedny. Marched to Watertown, 5 miles from Cambridge.
- 6 Thursday we marched to prospect hill in Charlestown, through rain and mud, the worst day's march we have had; we expected to continue till rested, and draw provisions, as we had none since we left Brookfield: but on our return from Prospect Hill a Maj. of Brigade overtook us and dismissed us, with the General's thanks; but the provision would have done us more good, as little could be procured at Cambridge."

The closing paragraph of the Journal affords us an opportunity to say that General Brickett, who commanded the escort of the prisoners, seriously embarrassed himself by advancing large sums of money from his private purse, and contracting obligations to furnish necessary provisions and accommodations for the troops, during this long and tedious march. *For all this, he never received one penny!* Massachusetts claimed that it belonged to the United States government to reimburse him; and Congress was pleased to refuse to allow him the claim, on the ground that General Brickett was not an United States officer, but under commission from Massachusetts! Between the two, the General's just claim fell to the

ground, and to this day has never been paid. When Congress afterward pensioned the soldiers of the Revolution, General Brickett was urged to secure one for himself, as he could readily do so, but he indignantly refused to accept a pension, while his higher claim was ignored by the government.

The following, copied from the original in the State Archives, are well worth a place in our pages: —

“To the Honorable General Court Now sitting in Boston.

The petition of B. G. James Brickett Humbly Sheweth, That whereas in obedience to a Resolve of the Genl Court in the year 1777, for Reinforcing the Northern Army, then under the command of General Gates, I marched with a number of Men, and joined said army, soon after which the articles of Convention between Mr General Gates and Gen Burgoyne were Exchanged, after which by the General's Direction, I received orders to take ye command of the Escort for Gen Burgoyne's troops from Saratoga to Boston, which Business was compleated as Expeditious as possible, for which Services I have not Recieved any Recompense. Notwithstanding the application made to Generals Heath & Glover — who I considered as the proper persons to apply to — wherefore this is to beg you would consider of the affair & Grant such compensation, as you in your wisdom shall think proper for said services, & the Necessary Extra Expenses I was at — and your petitioner as in Duty Bound will ever pray

Dated Haverhill

James Brickett

March 27th 1780

“I do hereby Certify; That Brigadier General James Brickett, was appointed to ye Command of about five Hundred Militia, Detached from General Gates army, to Guard a Division of ye Convention Troops, from Saratoga to Cambridge, in Octobr 1777 — which Charge he executed with Judgment and Prudence

Jno. Glover

B General

Marblehead 29 Apl 1780

“State of Massachusetts Bay

In the House of Representatives

May — 1780.

On the Petition of Brigr James Brickett

Resolved that Brigr James Brickett be allowed for his Services in Reinforcing the Northern Army under the Command of Major Genl Gates; that he be permitted to make up a Rolle as Brigr and Exhibit the same to the Committee on Rolles for allowance; & the Trear is hereby ordered to charge the same to the Continent.”

General Brickett afterward wrote that he would make up his Rolls as soon as he received returns of "parts of one or two Regiments." This is as far as we can trace the matter. For reasons above given, he finally failed to receive his well-earned wages.

But to return to our town. October 6, 1777, a meeting was warned,
 "1st. To see if the Town will carry into Execution a late Act of the Great and Genl Court, intituled an Act for the Securing this and the Other United States against the Danger to which they are Exposed by the internal Enemies thereof:

2dy To see if the Town will chuse some One Person to collect Evidence against those Persons that may be deemed Enimical to their Country, as directed by the said Act:

3dy. To see if the Town will chuse a Committee to Supply the Soldiers Families that are gone into the Continental Service, agreeable to a Resolve of the General Court of this State."

Upon the first and second articles, the vote was in the affirmative; and Thomas West was chosen to collect evidence, agreeably to the second article.

At an adjourned meeting, held October 20th, a committee of ten were chosen "to supply the families of such non-commissioned & private soldiers as are in the Continental Service." The following are the names of the committee: — Thomas West, Deacon Moses Clement, Edward Ordway, John Mitchell, John Smith, Jr., Jonathan Webster, Esq., Mr. Isaac Redington, Captain Timothy Eaton, Deacon Ezra Chase, and Lieutenant Isaac Snow.

January 12, 1778, a town meeting was called,

"To see if the Town will take into consideration the Proposals of the Continental Congress in entering into a Confederation, and perpetual Union between the States, and to give Instructions to their Representatives how to act for or against it."

The following named persons were chosen a committee "to peruse the Articles of Confederation, and give their Representative Instructions Respecting them": — Hon. Judge N. P. Sargeant, Brigadier-General James Brickett, Major Enoch Bartlett, Samuel White, Esq., Mr. Joseph Haynes, Captain Samuel Merrill, Mr. James Duncan, Doctor William Bachellor, Deacon Ezra Chase. The meeting then adjourned for one week.

January 19th, the inhabitants of the town met, according to adjournment, and passed the following: —

"Voted, That a Union of the Thirteen independant American States is a Matter of the greatest importance for the defence and Protection of this and the Other American States:

Voted, That the Confederation, or Plan of Union formed by the Honble Congress, and laid before the Town, is in general very agreeable. Though in some respects we could wish it altered:

Voted, as the Opinion of this Town, that the Larger States in this Confederacy Ought to have votes in Congress, in, or near the proportion of the Taxes they pay for the Common Defence. — that it appears necessary some Plan or Mode should be added to the Confederation for compelling such States as shall be defective in Raising Men, or Money for the common Defense, to perform their Duty: Lastly

Voted, that our Representative be Instructed, in Conjunction with the Other Representatives of this State, to Authorize our Delegates, or any Number of them in Congress, to confirm and establish this Confederation, or Plan of Union, with such alterations and Amendments as the General Assembly may think necessary.

The Moderator dismissed the meeting."

At the annual March meeting, the following were chosen the Committee of Correspondence and Safety:—Brigadier-General James Brickett, Captain Timothy Eaton, Deacon Ezra Chase, Isaac Snow, John Sawyer, Captain Samuel Merrill, Joseph Pike.

The renunciation of allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, rendered it necessary for all the American colonies to establish, as soon as practicable, independent governments, for the protection and security of the people and their interests. The growing necessity of a Constitution, or Form of Government, for Massachusetts, led the General Court, in June, 1776, to appoint a committee to prepare one. But as the opinion was generally expressed that the subject should originate with the people, the business was not proceeded in by the committee. The House contented itself with recommending the people to choose their deputies to the next General Court with power to adopt a form of government for the State. This recommendation was renewed more formally the next spring. In the interval, a convention of the Committees of Safety of a majority of the towns in the State, met at Worcester, and voted that it would be improper for the existing General Court to form a constitution, but that a convention of delegates from all the towns should be called for that special purpose.

A majority of the towns having chosen their representatives with a special, or, at least, implied consent, to form a constitution, the General Court at their next session appointed a committee for that purpose. The result was, that a draught was agreed upon, approved by a convention, and submitted to the people.

April 13, 1778, a town meeting was held

" 1st To see if the Town will vote to accept of the New Form of Government lately proposed by the Convention of this State :

2d. To see if the town will vote to joyn in a Convention of this County, to be held at Ipswych on the 15th Instant, relating to the new Form of Government, proposed by the Convention of this State, as recommended to us from the Select Men of Newbury Port "

" Voted, not to act on the 1st Article. Voted, not to comply with the Request of the Select Men of Newbury Port &c."

The meeting was then dismissed.

May 21st, another meeting was called to consider the subject. The warrant for the meeting directed "all Male Inhabitants being free and Twenty one Years of Age To take into their deliberate Consideration the Constitution and Form of Government agreed upon by the Convention of this State on February last ; to see if the town will approve of the same."

The Clerk records : — " At the Request of the Moderator, I read the Form of Government proposed. After some talk, & without any Vote being tried, the meeting was adjourned to Monday next."

Monday, June 8th, the town again met, and proceeded to vote upon the proposed Constitution. The result was *seven* votes for, and *sixty-three* against it. The record gives us no clue to the reasons for this strong opposition to the new Constitution, but we find that throughout the State the general objections against it were, that it contained no declaration of rights ; that the principle of representation was unequal ; and that the powers and duties of the legislators and rulers were not clearly and accurately defined. Besides, the opinion was still general, that such a Constitution should be framed by a convention of delegates, chosen directly by the people. The vote in the State stood ten thousand against the constitution, and two thousand in its favor ; and one hundred and twenty towns made no return.

While the people were thus laboring to establish a proper form of state government for themselves, they were at the same time making the most vigorous efforts to establish their national independence, as may be seen from what follows : —

May 5th, a meeting was held to see what the town would do about "procuring fifteen soldiers for the Continental Army, which this Town is obliged to Raise."

After voting that they would raise the men required, it was

" Voted that the Militia Officers of the Companies of this Town be empowered to procure by hiring, sd soldiers, on the most reasonable Terms, at the Charge of the Town :

Voted that the Town Treasurer be directed to hire & furnish sd Officers with such sums of Money as may be necessary for raising sd Men: The Officers to be accountable to the Town, for such sums of Money as they shall receive."

The meeting then adjourned for one week. At the adjourned meeting, the treasurer was directed "to hire Money as soon as possible, to enable the Officers to raise Soldiers"; —and the militia officers were ordered "to raise Men for the Militia Service, by hiring, at the Charge of the Town."

On the succeeding page of the town records, we find a list of the names of those of whom the treasurer borrowed money. It is as follows: —

"According to a Vote of the Town in the last Meeting, held on May 5, 1778, I borrowed Money of the following Persons, viz.

May 13	Rev'd Gyles Merrill	£ 75	Isaac Redington	18
	Capt Jas Sawyer	100	Langley Kelley	90
	Jno Farnham	200	13 Edmd Kimball	30
	Israel Bartlett	30	16 David Brown	30
14	Daniel Lord	25	Anthony Chase	100
15	Saml Jackman	45	Austin George	39
	Willm Morsø	68.2	Capt Jas Sawyer	60
	Gideon George	180	William Appleton	30
18	James Whittaker	30	Caleb Cushing	150
19	Mrs Anna Cushing	57.7	July 2 Mehitable Carleton	36
	Charles Haddock	100	4 Lieut Israel Bartlett	30
21	Thomas Whittaker	15	13 Capt Daniel Eames	15
	Capt Timo Johnson	90	Capt Nat Marsh	30
23	Thomas Sargent	30	Capt Daniel Johnson	58.18
	Saml Jackman	9	James Ayer	30
	Joel Harriman	30	Joseph Snow	19
25	Timothy Ayer	60	Simon Hariman	10
36	Ephraim Brown	40	Jno Whittier Jur	5
	Samuel Eames Jur	70	Israel Bartlett	35
28	James Kimball	60	14 Ebenr Gage	36
	Benja Baker	60	Joseph Youring	90
29	Frances Smiley	70	18 Jona Sawyer	40
	Jno Baker	70	31 Ebenr Gage Jur	15
30	Rachel Duston	12.12	Aug 5 Bradley Mitchell	18
June 1	Caleb Cushing	20	10 Abigail Smiley	48.14
2	David Smiley	55	Sept 11 Dea Jo Kelley	15
3	Deacon Ezra Chase	50	24 Joseph Hall	11.8
8	Samuel Ela	90	Daniel Carleton	21
10	Levi Senter	62	Stephen Carleton	30
	Zebadiah Barker	30	John Emery	30
	Capt Saml Merrill	19.16	Deacon Jos Kelley	20
	James Pecker	30	26 John Ayer	21

30	Dea Ezra Chase-	54	Apl 17	Jno Brickett-	60
Nov 23	Willm Chase -	30	May 31	Widow Phebe Hatch-	628
Dec 1	Jona Simmons .	30	June 12	Langley Kelley .	90
31	Moses Simmons .	12	July 12	John Gross .	282
1779.				Edmnd Baker .	150
Jan 12	Capt Daniel Johnson-	16.4		Nat Soley .	282
14	William Chase.	30		Eben Bradbury.	45
Mar 16	Widow Sarah Ayer-	129.6 .		Mary Baker -	12
April 9	Francis Smiley.	30.10	13	Daniel Quimby-	200
	David Smiley .	15			
May 1	Benja Baker.	75 .			£4963.5
May 13	Nehemiah Simmons .	51			

The drafts upon the town this year were by no means light. In March, two men were detached to serve as guards at Cambridge. In April, an order was received to raise fifteen men in this town, to complete the fifteen battalions which were raising for the continental army. The town voted a bounty of one hundred pounds to each soldier who would enlist. They were to serve nine months after their arrival at Fishkill. Those who were detached from the First Company, were Nathan Kimball, Thomas Sargent, William Appleton, Moses Harriman, Gilbert Bond, Ephraim H. Brown, Samuel Eames, Francis Smiley, Jeremiahs Davis, Edward Baker, jr., and Daniel Quimby. In May, another order was received for a detachment of ten men, to serve eight months after their arrival at Peekskill. The town voted a bounty of ninety pounds to each soldier that would enlist. The following enlisted in this service:—

Samuel Ela,	Robert Griffin,	David ———,
Abraham Silver,	Levey Senter,	
Zebadiah Barker, jr.,	James Pecker,	

In July, twelve men were detached for Rhode Island. The following gives their names. They are copied from "A Muster Roll of Capt Jonathan Fosters Company of Col Nathl Wades Regt of the Mass Troops now in the Service of the United States. Stationed in Middleton in the State of Rhode Island for the term of Six months from the first of July 1778."

Sergt John Whittier enlisted July 1.	Pr Parker Noyes	enlisted July 1
Pr John Berry " " 9	" Jonathan Silver	" " 9
" John Gage " " 9	" Joseph Snow	" " 9
" Simon Herriman " " 9	" Theodore Tyler	" " 9
" Peter Middleton " " 1	" Mark Witham	" " 9
" Joshua Moore " " 11	" Ebenr Webster	" " 9

In the same month, six men marched to Cambridge, and were paid by the town, and six men were detached from the First Company, to serve six weeks at Rhode Island. In September, nine men marched from this town, three from the First Company, to serve at Boston till the 1st of January, 1779.

To raise men and money for these frequent drafts, required the exertion of every nerve; — *but it was done*. The following items will show somewhat of the expenses of the town for the national cause, this year: —

Sixty pounds were paid to four men, who served "as guards at Cambridge." One hundred and twenty pounds were paid to eight soldiers, who "served about Boston." Seven pounds eleven shillings were paid to two men for "going to Boston;" these were probably Simon Harriman, and Joseph Snow, who enlisted, July 3d, for a six months' service, and were paid fifty-five pounds each by the town, in addition to their expenses to Boston. Nine soldiers enlisted in the militia, and were paid by the town. The amount paid them was five hundred and ninety pounds. For the fifteen soldiers for the continental army, the town paid fifteen hundred pounds. Two men served on Winter Hill five months, to whom the town paid fifty pounds; they were Daniel Adams and Samuel Le Court. Eight men served in the militia three months, and were paid three hundred and twenty-four pounds. Six men marched to Providence, and were paid three hundred and thirty pounds. On the 30th of June, the town raised two thousand and six hundred pounds to defray the charges "it had been at in procuring soldiers for the continental army and for the service of the state." It was also voted "to raise £500 to hire the soldiers this town is now obliged to raise." On the 19th of July, six soldiers were hired, to be stationed at Cambridge, to whom the town paid one hundred and ten pounds.

Besides these expenses, the town paid several hundred pounds for supplies to the families of soldiers. This year there were at least ten such families principally supported by the town.^o

But we find no symptom of a murmur. At a meeting in September, the militia officers were directed "to hire any detachments ordered by authority, at any time," and the treasurer "to pay what money was necessary for them." If he had no money, he was "to hire some."

In June of this year, the General Court made a requisition on the towns for clothing for the soldiers of the army. This town came up promptly at the call, and we find in a single receipt, dated December 11, 1778, the items — 150 shirts, 91 pr shoes, and 57 pair stockings sent from Haverhill.

The whole expenses of the town for soldiers this year, was upwards of *thirty-one hundred pounds!*

^o From September 1st, 1777, to March 1st, 1779, the town paid for this purpose £934.2.0. The whole number of families was fourteen. The sum paid from October, 1779, to January, 1780, was £437.4.6.

At the annual meeting in 1779, Thomas West, Lieutenant Peter Carlton, Colonel John Whittier, Captain Samuel Merrill, Phineas Carlton, Isaac Snow, and Samuel Ayer, Jr., were chosen the Committee of Correspondence and Safety.^o

The committee to supply the families of those soldiers from the town, who were in the army, were Mr. John White, merchant, Ebenezer Gage, Senr., Jonathan Duston, Deacon Benjamin Clements, Captain Samuel Merrill, Samuel Ayer, Jr., Anthony Chase, Captain Joseph Eaton, Richard Kimball, William Ladd, Elias Johnson, Lieutenant Jonathan Webster, and Simon Ayer.

The militia officers were again ordered to hire what men the town should be called on to furnish, and the treasurer was directed to pay the bills for the same.

The following account of bounties paid by this town, between February, 1777, and March, 1778, is copied from the book of the province treasurer: —

Soldiers Names	Am ^t Bounty	Time when paid	Soldiers Names	Am ^t Bounty	Time when paid
Jacob Row	£ 14	Feb 10	Rouba Sillaway	14	Mar
Robt Martin	15	" 15	Abner Kimbal	14	"
David Peaslee	14	Mar 20	Benj Moody	"	"
Samuel Buck	14	Feb 13	Robt Brant	"	"
John Tyler	14	Mar 5	Natl Peas Moody	"	"
William Baker	14	Feb 25	Jos Currier	"	"
Jno Dow, Sergt	14	" 17	John Johnson	7	"
Moses Kezar	14	" 3d	Willm Davis	12	"
John Thomas	7	" 11	Danl Parker	15	"
Saml Remicks	14	Feb 24	Chase Pilsbury,	"	"
John Straw	14	" 10	John Hutchins Jur	12	"
John Straw Jur	14	" 10	Joseph Young	15	"
Jona Dustan	87	Aug 10	Humphrey Moody	14	"
Moses Lacount	14	Apl 19	Saml Staples	21	May
Job Gage	6	Jany —	James Rix, Sargt	14	Feb 14
Thos Hopkins	—	—	Jonathan Loughlur	21.10	Apl
		1778	John Loughar	21.10	Apl
Saml Middleton Jur	90	Mar 14	Wingate Bradley	16.10	"
		1777	Nathl Peabody	16.10	"
Thos Thornton	3.12	May	William Case	15	"
Wm Huston	17.2	June	Saml Bradley Fulsom	15	"
Saml Midilton	—	—	—— Hollaway	15	"
Danl Page	30	Apl	Moses Worthing	12	Apl
Chas Davis	14	Mar	Ebenezer Ballard	15	"

^o At the adjourned meeting, March 20th, a new committee was chosen, consisting of General James Brickett, Captain Samuel Merrill, Deacon Ezra Chase, Isaac Snow, John Sawyer, Captain Timothy Eaton and James Pike. No reason is given for choosing a new committee for this purpose.

Soldiers Names	Amt Bounty	Time when paid	Soldiers Names	Amt Bounty	Time when paid
John Berry	15	Apl	John Gibson	30	May
John Stanford	"	"	Saml Barber	45	"
Joshua Henshaw	"	"	Elias Rowoll	24	Apl
John Hutchins	15	Apl	John Wilson	30	May
Richd Jose	"	"	James Clements	14	Apl
William Gould	"	"	Saml Gage	18	"
Joseph Richards	"	"	Oliver Page	8	"
Wm Smith Price	"	"	James Clements Jur	14	"
Moses Downing	14	Feb 14	John Graham	"	Feb 19
William Harriman	30	Apl	Jacob Buck Jur	"	Mar 10
Timothy Bedle	18	May	William Pecker	"	" 25
Peter Carlton	24	"	Willm Harriman Jur	"	Feb 13
Pearcy Haynes	36	"	Willm Greenleaf Jr ^o	"	Mar 11
Lott Ayer	30	"	Benj Pressey	"	" "
Fortune Brennux	30	"	John Lee	15	Feb 15
Isaac Thompson	30	"			

The complaints of the people in most of the States had become so loud and so general, on account of the prevalence of extortion and monopoly, growing out of the depreciation of the paper money,† that Congress deemed

• Lieutenant William Greenleaf entered the service as a private, January, 1776. He was appointed Ensign soon after, and subsequently commissioned as Lieutenant. He was in the battle at Governor's Island; at Haerlem Heights; at the taking of Burgoyne; carried the standard of his regiment at Monmouth; and was in the memorable Retreat from Long Island. He left the service in 1783, and returned to his native town, where he was for many years the popular landlord of *Greenleaf's Tavern* (where the Chase Block now stands). He was a brave officer, and a kind and gentlemanly citizen and neighbor. He died in 1832.

† As a paper of no small historical value and interest, we copy the following table from the book of our Town Treasurer. It was evidently prepared for his own convenience.

"Scales of Depreciation. The Worth of £100 in Paper Money, when reduced to Solid Coin, at the rate of Six Shillings & Eight Pence for one ounce of Silver."

1777	Mass	New Hamp	Congress	1770	Mass	N H	Congress
January	93.4.9	Equal	No Depreci-	Jan	14.10		13.9.7
Feb	93.11.0	96.3.1	ation till	Feb	11.10.6		11.10.5
Mar	91.14.11	94.6.9	October	Mar	10		10
Apr	89.5.8	90.18.1		Apl	9.11.1		9.1.3
May	87	87.14.4		May	8.4.7		8.4.7
June	84.6.8	Same as		June	7.9		7.9
July	80	Mass to		July	6.15.8		6.15.5
Aug	66.18.4	December		Aug	6.2.7		6.2.7
Sept	67.2.10	1779		Sept	5.11		5.11
Oct	36.7.5		91.3.4	Oct	4.18.5		4.18.5
Nov	33.4.8		82.6.8	Nov	4.6.8		4.7
Dec	32.5.3		76.9.8	Dec	3.17.3		3.17.3
1778				1780			
Jan	30.15.5		68.11.8	Jan	3.8.1	3.8.1	3.8.0
Feb	28.11.5		62.8.3	Feb	3.0.3	3.0.3	3
Mar	26.14		57.2.0	Mar	2.13.6	2.13.6	2.13.7
Apl	23		49.7.6	Apl	2.10	2.10	2.10
May	23		43.0	May		2.18	
June	25		37.16	June		1.15	
July	23.10		33.0.7	July		1.13.4	
Aug	22.4.5		28.14	Aug		1.11.8	
Sept	21.1		23.0.3	Sept		1.10.9	
Oct	20		21.10.5	Oct		1.9.1	
Nov	18.6.11		18.7	Nov		1.8.6	
Dec	15.15.5		15.15.6	Dec		1.7.4	

regulating statutes necessary, and in January, 1779, divided the thirteen States into two districts, advising that a convention be held in each, to fix and regulate the prices of the common articles of living. A convention for the northern district was held at New Haven, who formed a plan for regulating prices and preventing extortion. This plan was adopted by most of the States composing the district. The legislature of Massachusetts approved of it, and passed a law on the subject, and on the 12th of April a meeting was called "To see if the Town will choose one or more Persons as a Committee to prevent monopoly & Fore Stalling agreeable to a late Resolve of the General Court."

The town voted to choose a committee of three persons for the above purpose, and the following were so chosen:— Captain Nathaniel Marsh, Joseph Bradley, and Captain John Mulliken.

In May, two meetings were held to consider the subject of a State Constitution. The record is so brief, that we copy it entire:—

"At a legal Town Meeting, held in Haverhill on Tuesday the 18th Day of May, 1779, warned by the Constable by Virtue of a Warrant recieved from the Select Men.

Doctr James Brickett was chosen Moderator.

"The two following Particulars are the Articles contained in the Warrant.

Viz. 1st. To see whether the Town Chuses at this Time to have a new Constitution, or Form of Government made.

2d. To see whether the Town will impower their Representative for the next year, to vote for the calling a State Convention, for the Sole Purpose of forming a new Constitution; Provided it shall appear, on Examination, that a major Part of the People present, and voting, shall have answered the first article in the Affirmative.

"After some Time being spent in debating on the preceeding Articles, the Moderator tried a Vote on the first Article, & in order to ascertain the Number voting each Way, the House was divided, and the Numbers were equal, viz, Forty one for having a new Constitution, or Form of Government, and Forty one against it.

The Moderator dismissed the meeting."

"1779. May 31.

The Select Men called another Meeting of the Inhabitants qualified by Law to vote for Representatives, for the same Purpose of the last Meeting. Mr Isaac Osgood was chosen Moderator. The Votes were, Thirty five for having a new Constitution or Form of Government; and

Sixty one against having it made at present. On Motion made whether the Town would give Instructions to their Representative about this Affair, it was voted in the Negative.

The Meeting was dismissed by the Moderator."

July 12th, a meeting was warned,

" 1st. — To see if the Town will adopt a Plan similar to that proposed by the Town of Boston for appreciating the Continental Currency, and

2d. — To see if the town will approve of the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection & Safety of this Town in sending one of their Number to meet a Convention of the several Committees of this State at Concord on the 14th of this Instant for the Purpose expressed in their Letter from the Committee of Boston."

Upon both of the articles, an affirmative vote was passed. The Convention at Concord was attended by deputies from more than three-fourths of the towns in the State. Prices were fixed for all the products of the country, and those who had articles of foreign growth or manufacture to dispose of, were requested to have reasonable prices stated for the same.

Notwithstanding this town voted not to have a new constitution, a majority of the towns decided otherwise, and precepts were issued for a Convention at Cambridge in September.

August 5th, a meeting was held, —

" 1st. — To see if the Town will chuse one or more Delegates to meet in Convention at Cambridge on the first Day of September next for the sole Purpose of framing a new Constitution for the Massachusetts State :

" 2d. — To see if the Town will consider of the Doings of the Convention which met at Concord the 14th Day of July last, & adopt a Plan proposed by said Convention for putting a Stop to the late growing evils amongst us :

" 3d. — To see whether the Town will chuse one or more Members to meet in Convention at Concord on the first Wednesday in October next as recommended in a Resolve of the late Convention held at that Place :

" The Town being met Isaac Redington was chosen Moderator.

" 1st. The honbl Nathl Peaslee Sargeant Esqr was chosen a Delegate to meet at Cambridge on the first Day of September next, for the sole Purpose of Framing a Constitution.

" The 2d Article was voted in the Affirmative; and a Committee of Fourteen Men was chosen to see that the Recommendation of the Convention is complyd with as expressed in the 4th & 5th Resolves of said Convention. The following are the Persons chose for a Committee, vis Doctr Brickett, James Chase, Capt Timo Johnson, Aaron Carleton, Lieut

Israel Bartlet, Capt Samuel Merrill, Anthony Chase, Jona Kimball, Capt Nat Marsh, Capt Timo Eaton, Nat Walker, Deacon Benja Clements, Jno Sawyer. Mr Jno White Marsh.

" 8d The Town made Choice of Doctr James Brickett a Delegate to meet the Convention at Concord the 1st Wednesday in October next."

At a town meeting, held September 7, 1779, it was

" Voted to accept of the Doings of the Convention of Delegates that met at Ipswich Aug 20, 1779; also of the Doings of the Committee of this Town chosen August 5th 1779."*

September 17th, the General Court ordered out four hundred of the militia to repair and man the forts in Boston Harbor, as reports had been received of an intended attack by the British. This town furnished eight men, who served one month and ten days, viz:—

Corp Joel Heriman,	Amos Currier,	Moses Moody,
Frances Dinamore,	Levi Hastings,	Trueworthy Herriman.
Hugh Pike,	Justin George,	

In October, the town was called on for nineteen men, to re-inforce the army in New York. They all marched before the month expired. The town paid them three hundred and ninety-nine pounds as bounty and mileage.

The expenses of the town this year may well be considered enormous, when we state that six thousand pounds were raised to defray them. To meet these large charges, the town was almost daily obliged to borrow money, as may be seen from the following:—

" Account of Persons to whom the Town is indebted for Money borrowed of 'em ":—

1779.		1779	
July 2d	Capt Timo Johnson . £900	Sept 7	John Gross . £150
17	Capt Danl Johnson . 26	27	Joseph Silver . 42
Aug 20	Deacon Joseph Kelly . 45		Zebadiah Silver, 42
	Gideon George, . 30		Capt Timo Johnson . 180
21	Israel Bartlett . 90	Oct 12	Gideon George . 210
23	Nathl Clarke . 30	Oct 13	Edwd Ordway . 203 4
	Richd Kimball . 30		Widow Prudence Carle-
	Capt Jo Eaton . 30		ton . 60
	Nat Eaton . 30		Deacon Ezra Chase . 60
	Aaron Carlton . 60	19	Sarah Levett . 36
	Ithamar Emerson . 48	Nov 6	Moses Simmons . 90
	Daniel Appleton . 150		Peter Whittaker . 30
	Edwd Baker . 45	8	Ithamar Emerson . 120
	Nathl Soley . 60		Daniel Nickols Jun . 147
	Capt Nat Marsh . 30	13	Gideon George . 120
	Capt Timo Johnson . 90		

* The Ipswich Convention was in relation to "regulating prices;" as was also the doings of the committee above alluded to.

1780			16 Benj Ordway .	£120
Jan 12	Nehemi Simmons .	£26	Mar 1 Nat Walker .	100
	Sarah Simmons .	30	9 Willm Sawyer .	45
26	Capt Daniel Johnson .	120	Apl 4 Benja Ordway .	72
Feb 1	Willm Sawyer .	52.10	May 2 Edwd Ordway .	173
2	Capt Daniel Johnson .	135		
	Willm Sawyer .	19	Total	£4070.14

November 3d, 1779, a town meeting was called, principally

"To see if the Town will approve of and adopt the Proceedings of the Convention begun and held at Concord on the 5th of Oct last, & enter into such further Resolves & Regulations as the Town may think proper for the more effectually carrying the same into Effect."

It was "voted to accept of the Proceedings of the Convention met at Concord, that have been published, and Chuse a Committee of Ten Men to affix the Prices which Merchandize & Country Produce are to be sold at, in this Town. The committee consists of the following Persons, viz: General Bricket, Capt Timo Eaton, Capt Timo Johnson, Aaron Carlton, Lieut Israel Bartlet, Capt Samuel Merrill, James Pike, Willm Johnson, Thomas West, & Bailey Bartlet."

The meeting then adjourned to the 15th of the same month, at which time it was voted to "approve the Resolves and address of the Convention held at Concord in October last;" and "the Proceedings of the Committee of this Town, chosen at the last Meeting were also read, & accepted, by a Vote of the Town; & a Committee of Five Men were chosen to see them put in Execution, & complied with. This Committee consisted of the following Persons, viz: Capt John Mullaken, Capt David Remick, Mr Thomas West, Capt Joseph Eaton, Capt Samuel Merrill."

"Voted, That this Committee be directed to enquire into the Proceedings of the Neighboring Towns, respecting this Business, & make report at the adjournment of this meeting."

The meeting then adjourned to the 22d instant, at which time it was merely opened and again adjourned. December 6th,

"The Moderator and the Town Clerk met at the Meeting-House at the Time the Meeting was adjourned to, & waited about an Hour, when no other Person attended, the Moderator dissolved the Meeting."

A partial and temporary relief was afforded the people by these repeated efforts to regulate the price of commodities, but no permanent or general good was effected.

Heavy as had been the burdens of the town thus far during the war, they were in nowise lighter the year following. Taxes were multiplied upon its inhabitants, until they were almost crushed beneath the load. The town's proportion of the tax laid by Congress, March 21st, was fifty-

eight thousand eight hundred and seventy-six pounds. Ten days after, Congress laid another, the town's proportion of which was thirty-nine thousand two hundred pounds. In July, a tax was laid to redeem a part of the continental bills, &c., and this town was assessed five hundred and four pounds. *hard money*.^o In September, the town was called on to supply sixteen thousand eight hundred pounds of beef, and they promptly chose a committee to purchase it.

Lafayette having returned from France, with the promise that another fleet and several thousand troops, were to be immediately sent to the aid of America, Washington desired to make more efficient efforts the coming campaign, and called on Massachusetts for four thousand men to re-inforce the army for six months. They were readily granted. The following were furnished by this town: —

"Pay Roll for the Six Months men Belonging to the Town of Haverhill 1780."

	When Marched	When Discharged
Sartle Alexander.....	June 29th	Dec 10, 1780
Daniel Abbot.....	Sept 26	Apl 3, 1781
Noah Bailey.....	June 29	Dec 13
Richard Baker.....	Sept 26	Feby 9
John Browning.....	" 26	Feb 9
William Beecard.....	June 29	Dec 23
Silas Chamberlain.....	Sep 26	Mar 5
Samuel Foster.....	June 29	Dec 16
Enoch Heath.....	" 29	" 6
Levi Hastings.....	" 29	" 20
Joseph Herrimon.....	" 29	" 18
Joshua Jones.....	Sep 26	" 28
Daniel Lord.....	June 29	" 6
James Laferty.....	Sep 26	Apl 19
John Mooers.....	June 29	Dec 15
Samuel Merrill.....	" 29	" 8
Barthol Massey.....	Sep 26	" 29
Samuel Pell.....	June 29	" 30
James Springer.....	" 29	" 15
James Scammons.....	" 29	" 10
Samuel Sargeant.....	" 29	" 13
Thomas Sargeant.....	" 29	" 13
Nathan Sola.....	" 29	" 8
James Reed.....	Sep 26	Feb 9
Samuel Truel.....	" 26	" 9

^o The debt of Massachusetts, exclusive of its quota of the continental arrears, was at this time five million dollars, hard money; while the assessed value of all the property in the State was only eleven millions.

Within a month after, a call was made for four thousand seven hundred of the militia, for three months. This town's proportion was forty-seven.^o A large number of the soldiers having about completed their term of enlistment, Massachusetts was called on in December for four thousand two hundred men to serve during the war. This town's proportion was twenty-eight. A meeting was called, and a hard money tax of fifteen hundred pounds was voted to pay for the same. At an adjourned meeting, the captains of the companies of militia were made a committee to procure the twenty-eight soldiers required of the town; and Judge Sargeant, Isaac Reddington, Captain Timothy Eaton, Samuel Ayer, Jr., and Captain Joseph Eaton, were added to the committee, "to devise ways & means to pay the soldiers." It was then

"Voted, That the Town Treasury be open to those Committees, & that the Town Treasurer be ordered to pay them *what Money they may call on him for*, they being accountable for the Expenditure of said Money."

Subsequently, the town adopted the "Class" plan, recommended by the General Court, in raising the men. By this plan, the inhabitants of each town were divided into as many equal portions or classes as there were men to be raised, and each class was obliged to furnish one man.

From the official returns of the several towns, we find that the twenty-eight men were duly raised, and "marched."

Besides men, and money, and beef, the town was also called upon to furnish clothing for the army. In January, 1780, they forwarded thirty-one blankets; and in April, they were assessed for fifty-eight pairs of shoes, stockings, and shirts, and twenty-nine blankets. By the returns we find that the whole were sent previous to November 11th.

This was but a small part of the clothing furnished in December and January. From the returns of Jonathan Ayer, constable, we give the names of the persons of whom he collected in December:—

"Phillip Haseltine, 3 blankets; Joseph Emerson, 2 do; Joshua Emery, 1 do; Capt Timothy Eaton 1 do; Ebenezer Baley 1 do; John Smith Jr 1 do; Lieut Baley, 4 shurts; Ebenr Baley 2 do; Amos Baley 2 do, and 2 pr stockings; Wid Lydia Haseltine, 3 shurts, & 4 pr stockings; Moses Haseltine 3 shurts; Lieut Jona Webster 4 do; Wid Ruth Haseltine 2 do; John Kezer 4 do; Moses Swaze 2 do, & 7 pr shoes; James Webster 1 pr stockings; Lieut David Bradley 24 pr Shoes; John Marble 10 yards cloth."

^o One of these was Daniel Bradley. Bradley was present, and on guard duty, when Major Andre was brought into camp a prisoner. He was the first butcher who regularly attended Haverhill market. He died September 30th, 1854, in the 94th year of his age. Among the soldiers hired by the town this year, were Samuel Campbell and John Cox, who, it appears, were "taken up for stealing," and tried before Samuel White, Mag., and the town paid the costs in their cases, on condition that they enlisted!

Among the old papers of the town, we found the original subscription book of the person employed by the town to collect clothing at different times; and believing that the list of names will be read with interest, we copy them:—

Names	Shirts	Shuse	Stock- ens	Names	Shirts	Shuse	Stock- ens
Wid Ruth Sanders...	2		3	John Swd Corles.....	1		1
Samuel Bradbury....	2		1	Capt Joseph Eaton...	10		
Amos Eaton.....	4		2	Nathl Clarek.....	2		1
Ebenezer Webster....	6			Benja Ordway.....			1
Micha Emerson.....	1			Capt Timothy Johnson	2		1
Ruth Emerson.....	1			Widow Heseltine....	9		
John Emerson.....	1			Jacob Ela.....	4	8	1
Peter Emerson.....	2			Capt Daniel hills....		9	2
Joseph Emerson.....	8			John Downer.....	2		4
Jeremiah Emerson....	5			Moses Swesey.....	3		
John Page.....	5		2	Josiah Emerson.....			1
Joshue Emery.....	2			Jeremiah Heseltine..	3		1
Wid Abigal Webster..	2			Jonathan Bradley....	2		1
Richerd Kimball....	2			Davide Bradley.....		30	
Abigall Marsh.....		2		Samuel Ayer.....	9		
peter Johnson.....		2		Isaac Snow.....	4		
John Baley.....	2			Mary Bradley.....	2		
Elias Johnson.....	4			Joseph Greeclay.....	4	1	2
Seth Johnson.....	6		1	Folensbee Noise.....	2	2	
James pike.....	3		5	John Sd George.....	1		
Ephreum Robinson...	2		1	the Town.....	6		1
Ebenzer Bayley.....	2		1	Lient Stephen Webster			1
Amos Baley.....	2		1	Widow Dusten.....	4		
Richard Baley.....		3		Aron Carlton.....	2		1
Jeremiah Baley.....	1		1	Lient David Bradley..		10	
Samuel Merrill.....	2			Jonathan Baker.....		5	
William Ladd.....	3			Benja Baker.....		6	
Benjen Baley.....	1			Mary Bradley.....			1
John Emerson Jun...		1		Davide Marsh.....			6
Ammi Haynes.....	1		1	William Bradley.....		10	
Anthony Chase.....			1	Nehemiah Emerson...		9	2
James Chase.....	2		1	Joel Hereman.....			1
William Bradley.....	2		2				

* We copy the names as we find them—in groups. Each of these groups, or lists, seems to have been a separate subscription.

Mens Names	Shirts	Shoes	Stock- ens	Persons Names	Shirts	Shoes	Stock- ens
William Greenleaf....	1	1 pr		Mr Ennuck Mash....	6		
Lef Stephen Webster.	2		1 pr	Phineas Carleton....	6		
Seth Johnson.....	6			Abarn Sweet.....	1		
Elias Johnson.....	4		2	Daniel Hill.....	5		1
Ben Ordway.....			1	James Bricket Esq...	4		8
Sam White Esq.....		5	9	John Cogwell Jur....			2
Maverick Johnson....	0	0		Aaron Calton.....			1
Ebenr Gage.....			2	James Heseltine....	1		
Abel Page.....	2	8		Dea Thomas Webster.	1		1
John Williams.....			1	John Smith Jun.....	1		1
Mr David Mash.....		8	1	Will Edards.....	2		

" East parish things delivered "

Names	Shirts	Shoes	Stock- ens	Names	Shirts	Shoes	Stock- ens
Dea Ezra Chase.....	5	3		Perley Ayers.....			1
James Pike.....		1	1	Daved Webster.....	1		
Antony Chase.....			1	William Ladd.....	1		
Ruben Currier.....			1	Capt Timothy Eaton..	1		2
Job Tyler.....			2	Mr Joshua Emory....	2		
Amos George.....			2	James Chase.....	2	1	
Ephraim Ellet.....			2	Amos Page.....	1		
Daniel Appleton....			1	Capt Joseph Eaton...			2
John Hastings.....			1	Ithamer Bradley.....	3		
Amos Bayley.....	2		1	Jeremiah Emerson....	2		
Enouck Heriman....	2		1	Joseph Emerson.....	2		1
Jerimiah Heselton...	9	7	10	Dudly Tylor.....	6		
Luas Bayley.....	2			Thomas West.....	0	0	0
Ephrim Robison....	2			John Sawyer.....	5		
Ebenr Bayley.....	2			James Webster.....	2	1	
Walker Smith.....	2		2	Isaac Snow.....	8	5	9
John Ealey.....			2	Jona Baker.....	2		
Peter Emerson.....	1		1	Benjamin Baker.....	2		
Ebenr Mitchel.....	2		1	Nathan Ayer.....	4		
John Swd Corles....	1			John Patty.....	2	1	
John Mitchel.....	2			Moses Ayer.....	1		1
Licut Croel.....	1			Obidiah Ayer.....			2
Moses Webster Jun...	1			Sam Walker.....		1	1
Jeremi Baley.....			2	Joal Herimn.....	2		2
Capt Sam Merril....		1	1	Jacob Eala.....	4	4	2
Jonh Emerson Jun....		1	1	John Eala.....			2

"October ye 4th, 1779"

Names	Shirts	Shoes	Stocks	Names	Shirts	Shoes	Stocks
Amos Eaton.....			2	Lues Baley.....	4		
Elias Johnson.....	8	5	2	Ebenr Baley.....	2		
Seth Johnson.....	6		1	Amas Baley.....	2		2
Peter Johnson.....	2		1	David marsh.....		8	
Capt Timothy Johnson	6	6	8	Wm Bradley.....	2		3
John Davis.....	2		1	Gen Brickit.....			5
Hannah Hunkins....	2			Lieut Bartlet.....			2
Samuel Sarnders....	2		2	Nem Emerson.....			6
Elias Sergeant.....	2			Wid Lydia Haseltine.	3		2
Joseph Greeley.....	4	1	1	Saml Haseltine.....	3		
Jacob Elea.....	6	9		Jona Webster.....	4		
Wid Ruth Sarnders...			4	Ruth Haseltine.....	2		
Samuel Page.....	2			John Kezar.....	4		
Capt Daniel Johnson..	4		1	Enoch Marsh.....		13	
Abigail Sarnders....			2	Moses Swazey.....		7	
Ephraim Robeson....	4		2	Lt David Bradley.....		24	
Ruth Sheperd.....			4	Aaron Carlton.....			2
Joel Herriman.....			3	Richerd Haseltine....			1
Jerh Haseltine.....	3	19	6	James Webster.....			1

The expenses of the town in the year 1780, were indeed enormous, as may be seen by their tax for that year:—

First Parish, Town Tax £185.15.12 State Tax £119.50.5

West " " " 198.09.6 " " 127.94.9

East " " " 199.24.2 " " 89.89.18

North " " " 84.43.19 " " 54.49.5

The total State tax of the town was £18040.0.0, and its County tax was £224.1.0. The reader will of course remember that these amounts are reckoned in the continental currency, which was at a large discount at this time. But, notwithstanding this, the amount was still very large, and the inhabitants were compelled to make extraordinary exertions, and heavy sacrifices to raise the money. The town treasurer was paid for over nine days time in hiring money in the month of October alone.

The Committee of Correspondence and Safety for this year, were:— General Brickett, Captain Samuel Merrill, James Pike, William Johnson, John Sawyer, Captain Timothy Eaton, and John Ela.

In addition to the matters already noticed, the town was again called upon to consider the subject of a new Constitution for the State. The

* This being the date affixed to the last list of names in the book, would seem to prove all the others of an earlier date. A receipt in the book, dated May 5, 1778, makes it almost certain that such was the fact.

convention called for that purpose, in September, 1779, appointed a committee to prepare a draft, and then adjourned to the next January, when they again met and agreed upon a Constitution. This was published and sent to the towns for their approval, or rejection.

May 2d, a meeting of this town was called, to see if they would "approve of the Form of Government for the State of Massachusetts Bay, as agreed upon by their Delegates in a Convention lately held at Cambridge." General James Brickett was chosen Moderator, who "publicly read the new form of Government as published by the Convention; and also numbered the voters in the meeting, and declared them to be one hundred and nineteen."

The votes were taken upon each article separately. Articles I. and II. in the Bill of Rights were unanimously agreed to; but the third "was a subject of considerable debate," and the meeting finally adjourned to the next Monday, without taking a vote upon it.^o

At the adjourned meeting, May 8, there were one hundred and seventy-five voters present. The debate upon Article III. was resumed, and continued for some time, when it was voted to pass over the Article for one hour. Articles IV to XX, inclusive, were unanimously agreed to, (except Article X, which passed one hundred and four to twenty-six) when the meeting again took up the third Article.

^o The following is the Article alluded to:—

ART. III. As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the institution of the public worship of GOD, and of public instructions in piety, religion and morality; therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this Commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorize and require, the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of GOD, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

And the people of this Commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend.

Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.

And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; otherwise it may be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said moneys are raised.

And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

The Recorder informs us that this "was a subject of much Altercation, and considerable Time was spent in arguing upon it. The following vote was passed, viz: 91 voted to have it stand as it was published by the Convention; & 85 voted for an Amendment. This last Vote was reconsidered by a Majority of 64, & on a second Tryal there were but 40 for the Article, & 104 against it. A Division then took place in this last Number, concerning the alteration & Amendment. Two Plans were proposed; one by the Honble Nat. P Sargeant Esqr; & the other by the Revd Mr Henshiah Smith. A vote was tried on each of their Amendments; & there were 79 in favor of the former, & 66 for the latter."

At this stage of the proceedings, the meeting was adjourned until the next day, in order, doubtless, that some compromise or plan might be presented that would secure a majority vote.

At the next meeting sixty-six voters were present. Commencing at Article 21, the remaining portion of the Bill of Rights was unanimously agreed to,—except Article 28th, which had one negative, and the 29th, on which the vote was a tie.

The moderator then proceeded to lay before the town "the Frame of Government," which was agreed to almost unanimously (except Article 2d, Chapter 1st, on which the vote was a tie) as far as Article 14th of Chapter 2d, when the meeting adjourned to the 22d inst.

At the adjourned meeting the remaining portions of the Constitution were agreed to, (the most of the sections unanimously) except Chapter 6th, which was amended by adding the word "Protestant" to the word "Christian."

General Brickett was chosen a delegate to the next Convention; and the next Thursday (25th inst.) was fixed upon as the time to resume the consideration of the third Article in the Bill of Rights.

At the adjournment, the first vote passed was, "to re-consider all that has been acted on, respecting the 3d Article in the Bill of Rights." It being then moved to ascertain by a vote how many were in favor of the Article, it appeared that 85 were in favor, and 69 against it. The Rev. Mr. Smith then offered an amendment,^o which was agreed to; and the following vote was passed:—

"Tho' the Town have tho't fit to propose to the Convention some Alterations and Amendments in some of the Articles in the Form of Government they have made for the Common Wealth of Massachusetts, are, notwithstanding of Opinion, & do consent, that the Whole of said Form,

^o What his amendment was, the record does not inform us.

as published by the Convention, be established, rather than the same should be returned to the People for farther Revision; which will prevent its taking place, & being established so soon as we wish to have it."

This town was not alone in objections to the Third Article of the Constitution. Objections were made in all quarters, and the subject was thoroughly discussed, both in public and private. Says Bradford, "The Baptists were the most inclined to complain, for the teachers of Religion were generally of the Congregational order." They considered it oppressive, and inconsistent with their rights, that those who had belonged to other Churches, and were desirous of joining a Baptist Church, should be subjected to the inconvenience of applying for license so to do.

The Constitution having been agreed to by a large majority of the towns in the Commonwealth, Monday, the fourth day of September was assigned for the election, by the people, of a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Councillors, and Senators, under the new Constitution. This being our first election under a *State* Constitution, and the inauguration of a new era in our local government, the following extracts from our town records of that date are of more than ordinary interest:—^o

"The Select Men† presided at this Meeting, who, with the Town Clerk, received the Votes, sorted, and numbered them. The Votes for Governor were, Forty Seven for the Hon'ble John Hancock Esq; and Forty one for the Hon'ble James Bowdoin Esq. For a Lieut Governor, the Votes were, Twenty six for the Hon. Jno Hancock Esq; Twenty two for the Hon Thomas Cushing; Ten for the Hon James Bowdoin Esq; & Two for Tristram Dalton Esq." Sixteen persons received votes for "Councillor Senators."

Although hostilities had been for some time transferred to a distance from the State, yet Massachusetts was by no means relieved from frequent and heavy requisitions for men and materials to carry on the war. In December, 1780, the General Court called on the towns for a fresh supply of beef for the army. The amount assessed on this town was thirty-two thousand, two hundred and fifty-six pounds! Large as was the quantity, the town promptly voted to raise it, and laid a tax of £48,384 to pay for it. Hardly had the town time to collect and forward their quota of beef, when (June 22, 1781) they were called on for thirteen thousand, three hundred and fourteen pounds more! At the same time they were assessed for

^o The warrants for the town meetings at this time run as follows:— "These are to notify and warn the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Haverhill, of 21 years old & upwards, having a Freehold Estate within this State of the annual Income of Three Pounds, or any estate to the value of Sixty Pounds Sterling, to meet," &c.

† Previous to this time, the meetings were invariably presided over by a *Moderator*.

fifty-six shirts; the same number of pairs of shoes and stockings; and twenty-eight blankets. These were all raised and forwarded before the middle of November.

July 3d, the town was called on for four men for the Rhode Island service, and they were raised. In their warrant for the meeting to attend to the above, the selectmen say "and as there is a Necessity of their being marched immediately, it is hoped the good Inhabitants of this town will generally attend, and use their utmost endeavors in procuring said men."^o

The effective aid of the French, in men and money, in 1781, threw a bright glow over our military and financial operations, and helped to crown our arms with brilliant success, both on sea and land. Early in 1782, the English government, wearied with the fruitless and desperate seven years struggle, and hopeless of success, began to think seriously of overtures of peace. The preliminary motion was made in Parliament February 27th, and five days later it passed. The preliminary articles were signed at Paris in the following November, and in September, 1783, the treaty was signed at the same place.

Thus the war of the revolution was happily ended. The Colonies were wrested from the grasp of England, and AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE was acknowledged and established. It was indeed "glad tidings" to America that peace was declared. Every countenance was radiant with smiles; and the proclamation, when read, was hailed with tumultuous cheers. Bells were rung; cannon fired; bonfires lighted; and, in the evening, houses were brilliantly illuminated. All were inspired with new life, and, looking to Heaven with grateful emotions, poured out their offerings of gratitude to God!

In looking back over the long and severe struggle, and considering how heavy was the burden upon the towns, especially of Massachusetts, it is with no small degree of pride that we find upon the official record the fact, that, upon the final settlement, Haverhill was deficient *one man only*, in all the drafts that had been made upon it! We can, without exaggeration,

^o In Captain Nehemiah Emerson's company, in the 10th Massachusetts Regiment, in 1781-2 were the following from Haverhill:—

Thomas Page,	enlisted March 18, 1781, for 3 years
Parker Page,	" " 19, " "
Nathaniel Clark,	" " 14, " "

Thomas Page and Nathaniel Clark were only about fifteen years old when they enlisted. They were taken into his company by Captain Emerson, at their own urgent solicitation, and with the consent of their parents, as his musicians, Page being drummer and Clark fifer. It is said that their youthful appearance and skilful execution attracted the attention of Washington, who enquired of their Captain in regard to them, and drew from him the compliment (of which they were ever after proud) "they are pretty boys." They remained with Captain Emerson until the close of the war.

say that "there were but few towns, if any, which made greater exertions to forward the cause of freedom than this; no effort was spared; no sacrifice was thought too great. The courage of the inhabitants never flagged, even at the darkest period; 'they had nailed the flag to the mast,' to use the expression of a veteran of that period, 'and they determined to see it wave in the winds of freedom, or fall nobly fighting.' They were willing to spend their treasures and shed their blood; and when there was scarcely room to hope, the votes which were passed in their town-meetings, show a spirit of coolness, determination and patriotism which is truly astonishing; — they evinced a chivalry far nobler than that of olden time; they were actuated by a principle from which death only could separate them."^o

• Mirick.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1765 to 1790.

DURING the period covered by the preceding chapter, the inhabitants of this town were so completely absorbed in the great work of American Liberty, that but little time or attention was given, or indeed could have been given, to anything else. We find, therefore, but few things to note during this time, except those relating to the great struggle, and which we have already considered in the above chapter. But these few matters will now find place, before we take up the history of the town under the broad and peaceful banner of American Independence and American Union.

The items of the valuation of the town, as taken in 1767, seem so well worth an insertion in this place, that we copy the return in full:—

“Valuation of Haverhill, 1767.

478 Polls ratable, 27 Polls not ratable.	
281 Dwelling Houses at £5 each.	£1405
44 Work Houses 40s each	88
2 Distill Houses £23 each	46
3 Warehouses 80s „	12
3320 superficial feet wharf a 30s per 1000 feet	4.19.5
19 Mills £6 each	114
10 Servts for life a 40s each	20
£4768.13.2 Trading Stock a 6 pr ct	268.2.4
242 Tuns of Shipping a 3 pr tun	36.6
£3855.12.2 Money at Int a 6 p ct	231.6.8½
186 Horses a 4s 9d	44.3.6
252 Oxen a 4s	50.8
716 Cows a 3s 6d	107.8
1315 Sheep &c a 3d	16.8.9
59 Swine a 12d	2.19
1040 Cow Pastures a 12s	624
13765 bushels Grain a 8d	458.16.8
2736 barrels Cyder a 3s	410.8
916½ Tuns English Hay a 12s	549.18
945 “ Meadow Hay a 6s	283.10
	<hr/>
	£4791.13.4½

We presume no grumbling tax-payer will claim that this valuation was too high, as five pounds each for dwelling-houses, and forty shillings for a "servant," certainly seems low enough. In comparing this list, therefore, with those of a later date, this extremely low valuation should be taken into the account.

It will be noticed that this valuation list gives fifteen less slaves, than the census of 1764, only three years previous. May not the difference be accounted for by supposing that the other fifteen were either too young or too old to be of any value, as "property?"

In 1767, the first powder-house was erected. It was eight feet square, but where it was located we are unable to say.

February 23d, 1768, a *Fire Club* was organized in this town, and fire-wardens were chosen. The latter were Cornelius Mansise, Enoch Bartlett, Samuel White, Esq., and Isaac Osgood.

The object of the Club, was, to assist in extinguishing fires, and "in saving and taking the utmost care of each other's Goods" upon such occasions. The number of members was originally limited to twenty-five, each of whom was to provide "two good Bags, of one yard and three quarters in length and three quarters of a yard in breadth, with strings at the mouth; and two good leather Buckets, o o o o and keep them hanging in a convenient place," ready for an emergency. The officers were a Moderator, who was chosen at each meeting, and a Clerk, who was chosen annually. New members were only admitted by unanimous consent. The penalty for non-attendance at a fire, was fifty cents. The members had a watch-word, changed at the pleasure of the society, which they were forbidden to divulge, under a penalty of thirty-four cents for each offence. The number of original members was eighteen, and included the most prominent and respectable citizens in the village.

Subsequently the Club (or Society) furnished themselves with a number of ladders, which were kept in different parts of the town, ready for emergencies; and added a new feature to their Constitution, the design of which was to protect each other from loss of goods by theft. Their articles provided that half the members should draw tickets at the quarterly meetings, upon which should be inscribed the different roads to be pursued in case of theft; that those who drew tickets, upon the first information of theft upon the property of any member, should repair to the place where the theft was committed, or to his usual place of abode, and pursue the roads they had drawn, unless the committee of advice should prescribe different routes; and it was made their duty to use the utmost exertion to apprehend the thieves and recover the stolen property. All extra expenses

were paid by the Club. This plan of operations was not only the means of recovering much stolen property, but the knowledge of its existence, and of the energy and perseverance with which all its doings were characterized, without doubt proved of still greater value by its preventative influence upon the evil disposed.

The Club further extended their sphere of usefulness, by providing grapples for the recovery of bodies in case of drowning, and which were kept in constant readiness for emergencies.

For a long series of years, the annual supper of the Fire Club was one of the great social occasions of the year, and though the active duties of the Club have long since been transferred to the Fire Department of our town, the annual supper is still duly prepared and enjoyed by the surviving members of the Club, and its anniversary bids fair to be held in remembrance these many years to come.

The following is a list of the members of the Society, from its organization, in 1768, to 1822, with the date of admission of each member:—

"List of Members of the Fire Society."

Rich'd Saltonstall, Esq.	Feb 22 1768.	Nathaniel Marsh,	October, 1774
James M'Hard, Esq.	" "	Phineas Carleton,	January, 1775
Enoch Bartlett,	" "	Daniel D. Rogers,	" "
John White, jun.	" "	Joseph Dodge,	" "
Nath. Peaselee Sargeant,	" "	Thomas Cogswell,	" "
James Duncan,	" "	Samuel Souther,	" "
Nathaniel Walker,	" "	Bailey Bartlett,	April, 1776
Major Edmund Mooers,	" "	Nathaniel Sparhawk,	Nov., 1777
John Cogswell, jun.	" "	Capt. Joseph Cordis,	" "
Isaac Osgood,	" "	Moses Parsons,	April, 1779
Jonathan Buck,	" "	Thomas Stickney,	" "
James Brickett,	" "	John White, jun.	" 1780
Benjamin Mooers,	" "	Moses Fessenden,	" "
Jonathan Webster, jun.	" "	Capt. Benjamin Willis,	" "
William Greenleaf,	" "	Joseph Harrod,	" "
Cornelius Mansise,	" "	James Duncan, jun.	January, 1781
John Mulliken,	" "	Daniel Appleton,	" "
David Marsh, jun.	" "	Capt. Simon Mansise,	" "
Isaac Redington,	" "	Timothy Osgood,	April "
Samuel Appleton,	March 1768	John Wingate,	January, 1782
Cutting Marsh,	" "	John Sawyer,	" "
Jacob Ayer,	January, 1769	Jonathan Payson,	" "
Captain John White,	" "	Samuel White, jun.	" "
Israel Bartlett,	January, 1773	Moses Gale,	" "
Moses Dow,	" "	James Walker,	" "
Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall	" "	Ebenezer Gage,	" "
James M'Hard,	" "	Samuel Walker,	" "

Rev. Hezekiah Smith,	January, 1784	Leverett Saltonstall,	October, "
Dean Tyler,	" "	Justin Kent,	" "
Caleb Stark,	October, "	John Huse,	" "
Ebenezer Greenough,	" "	Richard Kimball,	" "
Edward Woodbury,	" "	Rev. William Bachelder,	Jan. 1806
John Thaxter,	January, 1785	John Varnum,	April, "
Samuel Blodget,	July, "	Samuel Bartlett,	October, "
William Greenleaf, jun.	Oct. "	Benjamin Clap,	" "
Benjamin Mooers,	January, 1786	James Bartlett,	" 1807
David How,	" 1787	Charles White,	April, 1808
Leonard White,	October, 1788	John Marsh,	" "
Nehemiah Emerson,	January, 1789	Rev. Joshua Dodge,	January, 1809
Henry West,	October, "	Daniel Haddock,	April, "
Daniel Brickett,	" "	David Bryant,	" "
Rev. John Shaw,	" "	Nathaniel Hills,	October, "
Moses Marsh, jun.	" 1790	Peter Osgood,	January, 1810
Jonathan B. Sargeant,	" "	Jesse Harding,	April, 1811
William Cranch,	January, 1792	Moses Wingate,	" "
Moses Atwood,	April, "	James How,	July, "
John Johnson,	July, "	David How, jun.	October, 1812
Abraham Swett,	" "	James Atwood,	" "
Henry Porter,	April, 1794	David Marsh, 2d.	January, 1813
Cotton B. Brooks,	" "	Samuel W. Duncan,	April, "
Benjamin Willis, jun.	" "	William Greenough,	January, 1814
Ichabod Tucker,	January, 1795	Daniel Appleton, jun.	" "
Rev. Abiel Abbot,	July, "	William White,	" "
Ephraim Emery,	April, 1796	Phineas Carleton,	" "
Oliver Putnam,	October, 1798	John Atwood,	" "
Caleb B. Le Bosquet,	" "	James H. Emerson,	October, 1815
Daniel Swett,	April, 1799	Rufus Longley,	" "
Moses Morse,	January, 1800	Jonathan K. Smith,	April, 1816
Ezekiel Hale,	April, 1802	James H. Duncan,	January, 1816
Dudley Porter, jun.	October, "	John Woodman,	April, 1816
Jabez Kimball,	January, 1804	Isaac R. How,	" 1817
Galen H. Fay,	April, "	Rev. George Keeley,	Jan. 1819
Moses Brickett,	January, 1805	Nathan Webster,	Jan. "
Dudley Porter, sen.	April, "	Stephen Minot,	April, 1822

The first *Fire Engine* in this town was purchased in 1769, by a company formed for the purpose. In organizing the company, Cornelius Mansise was chosen Captain, or Chief Director, with fourteen assistants, including under officers. The company were to meet monthly. Those who neglected to attend the annual meeting, in May, one hour before sunset, to clean, fit, and exercise the engine, were to pay a fine of 8d to the Clerk and treasurer. For absence at fires, the fine was 6s, and when a member wished to leave, he had to pay 3s. When any one did not pay his fines, he was voted out of the company.

The first election of officers was held May 16, 1769, when the following were chosen:—Cornelius Mansine, *Captain*; David Remick, James Scammon, John White, Thomas Cogswell, Enoch Marsh, Nath Marsh, Nath Walker Jr, David Bradley, Daniel Greenleaf, James McHard, Israel Bartlett, Bailey Bartlett, Samuel Eames, Phineas Carleton, *Assistants*; Nath Walker, Jr, *Clark*. The *Clark* was to "warn all sd company, when and where to meet by a billet."

August 1st, Wm. Lampson was chosen *Lieutenant*. September 19th, the company met for the first time at their new Engine House.

The second year, David Remick was chosen *Lieutenant*, and James McHard, *Clark*. Several of the members were fined for not appearing to exercise the engine, and it was voted that it should "be exercised at the sun one hour high for the future, and the members be warned one day beforehand, and any officer absenting himself shall pay 2s lawful money."

March 19th, 1770, the company "took the engine out, worked her, and put her in again;" and in the evening "met at Capt Bradley's for refreshments, &c."

This engine was purchased and kept in repair entirely by private subscriptions. The first mention we find of such a machine, in the town records, is in September, 1779, when a proposition was made

"To see if the town will build a small Store house for Storing Publick Goods or Stores belonging to the Town, together with the Engine." The town voted not to act upon the article.

In 1769, "salt works" were erected on Mill Brook, by one James Hurlson, and the town (September 21) voted him, as an encouragement, the sum of £13.6.8. But he soon found the business unprofitable, and it was abandoned.

Among the town officers in 1771, we find, for the first time, "Weighers of Bread." Nathaniel Walker and William Greenleaf were chosen for that purpose.

In 1773, a petition was presented to the town, and an article was thereupon inserted in the warrant for the annual meeting, "to see if the town will vote that the stream proceeding out of the Little pond^o be turned into his natural course from said pond to the West river."† The proposition was negatived.

• Round Pond.

† *Little River*. At the annual meeting, in 1768, James Sawyer and John Farrum were granted the privilege of flowing the Great Pond, "to save water to grind at their mills," provided they secured the town from damage, in consequence of such flowing.

A tornado which took place in this vicinity, on the 1st of August, 1778, is thus described in a publication of that period.

"The tornado took its course from the east, first struck Salisbury point, and following the course of the Merrimack river, spread havoc before it for the space of a mile in width, extending to Haverhill. The devastation was almost beyond conception or description. Almost every house and building, from Salisbury point to a quarter of a mile above Amesbury ferry, was levelled with the ground, uprooted, or otherwise damaged. A Capt. Smith, who belonged to Beverly, was sitting in a sail maker's loft, at Amesbury, when the storm commenced, and in a moment he and the whole building were carried away together, the building rent to pieces and dispersed. Capt. Smith was found lying senseless ninety four feet from the sill of the loft he was carried from; one of his legs was broken, and he was otherwise bruised. A large white oak post, fourteen feet in length, and twelve by ten inches, was transported one hundred and thirty-eight feet. Two vessels of ninety tons, building in Amesbury, were lifted from the blocks, and carried sideways through the air, twenty-two feet. A large bundle of shingles was taken from the ground, and thrown three hundred and thirty feet, in an opposite direction to that of the post above mentioned, and at right angles to the course the vessels were carried. Large trees were torn up by the roots and cast into the river. Large oak planks were hurled, with the velocity of cannon balls, through the roofs of houses; and, in fine, during the hurricane, which lasted a few minutes only, the air was filled with everything that could be moved, whirling with the most surprising rapidity through the air, and surrounding the affrighted inhabitants, some of whom were taken up by the winds, carried a considerable way, and let down safe: others were buried in their cellars, but were dug out without receiving any hurt. About one hundred and fifty buildings fell.

"In Haverhill, the inhabitants fled in consternation from one large dwelling house, which was blown down, and thought to save themselves in a barn which was almost new, and filled with about thirty tons of hay; but the barn was entirely blown to pieces, in another moment, and some parts of it carried to the distance of three miles.

"This tempest was preceded by heavy rain and gross darkness; and it appeared first on the Merrimack river, which was in the utmost tumult, rolling upon the banks, and threatening to swallow up the affrighted inhabitants."

Mirick (who evidently mistakes in placing the date as the 18th, instead of the 1st of August,) thus describes the effects of the tornado in this town:—

"About 8 o'clock in the morning, a large black cloud arose in the South-west, charged with wind and rain. The wind came in a vein of only a few rods in breadth, and sweeping over Silver's Hill, struck the house of Mr. Bradley, now owned by Hon. Moses Wingate. Mr. Bradley immediately ran to the door and attempted to hold it, while the family was thrown into the greatest confusion, running hither and thither, amid the falling bricks, broken glass, and splinters of wood. The roof was instantly blown off, and a bundle of wool was taken from the garret and carried to Great Pond. Not a pane of glass was left in the house. The barn, which stood within a few rods of the house, was totally demolished, and a valuable horse which was then in it, escaped unharmed."

The physical, as well as the political elements, seem to have been unusually turbulent about these times. The year 1772 is set down as "uncommonly stormy," with much snow and wind in April, and a "great rain and freshet" in September.

In September, 1773, the General Court passed an act "to prevent the destruction of Salmon in Merrimack River;" in which it was declared that no seines should be used which were more than sixteen rods long. They had previously been used, it appears, long enough to stretch quite across the river.

The same fall, the town decided "to build a stone Pound in the corner of the parsonage pasture, neare Capt Eames." This was the old stone pound, which stood on the west side of Main Street, about midway between White and Fourth Streets, and which was demolished not many years since. The house of A. B. Jaques, Esq., stands upon the original site of the pound.

At the annual meeting, in 1774, it was proposed to see "whether the Town will vote Mr Hezekiah Smith residing in said town his proportion of Rents," &c., of the parsonage lands, "according to the number of his hearers belonging to Haverhill." The town refused to make such a division, and also to choose a committee to examine the records of the Baptists.^o

At the same meeting, a proposition was made, and agreed to, that two schools should be kept the year to come, "the one a Grammar School, and the other an English School." Though the record does not so state, yet

^o The same proposition was renewed in 1780, but "passed over."

we presume the vote referred to the First Parish only ; as grammar schools were already kept in the several parishes.

This year the town voted to choose a board of Overseers of the Poor, but after choosing them, re-considered their action, and decided not to have any. In 1776, the same thing was again done, and it was finally decided to add two more to the Board of Selectmen, — which was done. In 1781, the number was again reduced to three.

In 1774, John Eaton, after faithfully serving as town clerk and treasurer for the long period of fifty-seven years, retired from office, and John Whittier was elected in his place. "*Clark Eaton*" lived in the house now owned and occupied by Joseph B. Spiller, just below the "*button-woods*." That he was well fitted for the responsible post, and commanded the respect and confidence of his fellow-townsmen, is abundantly demonstrated by his fifty-six annual re-elections to the office. Whittier having declined a re-election in 1778, Eaton was again chosen to the office, but refused to serve. He was then considerably past four-score years of age!

Among the names of the original grantees of the township of Rumford, Me., February, 1774, (upon petition of Timothy Walker, Jr., of Concord, N. H., and associates,) we find the following from this town: —

Benjamin Gale,	James McHard,	Phinehas Kimball,
Nathaniel Marsh,	Anna Stevens,	Robert Davis.
Cutting Marsh	Henry Lovejoy,	

The whole number of grantees was sixty-nine.

In 1777, the small pox again visited this vicinity, and caused great alarm. A town meeting was called, April 8th, to see if the town would erect an "*Innoculating Hospital*." The town not only refused to erect such a hospital, but also refused to let it be done at individual cost, contenting itself with choosing a committee to act with the selectmen in preventing the spread of the disease. From the record of a meeting, May 21, we find that although the town had so decidedly objected to a hospital, one was then actually in course of erection ; and a proposition was made that the selectmen might be authorized to permit persons to be inoculated in it — but it was refused.

The next year, however, it was found that some such measures were necessary, and in June it was voted to "give leave and admit of *Innoculation* in the town," and the selectmen were to appoint the time and place for that purpose. But before July was past, the vote was "*revoked*," and two months later, (September 21) it was "*voted to prosecute those persons that have taken the small pox by inoculation in this town, or any that shall take it in future, without consent of the town first obtained*."

Three weeks later, it was "voted to allow the inhabitants of the town to be inoculated at the Hospital, or houses near it" A committee of seven was chosen to have the charge of the hospital, and several regulations were adopted for their government.* Were it not for the extravagancies of even quite recent times, we should, perhaps, smile at this vacillating course. But when we reflect that, although the loathsome disease is now shorn of its principal terrors, yet its appearance in our communities is the signal for all sorts of wild fancies and fears, the smile assumes a doubtful significance.

The winter of 1780 was one of remarkable severity. For forty days, thirty one of which were the month of March, there was no perceptible thaw on the southerly side of any house. The snow was so deep and hard that loaded teams passed over walls and fences in every direction. Says Hon. Bailey Bartlett, in his journal:—

"Snow so deep and drifted that in breaking a path on the Common, we made an arch through a bank of snow, and rode under the arch on horse-back."

The same year is rendered memorable for its "dark day," which occurred on the 19th of May. For a week or more, the air had been very thick and heavy; and, on the morning of the above-named day, very black clouds were seen to rise suddenly and fast from the west, and soon covered all New England with almost total darkness. It was darkest from nine o'clock A. M., to half-past three, P. M. About twelve, M., fowls went to roost, frogs peeped, cattle went to their barns, and night-birds appeared. About midnight, a breeze sprung up from the north-west, and the darkness gradually disappeared. It was attributed to a thick smoke, which had been accumulating for several days, occasioned by extensive fires in northern New Hampshire, where the people were making many new settlements.

If the office of constable was not a desirable one previous to the war, it must have been much less so when the people were so heavily burthened with taxes, as they were about this time. We need not therefore be surprised to find that it was found necessary to order the town treasurer to prosecute those refusing to serve when chosen to the office.

The depreciation of the paper currency had become so great, that, in 1781, the town decided not to receive any more for taxes. In September of that year, the town had £10,121.4.4 of it in the treasury. Exchange was then *seventy-five to one*! This gives to the list of prices of that time

* From the Town Records of 1782, we find the disease was still in the town, and the "Pest House" in active operation.

a really formidable appearance. Shoes were £20 per pair; milk 15s per quart; plank 27s per foot; wood £35 per cord; board £60 per week; sugar 54s per pound; meal 78s, and potatoes 96s per bushel; rum 45s per pint; molasses 22s per pint; coffee, 96s, butter 60s, candles 60s, pork 60s, veal 24s, tobacco 36s, and ginger 60s per pound; and everything else in proportion. We copy the following as an additional illustration:—

"1781. April 16, the town of Haverhill to Nathaniel Bradley	
to one mug of flip	3.12.0
to my horse to danvers	24. 0.0
to 3 messes of oats	5. 8.0
to ferrage	1.16.0
to one dinner supper & Breakfast	18. 0.0
to one nights Lodging	1.16.0
to 4 mugs of flip	14. 8.0
to 8 half-mugs for my self	5. 8.0
	<hr/>
	£74.8.0

Errors Excepted

Nathaniel Bradley."^o

In 1782, the town's proportion of the State tax was £2,026.4.0, and of the tax laid by Congress, for the war, £1,347.18.04! No wonder that men shrunk from the unpleasant duties of town offices. At the annual meeting that year, Joseph Dodge, Captain Nathaniel Marsh, and Phineas Carleton, were successively chosen town clerk and treasurer, the first two refusing to serve; and Deacon Moses Clements refused to serve as select-man. Four town meetings were held before a constable for the East Parish was finally secured! Phineas Nichols and Reuben Currier were chosen, refused to serve, and were fined £5 each; and it was only by voting him their fines as a premium, that Edmund Brown was induced to accept the office!

In 1783, the town voted to instruct their Representative to join the Representatives of Newbury and other towns in the county, to memorialize the General Court in regard to "the unequal distribution of the Courts in the County," and at a subsequent meeting it was voted to concur with Newbury and Almsbury in praying for the removal of all the courts and county offices to Ipswich.

^o Six years later, (1787), Rum was two shillings and six pence per gallon; Shalloon, two shillings and six pence per yard; Sugar, nine pence per pound; Chocolate, one shilling and four pence per pound; Salt four shillings per bushel; Coffee, one shilling and six pence per pound; Brandy, five shillings per gallon; Mutton, four pence per pound; Flour, three pence per pound.

In the early part of May of this year, the selectmen received a letter from the Committee of Correspondence, of Boston, in relation to the return of "refugees" to this country, and an article was inserted in the warrant for a meeting on the 14th of the same month, to see if the town would take any action in the matter. At first, it was voted not to take any action, but "after some debate," it was

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this Town that their Representative be Instructed that whenever the affair respecting the return of Conspiritors or absentees, should be laid before the General Court, by proper authority, that he do use his Influence in said Court to prevent the Return of said persons, until the Reasons for the same be laid before his Constituents, if not Inconsistent with the articles of peace agreed upon at Paris by the Powers of War, in Nov. 1782."

Bailey Bartlett was chosen Representative to the General Court, in 1784, but declined, and Samuel White was then elected. Bartlett had filled the place three years, and was the first one elected by the town under the Constitution. The town acknowledged his past services by a vote of thanks.

At the same time liberty was granted "to the Fire Club to set an Engine House on the west side of the landing, adjoining land of Samuel White."

On the 29th of June, of this year, John Sawyer, who had been partially insane for several years, leaped from the belfry of the First Parish meeting-house. Mr. Bradford, the bell-man, who had but one leg, was ascending to the bell, when Sawyer crowded past him, and, without warning of his design, leaped from the dizzy height. He intended to throw himself directly upon the whipping post and stocks, which stood a few feet from the north east end of the meeting-house, but over-shot the mark, and landed on the side-walk. The fall broke his back, and he survived but a few hours.

The year 1785 was one of remarkable extremes of weather, &c. April 1st, the snow was three feet deep on a level, and so hard, that as late as the 15th it was used for skating, and still later, bore up cattle. On the 13th, the Merrimack was passable on the ice. In September and October there fell unusual quantities of rain. In the latter month there fell in three days *nine inches*, and the Merrimack was higher than in the great freshet of 1745. November 25, there was a remarkable snow storm, the snow blowing into *balls*, one of which ran 76 feet, and measured $17\frac{1}{2}$ by 22 inches. December 18th, the frost was out of the ground, and the weather pleasant. One month later, was the "coldest night ever known in the climate."

The novelty of the following, (which includes all the articles in the warrant for a town meeting November 14th, 1785) entitles it to a place in a history of the town:—

“First, To see if it be the minds of the Town to have a bank of paper money Emitted if it may be done upon a Solid foundation.

“Secondly, To chuse a committee to draw up Instructions for our present Deputy to forward the Matter that it may be done without delay.”

The scheme did not, however, appear to meet with the favor its friends expected. It was “voted not to act on the first article in the Warning,” and the second was then passed over, as a matter of course.

In March, 1786, the office of “Surveyor of Bread” was joined with another, called “Clerk of the Market.” The latter was from this time regularly chosen annually, until quite recently. The Selectmen were at the same time ordered to regulate the size of all bread sold by the bakers in the town.

This year is rendered memorable, by an insurrection in the western part of the State, headed by one Daniel Shays, and known as “Shays’ Rebellion.” The origin of these disturbances is to be found in the sufferings of the masses of the people under their grievous load of taxes. A few artful and unprincipled men, took advantage of their distresses, and persuaded them that they had a right to rid themselves of the restraints of law and government, which had so oppressed them.

Early in August, delegates from about fifty towns assembled at Hatfield, “to consider and provide a remedy for the grievances they suffered,” and though they professed to disapprove of mobs, their action so inflamed the minds of the ignorant, that three weeks after, a mob of fifteen hundred men, chiefly armed, assembled at Northampton, and prevented the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas. The spirit of insurrection spread rapidly. The first of September, three hundred armed men took possession of the Court House at Worcester, and would not allow the Court to be opened. Soon after, a similar body assembled at Springfield, under the leadership of Captain Daniel Shays, but found the Court protected by six hundred of the militia, under General Shepard, and after threatening and alarming the people for four days, they dispersed. Similar disturbances occurred in Berkshire, Bristol, and Middlesex Counties, and the governor finally convened the General Court to consider the unhappy state of affairs.

Previous to the last named act, the town of Boston held a meeting, and addressed a circular letter to every town in the State, “concerning the common interest of the country.” On the receipt of the letter in this town, a meeting was at once called, and a committee chosen to draft a suitable

reply. General Brickett was chairman. At an adjourned meeting the committee reported the following, which was read and adopted, and sent out as the deliberate conclusion of the town. The document breathes the purest and loftiest patriotism:—

“Haverhill, the 10th of October, 1786.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:—

Your circular address of the 11th of September last, to the several towns of this Commonwealth, has been received, and laid before this town at a legal meeting of the same, and a serious attention paid to the importance of the subject. The blessings of a free Government, and an undisturbed, impartial administration of justice, are the peculiar advantages of freemen, and when contrasted with the miseries attendant upon a despotism, appear as objects too dear to be sacrificed without a struggle. So sensible of these advantages were the good people of this Commonwealth in forming their Constitution, that they, with grateful hearts, acknowledge the goodness of the Great Legislator of the Universe in affording them in the course of this Providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud, violence, or surprise, of entering into an original, explicit and solemn compact with each other, whereby the dignity of man was preserved, his essential rights and liberties guarded, and the fruits of his honest industry and labor secured to him, against the avaricious grasp of a despot or his minions. Under a Constitution so mild and equal, being neither the result of fear or surprise, nor any system imposed upon us by a foreign power; but made our own free act and deed, by our voluntary consent in which the various branches of government are wisely separated, arranged and organized, and so ample provision made for the regular and impartial administration of law and justice, we flattered ourselves we should have enjoyed for a long time the blessings of peace, good order and harmony. From our government being annually elective by the people, they have a complete control over their rulers, and it is our peculiar advantage that both governors and governed feel alike every public burden, and share in common every calamity and distress.

If at any time we are agrieved, the avenues to Government, when we apply for redress, are not closed against us, nor guarded by a military power to overawe us. We have a right to apply for relief, and the Constitution has pointed out an easy, cheap, and expeditious mode, unattended with any of those dangers to which the Commonwealth may be exposed, when combinations of armed men undertake to redress what they deem grievances, and in effect legislate for the whole people. The late tumult-

tuous and riotous proceedings in some counties of this Commonwealth in interrupting and stopping the Courts of Justice, from which government derives so much energy and support, are so repugnant to the Constitution, and so abhorrent to every idea of peace and good order, that we think it is our indispensable duty to bear this public testimony against them, as subversive of government, and tending to introduce a state of anarchy which may terminate in the establishment of despotism and arbitrary power.

We deprecate the consequences of such proceedings, as having a tendency to remove every guard and barrier which the Constitution has placed over our lives, liberties and property, and everything else men hold dear in civilized societies.

The zeal and activity displayed by his Excellency the Governor in calling upon the good people of this State to exert their efforts to avert the impending ruin, are so expressive of his anxious solicitude for the safety of the Commonwealth, and of his determination to support it, that we cannot on this occasion forbear to express the highest approbation of his conduct. We are sensible there are grievances, we feel them in common with our fellow-citizens, and have cheerfully participated in all their calamities and embarrassments. But whether all the grievances we complain of originated from government, is a subject of very serious enquiry. Cannot we trace many of them in luxurious, dissipated living, in idleness, in want of temperance, honesty, industry, frugality and economy. Surely these are sources from whence many spring, and a reformation in these respects will operate a cure of almost all the evils that at present distress us. We know of no grievances that cannot be redressed in a constitutional manner, and are unwilling to cast a reproach upon government while our own private vices are the principal obstacles to its doing all that good we might reasonably expect from it.

We lament the delusion of some of our brethren, and that the arts and intrigues of wicked and designing men have precipitated them into such violent outrages upon law and government. We doubt not, however, upon a cool and dispassionate consideration of the evil consequences of such measures, they will be convinced of their inefficiency in procuring the redress of any grievances, that the design of their leaders is the total subversion of our Constitution and erecting their power upon its ruin, and that the evils they and we labor under are rather the offsprings of our vices than the faults of government.

This town has borne its full share of all the burdens, losses and expenses, of the late war, and its subsequent proportion of public expenses since the peace. The present form of government was deliberately

adopted, and we wish not to see it sacrificed. We are ready, therefore, to join you in a firm and vigorous support of our Constitution, in the redress of grievances and in promoting industry, economy, and every other virtue which can exalt and render a nation respectable.

Per order, James Brickett,
Chairman of the Committee."

Well may the descendants of these patriotic men glory in the title "Son of Old Haverhill." Though the "full share of all the burdens, losses and expenses," of the long and arduous struggle for liberty, had fallen upon them, they had "deliberately adopted" the rules for their government, would not consent to see them sacrificed, and were "ready to join in a firm and vigorous support of our Constitution." Shame on him who can speak lightly of blessings and privileges purchased at such a price! Rather let us fervently pray—

"Long be our father's temple ours;
We to the hand by which it falls;
Departed spirits watch its towers—
May living patriots guard its walls!"

The General Court passed several measures for the relief of the heavily burdened tax-payers, and by offers of free pardon for the past, endeavored to induce the mis-guided insurgents to cease their opposition to the government. It was not, however, until several regiments of militia were ordered out, and the most vigorous measures adopted, that the insurrection was finally quelled.

Among those called out, was a detachment of the militia of this town.^o At a meeting in April, 1787, the town voted to pay them "8s per month," in addition to what they received from the State.

One of the safeguards adopted in the then unsettled state of the public mind, was that requiring persons elected to office, to "take and subscribe the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," in order to qualify them to act in their several offices. At the March meeting in 1787, each and every town officer was "sworn into office," and the principal officers "took and subscribed to the oath of allegiance," in addition. This is the first mention we find of one of our town officers taking the oath of office.

In November, of the same year, Bailey Bartlett, Esq., and Captain Nathaniel Marsh, were chosen delegates to a State Convention at Boston,

^o Their names were, Moses Marsh, Sergeant; Moses Brickett, Joseph Mullican, Samuel Middleton, Caleb Cushing, Daniel Eames, Timothy Johnson, David Ayer. They enlisted January 9th, 1787, to serve thirty days from the 23d of the same month.

to ratify the Federal Constitution. After several weeks' discussion, it was approved, by a vote of 187 to 168. The first election under the new Constitution, was held December 18th, 1788.

At the annual meeting in 1789, it was "Voted to choose a Committee to Inspect the schools. The committee chosen were as follows—viz:—The settled Clergymen and Selectmen, Isaac Osgood Esq, Hon Nathaniel P. Sargeant Esq, Mr John White, Capt Francis Carr, & Capt Samuel Merrill.

Voted the above Committee Visit the Schools Quarterly and make Report to the Town, at their Annual March & fall Meetings."

This was the first "School Committee" in the town, and so well did the plan commend itself to the inhabitants, that the next year the committee were "desired to recommend such rules and regulations in the schools as they shall think proper;" and a similar committee has been annually chosen since that time.

October 6th, of the same year, a meeting was called to see if the town would build a "Work House" for their poor. After choosing a committee to consider the matter, visit other towns, and ascertain the present cost of supporting the poor of the town, the meeting adjourned. The next April the committee reported that it would not be good policy or economy for the town to erect a work-house, as most of their poor were too old or infirm to labor much, and could be better supported as they then were (in "good families.") They give the names of twenty persons and one family, then mostly supported by the town, at an expense of about one hundred and twenty-seven pounds per annum.

The year 1789 occupies a prominent place in the unwritten history of our town, and deserves an equally prominent one in its written history, as the year in which the First President of the Republic visited the town, and gladdened the hearts of its patriotic inhabitants by his visible presence among them.

George Washington was elected President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1789, and was inaugurated on the 30th of the following month. The peculiar and unsettled state of the public mind and affairs at that period of our political history, together with a desire on the part of Washington to examine the resources of the new government, and the disposition of the people toward it, induced him to make an early tour through New England. Soon after the adjournment of the first Congress, he started on the proposed journey.

He left New York on the 15th of October, 1789, and visited as far east as the old town (now city) of Portsmouth, N. H. Everywhere on the

route he was received with the strongest marks of respect — in many instances bordering on veneration. / He journeyed in an open carriage, drawn by four horses, accompanied only by his Secretary, (Mr. Lear,) Major Jackson, and a single servant. Mr. Lear, upon a beautiful white horse, usually rode in advance of the carriage, which was occupied by Washington and Mr. Jackson, and driven by the President's private coachman. Compared with modern turnouts, the equipage of our first President was plain and unpretending, and a model of Republican simplicity. His journey east from Boston lay along the seaboard, through Salem, Newburyport, and the line of towns on the then principal road from Boston to Maine.

The news of Washington's tour early reached the people of Haverhill, and, as might be expected, awakened the liveliest interest. Soon the intelligence came that he had passed through Newburyport on his way to Portsmouth, and would return by way of Haverhill. This added to the already rapidly increasing interest and excitement, and the most respectable citizens of the town prepared to receive their Chief Magistrate in a manner becoming his exalted station and distinguished character. Anon, came a rumor that Washington would go from Portsmouth direct to Concord, and would not return this way, which cast its dark shadow over the whole community. To have the joyfully-anticipated honor and pleasure of a visit from Washington so suddenly taken away, was a most painful disappointment to the good people of Haverhill; and their sad faces and subdued tones of voice, in the frequent and earnest discussion as to the probabilities of his coming, and of the reasons why he should so suddenly change his route, fully revealed the deep and firm hold our country's Father had in the hearts and affections of his children.

Among those who most keenly felt the disappointment were Rev. Gyles Merrill and Mr. Jonathan Payson. When the day arrived that the distinguished visitor was to have passed through the town, they could not be content to risk losing the golden opportunity of seeing him; and resolving that "see him they must," if it were possible, they mounted their horses and started for Exeter, through which place Washington would pass on his way to Concord. The young daughters of these gentlemen, (Sally White and Sally Merrill — the first-named a step-daughter of Mr. Payson) through much pleading, and most probably tears, obtained permission of their parents to accompany them in the family chaise. With hearts lightened by the renewed prospect of a consummation of their much-desired wishes, the little party started early in the forenoon for Exeter.

A few miles this side of their place of destination (in the town of Kingston), they unexpectedly met the equipage of Washington! The gentlemen in their own all-absorbing interest, quite forgot their young charges; and the latter, well-nigh transported at the sight of the noble and dignified form and face of Washington, forgot all things else, and in an absent-minded attempt to turn aside and give room for the carriage to pass, the young ladies were thrown from the chaise. The excitement of the moment, rendered them quite insensible to fright or pain; and before the horsemen could dismount, the young misses were upon their feet, declaring most vehemently that they were not hurt — not in the least. Arriving opposite to them, Washington ordered his carriage stopped, and kindly enquired — “I hope, young ladies, you are not injured?” Being assured by their appearance and replies that they had escaped unhurt, he congratulated them on their good fortune, and, respectfully saluting them and their companions, directed his party to move on.

The people of Haverhill had reluctantly yielded to the unwelcome rumor above-mentioned, and had settled into the conviction that notwithstanding their well-earned fame in the (then) recent struggle for their country's independence, and their well-known devotion to the cause and its distinguished defender, their beloved and venerated chief had passed them by. Oppressed with such thoughts as these, each turned aside to attend to his daily avocation, and the day wore slowly away, until the sun had passed his meridian, and unusual quiet and stillness reigned in the pleasant little village “at the foot of the hill.”

But hark! what sound was that? Again it comes upon the unwonted stillness. *It is a trumpet!* The villagers rush to their doors to learn from whence comes the strange sound. It is soon explained. Down the hill gallops a single horseman, *bare-headed*, and at full speed, one hand guiding his foaming steed, while with the other he at short intervals imitates the shrill blast of a trumpet, alternating it with the cry, “Washington is coming; Washington is coming!” As he draws up to the “Mason's Arms,”^o he is recognized as Timothy Osgood a well-known citizen of the town. He had seen Washington at Exeter, and learning that he was en route for Haverhill, had lost no time in hastening to notify his townsmen.

Immediately the tones of the village bell broke forth. Those who had not heard the ex-tempore trumpet, quickly caught the sound of the bell, and it needed no other tongue to interpret the meaning of the sudden peal! Never before had spoken that little bell more acceptably to the villagers;

^o Harrod's Tavern, the sign for which was a painting representing the Freemason's Arms.

never before had it rung a merrier peal. Round and round it went, with a speed almost supernatural; it seemed as if indeed propelled by some weird power; while its musical tones, eagerly caught up by the swift-moving November breeze, followed each other with marvellous rapidity, and fell upon the ears of the overjoyed citizens in golden showers.

The old schoolmaster, as he paced back and forth in his little palace at the head of the green, suddenly stopped midway his round, as the first tone leaped through the whittled-edged chink in the door, and with a spasmodic "School's dismissed," scarce found patience to wait the exit of his startled scholars.* Horses were saddled and mounted in such a brief space of time that their very legs trembled with excitement; and in an exceedingly short time, a company of horsemen was formed, composed of some of the most respectable citizens in the place, and advanced to meet and escort the President into town.

Washington entered the village about half-past two o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, November 4th, and took up his quarters at Harrod's Tavern, which was situated on what is now the Town Hall lot, though earnestly invited to occupy apartments prepared for him by Mr. John White, at his residence on Water Street, (on the site of Mr. West's present residence). The President called on Mr. White, whose daughter-in-law had often been a visitor at his own house in Philadelphia; took a social glass of wine with him, and acknowledged his obligations for such kindness; but expressed his preference for a public house; and, in answer to a suggestion of his would-be hostess, observed that he was "an old soldier, and used to hard fare, and a hard bed."

He had on, at the time, a drab surtout, then a fashionable color with the "most respectable gentlemen," and a military hat. He is described to us, by several who distinctly remember his visit to the place, as very tall and straight, and remarkably dignified in his looks and manners.

On alighting at the tavern, he was introduced to several of the most prominent citizens of the town; and after a short rest, he walked about the town, visiting various points of interest, and entering into conversation upon the location, business, and commercial and other advantages of the town. He called at the residence of Sheriff Bartlett, (who was absent at the time) and left his regards for Mr. B., and his thanks for the attentions shown him on his journey east. (Mr. Bartlett, as Sheriff, aided by his Deputies, had escorted Washington through the county). He paid a visit to the small duck factory which had been recently started by Samuel Blodgett, Esq., on Kent Street, and seemed to share in the interest with which

* A fact; as is also every other incident given in this sketch.

the enterprise was regarded by the citizens. He walked up Merrimack Street, and as far as what is now Washington Square and Washington Street (so named in honor of his visit), and repeatedly remarked upon the pleasantness and beauty of the scenery, the location of the village, and his pleasure in noticing the thrift and enterprise of its citizens. His observation that "Haverhill is the pleasantest village I have passed through," was esteemed a high compliment at the time, and has been transmitted from father to son, as an unanswerable argument in favor of his "home, sweet home," as the best place for the exercise of enterprise, and the enjoyment of life.

As Washington's eye, from his eligible stand-point near Little River Bridge, took in the then unobstructed view for miles up and down the Merrimack, he almost involuntarily exclaimed, — "Beautiful, beautiful!" He especially admired the situation of the Saltonstall residence, just below the village (now the Duncan place), and pronounced it a most charming and picturesque location for a home.

Among the several parties who called upon Washington, at his lodgings, were Revs. John Shaw and Gyles Merrill, and Mr. Jonathan Payson, with the little daughter of Mr. Shaw, and the step-daughter of Mr. Payson — two bright little misses, and play-mates, of about eight years of age, named Mary White and Betsey Shaw. The pleasant "And how do the little ladies do?" with the familiar shake of the hand which followed their introduction to the President, was never forgotten by those to whom it was addressed, and they never tired repeating all the little incidents of their interview with the "Great Washington." While engaged in easy conversation with the gentlemen, the President called the little girls to him, and taking one upon each knee, soon completely dispelled their childish timidity by his kind words and gentle manner. During the interview, Washington drew from his pocket a glove, and smilingly enquired — "Which of the little misses will mend my glove?" After a little pleasant rivalry between them, each being eager for the honor, the matter was duly arranged on a sort of copartnership basis, and the young misses retired with the glove.

On their return to the room, with the glove neatly repaired, he thanked them for the favor, and drawing them to his chair, imprinted a kiss upon the lips of each; the recollection of which, the reader may be assured, never lost the vividness and freshness of the first gentle pressure. A kiss from the lips of WASHINGTON was a treasure of no mean value! As might be supposed, the quickly-published success of these little misses stimulated a desire on the part of others to secure a like favor; among whom were

two of about the same age, who, after much teasing, were allowed to ask permission to "kiss his hand." On answering their timid knock at his door, and hearing their respectful request, Washington expressed his willingness to *exchange* kisses with the little beggars; and suiting the action to the word, the "Father of his Country" made happy the hearts of two more of his large family of children, by a paternal kiss.

In accordance with his usual custom, Washington made preparations to retire at an early hour. Soon after he had retired to his room, a little boy came into the tavern, and expressed a desire to see "George Washington." He was told that he could not see him; upon which he burst into tears, and declared that he "*must* see George Washington." After vainly endeavoring to pacify the boy, he was ordered to leave the house, as his request could not be granted. Upon this, the little fellow's distress burst through all barriers of self-restraint, and he startled the inmates of the whole house with his piercing cries. Before he could be removed, Washington, hearing the uproar, and learning the cause, requested that the boy be brought to his room. The little fellow was accordingly taken up; and, as he entered the room, and through his tears looked upon Washington, he seemed completely bewildered, and riveted to the spot. He had doubtless listened to many a story of the "great Washington" from his mother's lips, and had seen the interest and excitement in the village in consequence of his visit; and these had so wrought upon his childish imagination, that he verily believed he was to see a being of corresponding physical magnitude, and completely answering his boyish ideal of a god. Washington kindly enquired of the boy what he wanted. "I want to see George Washington," stammered the little fellow. Calling the lad to his side, Washington gently patted his head, saying — "I am George Washington, my little lad, but I am only a *man*."

It was an unusually cold day for the season, and as Washington was chilly and fatigued with the day's travel, and the "best bed" had not been used for some time, the careful hostess concluded that it would be prudent to have the bed warmed before her distinguished lodger retired. This conclusion was overheard by her young daughter, who lost no time in carrying the plan into execution. Her adventure is thus narrated by herself, seventy years afterward: —

"As all and everybody were contending for the honor of doing something for that great and good man, I, with others, thought, what can I do? Accordingly, I took the warming-pan, and rushed into the chamber, where sat in state, in my mother's easy-chair, President Washington. As I

remember, I was about eleven years old,^o and at that time, being very diffident, I was almost frightened to death to think in whose presence I was. I *guess* I did not stop to make the bed very warm, but as I was leaving the chamber, he rose from his chair and kissed me. I went below and told of it, and for years after, it was my boast and pride."[†]

The next morning, the militia of the town were called out and paraded, for the inspection of their Commander-in-Chief. The line was formed on the north side of Water Street, extending from the corner of Main Street east. There were about one hundred in the line, and several are still living who remember of seeing Washington standing on the opposite side of Water Street, with Major Jackson on his right and Mr. Lear on his left, as he witnessed the modest parade of the "citizen soldiers" of the town in honor of his visit.

He left town about sun-rise the next morning after his arrival, via the old ferry, nearly opposite the foot of Kent Street. For some cause, not now distinctly remembered, except that it was occasioned by the ferry-boat, he was delayed some little time, after arriving at the ferry-way. While standing in the porch of Mr. Bartlett's residence, (Israel Bartlett, Esq.,) on the north-east corner of Water and Kent Streets, waiting the slow motions of the boat, and surrounded by the principal citizens of the place, and nearly the whole of the neighboring population, Mr. Bartlett politely invited him to "step in and sit till the boat was ready." Washington was apparently about to accept the invitation, when a near neighbor of Mr. Bartlett's, Gen. Brickett, who lived just below, and directly opposite the ferry, said — "General, won't you please go into *my* house? it is much nearer the boat." With the sagacity for which he was ever so remarkable, Washington detected in an instant the real reason of the second invitation, and thanking the gentlemen for their invitations, courteously declined them both. This little incident was never forgotten by the first party, who could hardly forgive his neighbor for depriving him of the distinguished honor of having received *Washington* beneath his own roof.

Among those who had tried hard to obtain an interview with Washington while in Haverhill, was Bart Pecker — one who had served his country long and faithfully as a soldier in the Revolutionary army. Bart had been a brave man and a faithful soldier, and was for some time one of the

^o She was in her twelfth year.

[†] Since the above was written, we have had the pleasure of an interview with the writer, who is still living. (September, 1860,) and in the enjoyment of excellent health. She remembers that in her confusion and awkwardness, she stumbled and fell, as she was leaving the room, and thinks that this was, perhaps, the immediate occasion of her receiving the coveted kiss.

famous "Washington Life Guards;" but his love of grog increasing with his years, had interfered sadly with his standing in the community. Although he pleaded hard for a chance to speak to Washington, whom he declared he was "well acquainted with," he was purposely kept in the background on account of his habits and shabby appearance. But just as Washington had taken leave of his escort, and was about to step into the boat, Bart's patience gave way, and with a fierce ejaculation that he *would* "speak to the General," he pushed through the crowd, and extending his hand, cried out, excitedly, "General, how do you do?" Washington apparently recognized the voice, and, turning quickly, grasped his hand and replied — "Bart, is this you?" and quietly slipping a gold piece into the hand of the overjoyed old soldier, bade him "good-bye," and hastened on board the waiting boat.

Washington arrived in New York the 13th of November, having been absent about one month. Ever after, he was pleased to speak of his New England tour as one of the most pleasant incidents of his public life.

We cannot more appropriately close this pleasant episode in our town's history, than by inserting the following extract from the diary kept by Washington during his tour: —

"Wednesday 4th. About half after seven I left Portsmouth, quietly, and without any attendance, having earnestly entreated that all parade and ceremony might be avoided on my return. Before ten I reached Exeter, 14 miles distance. This is considered as the second town in New Hampshire, and stands at the head of the tide-water of Piscataqua River; but ships of 3 or 400 tons are built at it. Above (but in the town) are considerable falls, which supply several grist-mills, 2 oil mills, a slitting mill, and snuff mill. It is a place of some consequence, but does not contain more than 1,000 inhabitants. A jealousy subsists between this town (where the legislature alternately sits,) and Portsmouth; which, had I known it in time, would have made it necessary to have accepted an invitation to a public dinner, but my arrangements having been otherwise made, I could not. From hence, passing through Kingston, (6 miles from Exeter) I arrived at Haverhill about half past two, and stayed all night. Walked through the town, which stands at the head of the tide of Merrimack River, and in a beautiful part of the country. The lands over which I travelled to-day, are pretty much mixed in places with stone — and the growth with pines — till I came near to Haverhill, where they disappeared, and the land had a more fertile appearance. The whole were pretty well cultivated, but used (principally) for grass and Indian corn. In Haverhill is a Duck manufactory, upon a small but ingenious scale,

under the conduct of Colo ———.° At this manufactory one small person turns a wheel which employs eight spinners, each acting independently of the other, so as to occasion no interruption to the rest if any one of them is stopped — whereas at the Boston manufactory of this article, each spinner has a small girl to turn the wheel. The looms are also somewhat differently constructed from those of the common kind, and upon an improved plan. The inhabitt's of this small village were well disposed to welcome me to it by every demonstration which could evince their joy.

Thursday 5th. About sunrise I set out, crossing the Merrimack River at the town, over to the township of Bradford, and in nine miles came to Abbott's tavern, in Andover, where we breakfasted, and met with much attention from Mr Phillips, President of the Senate of Massachusetts, who accompanied us through Bellarika to Lexington, where I dined, and viewed the spot on which the first blood was spilt in the dispute with Great Britain, on the 19th of April 1775."

° Samuel Blodgett.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1790 TO 1800.

THE close of the Revolution found our town, in common with others, seriously embarrassed. The war had been carried on under many and great disadvantages, and at an enormous expense; and the peace which followed, found the people, of Massachusetts particularly, with a heavy debt upon them, for the payment of which they were compelled to make provision. Their resources were limited, their industry crippled; and it was several years before the blessings of peace were seen in their full vigor. But that time came at last, and the period when our chapter opens found our town already well started on the high road to general prosperity.

Ship-building and commerce, which had been almost entirely suspended during the war, were again resumed, and with energy. The long silence of our ship-yards was succeeded by the busy hum of axe and hammer, and the white wings of commerce once more gladdened the face of the beautiful Merrimack, cheering the heart and nerving the arm of all classes and conditions of our citizens. There were at this time two ship-yards in the village, and one at the "Rocks," in full operation.^o The yard at the Rocks was discontinued about the year 1800. The usual kind of vessels were built in these yards, including ships, brigs, snows,[†] schooners, and sloops.

The commerce and trade of the town at this time was large. Several of our merchants were large exporters and importers to and from England and the West Indies. Vessels sometimes sailed to and from this place to London direct, though the larger ships were laden and unladen at Newburyport, or Boston. From the former place, the goods were carried to and from Haverhill in long boats, or gondolas; and from the latter in snows, and smaller vessels. The West India trade was carried on in the same manner, though vessels more frequently sailed direct. Among

^o Persons yet living can remember when three vessels were launched in a single day in the village. In 1810, nine vessels were built here, and fifty to sixty men kept constantly employed in the shipyard.

[†] *Snow.* A vessel equipped with two masts, resembling the main and fore-masts of a ship, and a third small mast just abaft the main-mast, carrying a try-sail.—*Mar. Dict.*

the articles exported, were large quantities of corn and grain, beef, fish, lumber, pearl-ashes, linseed oil, tow cloth, and a great variety of other articles in smaller quantities. In return, sugar and molasses were received from the West Indies, and the usual variety of goods from London. This town was for a long time the head-quarters of trade for a large back country, and our wharves, warehouses, and shipping, gave the place quite a portly appearance. The goods and articles of trade were transported to and from the interior wholly by oxen, hundreds of which were constantly employed in the business.

Among the principal merchants of the town about this time, were John White, Benjamin Willis, James Duncan, James Duncan, Jr., and Isaac Osgood.

Mr. White lived in the house now owned and occupied by Thomas West, Esq., next west of the Merrimack Bank, Water Street, and his store stood on the spot now occupied by the above named Bank building. His house, which he built in 1766, was a large three-story mansion, and one of the most imposing and costly dwellings in the region. Its massive front door, with the portico and pillars have been removed. Its deep and terraced front yard, with varied shrubbery and flowers; its ample stone steps, and high fence of fanciful trellis work; and its tall poplar trees, have all disappeared. The street now presses close to the house, which has been extensively re-modeled, and retains but little of its ancient aristocratic and wealthy appearance. The large garden in the rear of the mansion, with its regular squares, fringed with boxwood—its neatly gravelled walks—its terraces, and rare varieties of imported fruit trees—is now despoiled of its beauty, and nearly covered with stables. Mr. White, or "Marchant" White, as he was familiarly called, was for many years not only a prominent business man, but a highly respected, wealthy, and influential citizen. He was largely engaged in commerce, and imported and exported large amounts of merchandise. When Washington passed through Haverhill, he called upon Mr. White, whose daughter-in-law (Mrs. Leonard White) had been a frequent visitor—sometimes for weeks together—of Mrs. Washington, and exchanged healths with the merchant in a glass of wine.^o

Mr. Willis was a son of Benjamin Willis, a ship-master of Charlestown, Mass. The latter, during the early part of the Revolution, was taken prisoner by the British, at sea, and carried into Eustacia. When he returned, on being exchanged, he found his house burned, and learned that

^o Mr. White died in 1800, aged 76 years.

his family had taken refuge in Haverhill. He settled here with them after the Revolution, and became largely engaged in shipping. Benjamin, Jr., while yet a young man, went to London, as supercargo, in one of his father's vessels — the brig "Benjamin and Nancy," — where he became acquainted with a Mr. John Dickinson, a large merchant of that city, who took a strong liking to the young American, and recommended him to engage in the mercantile business in Haverhill, at the same time offering to furnish him with a full stock of goods to start with. The offer was accepted, and from this beginning Mr. Willis soon became one of the largest importers in the State. His cargoes usually came to Newburyport in brigs, and were transported from thence to this town in boats.

Mr. James Duncan was a son of George Duncan, one of the early settlers of Londonderry. In early life, he started out with a small pack of goods, as a pedlar, and from this small beginning, he rose to be quite an extensive merchant. He came to Haverhill some time previous to 1750, and resided here until his death, which occurred in 1818, at the advanced age of ninety-two years. Mr. Duncan was succeeded in business by his son, James Duncan, Jr., who soon became one of the leading merchants of the place, and was not only in both the foreign and domestic trade, but was largely interested in shipping. He built and furnished the first store in Lebanon, N. H., at which place he also erected potash works, and a mill for grinding flax-seed. Loading his heavy ox-teams with a variety of foreign goods, from his head-quarters in Haverhill, for his store in Lebanon, they returned laden with pearl-ashes, linseed oil, flax-seed, grain, and various other articles of export and exchange. Some idea of the extent of this country trade may be gathered from the fact that, during a single period of twenty-six months, Mr. Duncan sent over \$90,000 worth of goods to his store in Lebanon. At this period, large quantities of flax-seed, and pot and pearl-ashes, were exported to England and Ireland. The flax-seed was mostly sent to Ireland. Mr. Duncan was a man of a high order of business talent, and great enterprise. Though deprived of the advantages of a liberal education, he made such good use of his time and means for information, that few could equal him in legal, mercantile, and general knowledge. He was at one time deeply interested in military affairs, and, as a major, commanded the companies of cavalry which escorted Washington, in 1789, from Boston to the New Hampshire line. He died in 1822, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Mr. Osgood was a native of Andover. He came to Haverhill about 175—, and was for many years one of our principal merchants, and most influential citizens. His store, (a wooden building, with gambrel roof,)

was situated a few rods east of the bridge. Previous to the Revolution, Mr. Osgood was quite largely engaged in the West India trade, but after the war, he was more particularly interested in that of London. He erected, and operated for many years, a large distillery near his store. Subsequently, the distillery was changed to a brewery, and was used as such for several years. It afterward fell into the hands of Mr. Dickenson, of London, and after lying idle for a long time, the latter gentleman made a present of it to Benjamin Willis, Jr., by whom it was torn down, to give place to the stores known as the "Willis Block." The worms and boilers were cast into sleigh-bells, by Mr. Bailey, of the West Parish, and the clay around the vats was used in making bricks for the new block.^o

Mr. Osgood died in 1791, and was succeeded in business by his son, Peter Osgood, who will be remembered by many of our readers.

The population of the town, at the time our chapter opens, was two thousand four hundred and eight, and its valuation, 1,519,411.[†]

At this period, newspapers and letters were carried through the country by persons who rode on horse-back, called "Post-riders." Samuel Bean was post-rider from Boston to Concord, N. H. His route was through Andover, Haverhill, Atkinson, Kingston, Exeter, Epping, Nottingham, Deerfield, and Pembroke to Concord: returning, he passed through Londonderry and Haverhill. He performed the route once a week. The first *stage* from Haverhill to Boston was started about this time. It was a two-horse coach, and owned by a Mr. Gage. Gage owned one horse, and as often as he could make certain of a sufficient number of passengers for a load, he hired another horse and run his coach. He performed the route only when he had custom. Mr. Robert Willis remembers that in September, 1792, when himself and his brothers were taken by his mother to Boston (to be inoculated with the small pox) they crossed the ferry here just as the sun was rising, and when the coach crossed the bridge at Charlestown, the lamps were already lighted in the evening — thus making the journey in about twelve hours. In 1793, a stage commenced running regularly once a week; and the same year it was changed to twice a week.

An advertisement in a Boston paper, under date of April 9, 1793, informs the public that "The Haverhill Stage Coach is complete, with genteel curtains & cushions, & a pair of able horses, ready for service."

^o The block was erected in 1811, by Benjamin Willis, Kimball Carleton, Warner Whittier, and James Haseltine, who owned one store each. It was the first brick block erected in the town. The Banister Block was built in 1815.

[†] The first United States Census was taken this year — 1790.

It was to "set out from Chadwick's ferry in Bradford on Tuesday the 16th at 6 o'clock, precisely, and it expects to arrive at Mr. Abbott's in Andover before 8, & at Mr. Peabody's in Boston before one." The proprietor gave notice that he "intends in a short time that the stage performs this route twice in a week. Fare 3d a mile." There is no name attached to the advertisement, but we believe that Judge Blodgett was the proprietor.

In November, (1793) a stage commenced running twice a week from this place to Concord, N. H., connecting with the Boston stage. It was owned by parties in this town, Chester, and Concord. The mail, however, continued to be carried on horse-back for several years after the establishment of a regular line of stages.

At the celebration attending the opening of the "Andover & Haverhill Railroad" to Bradford, in October, 1837, Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, of Salem, alluded in a very happy manner to the great contrast between the rates of travelling at the present time, and years gone by. He said he arrived in Boston from Salem, fifteen miles, in the morning, by stage;—and after waiting three-quarters of an hour, he embarked in the cars for Haverhill—a further distance of thirty-two miles; and, after spending some hours in the latter place, he hoped to return to Boston in the cars in the afternoon, and after remaining a half-an-hour there, return to his family in Salem before eight o'clock in the evening. He well recollected the setting up of the first stage-coach between Boston and Haverhill, some forty or fifty years before, by Judge Blodgett, of Haverhill. It started very early in the morning from Haverhill, in order to have time to perform the distance, and arrive comfortably in Boston before dark! The boys followed it as it passed through the villages, and the women put their heads out of the windows, gazing upon the wonder, and the welkin rung with the shouts of "THE STAGE, THE STAGE!" A stage-coach was soon afterward established to run between Haverhill and Concord, N. H. This was considered a most extraordinary event, and one of the leaders had a bell, of a size nearly equal to that of the bell of the Academy, suspended to his neck, the sound of which could be heard a great distance, to give the intelligence that *the stage was coming!*

At the annual meeting in 1790, the town granted leave, on the petition of Judge Sargeant, for "trees to be set out on the public land." The land referred to was doubtless the common, and we presume it was at this time that the sycamores, — which have been removed but a few years, — were set out. Judge Sargeant's house adjoined the common, on the north.^o At

^o It stood on the site now occupied by the Unitarian Church, and was removed to make place for that structure. It now stands, with but little alteration, on the south-west corner of Winter and Spring Streets.

the next annual meeting, General James Brickett and others petitioned "to have the trees lately set out in the Training Field removed," but no action was taken on the article.

From a report made to the town this year, we learn that twenty-four persons were at this time supported, in whole or in part, by the town, at an expense of £130. A proposition was made to erect a poor-house, but it was not agreed to. A similar proposition was made six years later, but was also rejected.

This year, (1790) the collection of the town taxes was, for the first time, sold at "vendue," to the lowest bidder, by parishes. They were bid off at eight and one-half to eleven pence on the pound.

Previous to this time, swine had been allowed to run at large; but a district was now laid out, including the village, within which they were in future to be deprived of that privilege. The line run "from Mill Brook to the Upper Sands, and then back to Peter Bradley's; then to Dea. Ayer's Pond; and then to the bound first mentioned."

At a meeting in October of this year, Samuel Walker, from the school committee, submitted a code of regulations for the government of the Grammar Schools in town, which were adopted. There were thirteen rules, in substance as follows:—

1. None should be admitted into the Grammar Schools but such as could with a degree of readiness read words of two syllables. All "under this description" were to be provided for by employing school-mistresses.
2. From May 1st to September 1st, the schools should commence at 8 A. M., and 2 P. M., and close at 12 M., and 6 P. M.; and from September to May, should begin at 9 A. M., and 1½ P. M., and close at 12 M., and 4½ P. M.
3. There should be no school kept on the afternoon of Saturdays, and Lecture-days, nor on the day of the annual town meeting in March, the annual Election day, the 4th of July, and Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Commencement Week at Cambridge.
4. The schools should be divided into two or more classes. The senior class only to be taught writing and arithmetic. The Lower class or classes to be wholly employed in reading and spelling.
5. Particular attention was to be given in the upper class to punctuation, "that in reading they may be taught to observe the Stops and points, notes of affection and interrogation, accenting and Emphasising."
6. The upper class "should be initiated into the principals of English Grammar, and for this purpose, those Rules which are contained in our

English Spelling Books should be marked by the Master," and a lesson required daily.

7. The second class were each to bring one or more answers daily "out of such Catechisms as shall be directed by their Parents or Guardians."

8. A uniformity of books was to be required. If the parent or guardian was unable to purchase, the selectmen were directed to provide the books.

9. The schools were to be "opened in the morning, and closed in the evening by the school master with an Act of Religion, reading a portion of the Bible every morning, accompanied with an Address to God in Prayer, and closing every evening with Prayer."

10. Quarterly, or at least semi-annually, the master should appoint several of the senior class "to exhibit specimens of their acquisitions in learning in the presence of the Committee at the time of their visiting the school, in a way of Public Speaking."

11. That from May to September one hour in the forenoon, and the same in the afternoon, be specially "appropriated for the instruction of the young Males or Females; that of consequence the Common School be dismissed daily for such a period, at 11 o'clk, in the forenoon, & a like hour in the afternoon," to give time for that purpose.

12. The master was recommended to consider himself as in the place of a parent to the children under his care, and endeavor to convince them by mild treatment that he felt a parental affection for them; that he be sparing as to threatenings, or promises, but punctual in the execution of the one, and the performance of the other; that he never make dismissal from school at an earlier hour than usual, a reward for attention or diligence, but endeavor to lead them to consider being at school a privilege, and dismissal from it as a punishment; that he never strike the children on the head, either with the hand or any instrument, nor allow one scholar to inflict corporeal punishment on another; that when circumstances admit, he suspend inflicting punishment until some time after the offence is committed; that as far as it is practicable, he exclude corporeal punishment from the school, and particularly, that he never inflict it on females; that he introduce such rewards as are adapted to stimulate the "ingenious passions" of the children; and that he inculcate upon the scholars the propriety of good behavior during their absence from school.

13. Saturdays, in the forenoon, the master was to instruct his scholars in some catechism, and address them on moral and religious subjects, endeavoring to impress upon their minds "a sense of the being and Providence of God, and the obligations they are under to Love Serve and to

pray to him ; their duty to their Parents and masters ; the Beauty and excellence of truth, justice, and mutual Love ; tenderness to Brute Creatures, and the sinfulness of tormenting them, and wantonly destroying their Lives ; the happy tendency of Self-Government, and Obedience to the dictates of Reason, and Religion ; the duty which they owe their Country, and the Necessity of a Strict Obedience to its Laws ; and that he Caution them against the prevailing Vices, such as Sabbath Breaking, profane cursing and Swearing, Gaming, Idleness, Writing obscene Words on the Fences, &c."

Large as has been the progress and improvement in our school system since these first regulations were framed, we can hardly claim an advance on the two last rules. They cover the whole ground, and scarce leave room for improvement.

In 1791, the town voted to send an additional Representative to the General Court, provided it should not be any expense to the town. Samuel Blodgett was chosen ; and we have it from tradition that at the next annual town meeting he counted out the money he received for the service, and laid it upon the table, refusing to retain a penny.

A proposition having been made for building a bridge across the Merrimack, at Deer Island, this town and Salisbury remonstrated strongly against it. One objection made was, that the piers would lessen the tide up the river ! The committee of this town say that there was not more than nine feet of water over the shoals in common tides, and they feared it would be greatly lessened if the proposed bridge should be built.

At a town meeting, December 12th, (1791,) a proposition was made to divide the town into school districts, and a committee of twelve were chosen for the purpose, Samuel Walker, Chairman. At an adjourned meeting, December 26th, the committee reported a recommendation that each of the four parishes be erected into a distinct school district, with full power to build school houses, employ teachers, raise money to pay for the same, and to subdivide the parish into smaller school districts ad libitum. If any parish neglected to provide a school, according to the law, the selectmen were directed to do it, and assess the district for the expenses. The report was adopted.

The occasion of this action of the town was a legislative act passed in June 1789, entitled "An act to provide for the instruction of youth, and for the promotion of good Education." By this act, towns were authorized to determine the limits of school districts, and districts thus erected were authorized to assess a tax to support a "schoolmaster," &c.

From the above report, we learn, that "in the Western part of the Town, a number of School Houses have lately been erected, at their own expense."

At the next annual meeting, the selectmen, the clergymen, and seven other persons were made a committee to inspect the schools in the town.^o At an adjourned meeting, it was voted, that school district No. 1 should have one or more school-houses; No. 2, four; No. 3, three; and No. 4, one. £350 were appropriated for building new school-houses.

The same year (1792) the town was divided into nineteen highway districts. A petition was received for a highway from Thomas Whittier's (now J. B. Spiller's) in a direct line to Muliken's ferry, but it was decided to be inexpedient.[†] At the same time, it was ordered that the "plain gate" (that near Rev. Mr. Keely's, on the bank of the river) be kept in repair, so that the river's bank might be used as "a bridle way."

Among the petitions presented to the selectmen this year, we find one signed by Samuel Blodgett and eighteen of the principal citizens of the village, praying that a town meeting may be called to see if the town "would permit Innoculation to take place in said town provided a convenient place can be procured for that purpose in said Town." The reason offered was, that the small pox was in the town of Boston, and other adjacent towns, and that "a great number of the Inhabitants of the Town of Haverhill are determined to go from thence to Boston to receive the same by Innoculation unless they are permitted to be Innoculated in their own Town."

A meeting was called, but the town refused to repair the pest-house, or to allow inoculation to be performed in the town. As a consequence, many persons went to Boston for that purpose. In November, another meeting was called, and it was voted to provide a hospital for inoculation in the town. A few weeks later it was voted not to allow the thing to be done in the town.

In 1793, President Washington issued a proclamation to the people of the United States, recommending that during the then existing war in Europe, they should preserve a strict neutrality. On the reception of the proclamation in this town, a town meeting was called, and resolutions adopted approving the course of the President, and agreeing to abide by his recommendations.

^o One year still later, a committee was chosen for each school district; and this continued to be the practice for many years.

[†] The portion between Mr. Spiller's and "Tilton's Corner," was finally laid out about 1835.

On the 6th of September, of the above year, occurred an event of no small importance in the town. This was no less than the publication of a newspaper, — the first ever printed in the town. It was "published by E Ladd & S Bragg," and styled the *Guardian of Freedom*. It was issued weekly, at "nine shillings per annum," and edited by Benjamin Edes, Jr.* It advocated federal politics.

Cotemporaneous with the first stage coach and the first newspaper, was the erection of the first bridge across the Merrimack, in this town. The Haverhill bridge was completed in the fall of 1794.† It was erected on three arches of one hundred and eighty feet each, supported by three handsome stone piers forty feet square. It had as many defensive piers, or sterlings, extending fifty feet above, and a draw of thirty feet over the channel. It was built on the plan of Timothy Palmer. Moody Spofford, of Georgetown, was the chief engineer in its erection. Palmer was an apprentice to Spofford when he made his invention.

At the time of its erection, the bridge was considered a marvel of mechanical ingenuity and skill; and to this day, though divested of much of its beautiful proportion, it is surpassed by but few in the country.

Dr. Dwight, who saw it in 1796, thus describes it:‡

"The strength of the Haverhill bridge may be conjectured from the following fact. Six gentlemen placed themselves together upon an exact model of one of the arches, ten feet in length; in which the largest pieces of timber were half an inch square, and the rest smaller in proportion. Yet not the least injury was done to the model. Of this fact I was a witness; and was informed by the gentlemen present, that eleven persons had, a few days before, stood together upon the same model, with no other effect, than compacting it more firmly together. The eleven were supposed to weigh at least sixteen hundred pounds. No bridge which I have ever seen, except that over the Piscataqua, can be compared with this, as a fine object to the eye. The arches above, and below, have a degree of boldness and grandeur, unrivalled in this country. Every part of the work is executed with exactness and strength on the one hand, and on the other with great neatness and beauty. When we saw it, it was new, perfectly white, and brilliant, without that dullness which springs from the decays of time.§

* For a more particular account of this paper, see "Newspapers," in the Appendix.

† Soon as it was passable, Judith Whiting, then in her hundredth year, walked over it unaided. The old lady died soon after, wanting twelve days to complete a century.

‡ Dwight's Travels.

§ In a note to the above, Dr. Dwight adds, — "In the year 1812, I found the arched work of this bridge above taken down, and with it a large proportion of its fine appearance gone."

I have since learned, that it is too nicely built, and has suffered *some* decay by the retention of water in the joints, and elsewhere.

It was long doubted whether a bridge could be so constructed, as to resist the ice of the Merrimack. The stream is rapid; and the climate so cold, as to produce, annually, thick and firm ice. But the doubt has *vanished*. Seven bridges have been built on this stream: and not one of them has been carried away. The defensive piers have proved an effectual security against this evil. These are formed in the figure of a half pyramid; the base a semi-rhombus; and are strongly fortified with iron. When the ice descends in large floats against this pier; it rises on the oblique front; and breaking by its own weight, easily passes between the principal piers; and is thus rendered harmless."

Dr. Spofford, the veteran editor of the *Haverhill Gazette*, in that paper of March 2d, 1860, gives the following interesting reminiscences of Haverhill in 1794:—

"Haverhill village at this time consisted of Merrimack, Water, and Main streets, and the only brick building in the village was part of Sheriff Bartlett's house, so long and so lately and so well occupied by Dr. Longley. A row of small wooden stores occupied the river bank, above the bridge, in one of which David How, Esq., and in another, Moses Atwood, father of Harriet (Atwood) Newell, kept stores at that time.

About this time a three-story brick store, perhaps sixty feet long, and forty feet deep, was built by Mr. Howe and Phineas Carleton, on the west side of Main street,^o of which Mr. How occupied what is now two stores, or about forty feet square, and Mr. Carleton twenty by forty, and from Mr. Carleton's store, which was the southerly one, it was vacant land to the corner. From the corner lot a house had been burnt some years before, belonging, we think, to Esquire White,[†] a citizen long well known, and possibly yet remembered by some in Haverhill.

Those who have the curiosity to ascertain which of the stores now in that range was once owned and occupied by Phineas Carleton, may know how much land on Main and Merrimack streets was permitted to lay vacant after a fire, till it was covered with mouldering ruins and tall weeds.

The old First Parish, and the Baptist churches then furnished ample accommodations, though a much larger portion of the people then were constant attendants at church than at present.

^o The block now occupied by John Davis, Willett & Co., and others.

[†] Samuel White, Esq.

Mr. Shaw preached at the Congregational, and Mr. Smith at the Baptist church. Mrs. Shaw was a Smith, and sister of the wife of President John Adams. We can just recollect hearing of the sudden death of Mr. Shaw, in connection with which an anecdote was current many years ago; that Rev. Stephen Peabody, of Atkinson, had started that morning, upon the recommendation of Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, to make proposals to a lady in Newbury said to resemble Mrs. Shaw, but meeting the news of Mr. Shaw's death, turned short about, and after waiting due time, made proposals and married the widow!

At the opening of the Andover and Haverhill railroad, now the Boston and Maine, a celebration was held, and a collation was given, and speeches made, in the Haverhill Academy Hall, at which, among many good things said, Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, of Salem, a native of Haverhill, gave a humorous description of the excitement here, when a four horse stage was set up, from this town to Concord; how the boys collected to view the unaccustomed sight, and listening to hear the *bells* with which the horses were ornamented, by the time they got to "McFarland's," ran to meet them far up on the plains."

Dr. Dwight, who visited the town about this time, thus speaks of it:

"The manners of the inhabitants, in general, are very civil, and becoming. Those of the most respectable people are plain, frank, easy and unaffected. Both the gentlemen and ladies are well-bred, and intelligent; and recommend themselves not a little to the esteem, and attachment of a traveller. We saw at the Church a numerous Congregation, well dressed, decorous and reverential in their deportment."

"I was informed by unquestionable authority, that in a small lake in this town, about half a mile east of the Congregational Church, and at a little distance from the river, there is an island, which has immemorially floated from one shore to another, whenever it was impelled by a violent wind. Lately it has adhered for a considerable time to a single spot; and may perhaps be so firmly fixed on the shelving bottom, as to move no more hereafter. Several trees, and shrubs, grow on its surface; and it is covered with a fresh verdure."

That the Doctor's authority was "unquestionable," may be safely judged from the following extract from a communication received by the writer, a few weeks since, (1860) from John Bartlett, Esq., of Roxbury:—^o

^o To Mr. Bartlett, (who is a son of Israel Bartlett, of this town,) we are greatly indebted for numerous favors received while engaged in compiling this history. His kind efforts in our behalf will not soon be forgotten.

"As it respects the floating island, or islands formerly seen in Little or Plug Pond; the fact must be well remembered by many of the older men of Haverhill village, Mr. Robt. Willis, Mr. Phineas Carleton, Mr. Hazen Morse,^o and others. According to my recollection there were two islands; the smallest had a maple tree on it of two or three inches diameter; this was broken up and destroyed long before the larger one, which continued for years, and at last grounded when the pond was full, at the east end under the hill, where no wind could reach, to drive it off; as the water fell, the island became rooted to the ground; when the water rose, the next season it flooded the island, and it soon broke up. I should say that the larger island was 60 feet long by 15 or 20' broad; on the borders were bushes, such as formerly grew, standing in the water at the western end of the pond. The island was composed of a soggy mass of fine vegetable matter, of sufficient firmness to sustain the boys who were frequently on it; they would sink down a few inches, the water oozing up around their feet.

"As you will see, I have scratched out a sort of Diagram of the pond, by no means accurate, but it will show you, however, the different positions, where I have seen the larger of the two islands; many a time have I been on it and gathered cranberries; and when it was situated at the entrance towards the Plug, where it stood for a whole season, I frequented it for the purpose of fishing, from its outer side, from an opening in the bushes. I have marked the spot on the diagram, thus (2). Mr. Hazen Morse will remember being on the island while it lay there. As the inner edge of the island did not come to dry land, the boys placed some rails to assist in getting on and off. In 1827 I saw the rudiment of a new island afloat at the east end of the pond; it was perhaps 6 or 7 feet long; what became of it I don't know — some bushes were on it. So much for the Floating Island."[†]

Believing it would add to the interest of Mr. Bartlett's pleasant sketch of these islands, we have procured the following engraving, showing the positions of the larger island as seen by him at various times. Figure "1" indicates a place where Mr. Bartlett remembers to have seen the island; "2" indicates the place where the island remained an entire season, during which time Mr. Bartlett, and others, fished from its outer edge. Figure "3" shows where the island finally grounded, and was broken up.



^o Mr. Morse confirms the statements of Mr. Bartlett, and distinctly remembers fishing from the edge of the floating island.

[†] Mr. Bartlett adds, in a note, — "The larger island became extinct, I think, about the year 1800."

As a fitting accompaniment to the above interesting reminiscences of Haverhill in the last century, we give the following extract, from "*The American Gazetteer*," by Jedidiah Morse, D.D., printed in Boston, 1797:

Haverhill, a handsome post-town of Massachusetts, in Essex County, situated on the N. side of Merrimack River, across which is an elegant bridge, connecting this town with Bradford, 650 feet long and 34 wide. It has 3 arches of 180 feet each, supported by 3 handsome stone piers, 40 feet square; also a draw of 30 feet, over the channel of the river. Haverhill has a considerable inland trade, lying about 32 miles N. by W. of Boston, and 12 miles from Newburyport, at the mouth of the river, and about 28 S. W. of Portsmouth in New-Hampshire. It lies chiefly upon two streets; the principal of which runs parallel with the river. Vessels of 100 tons burden can go up to it. Travellers are struck with the pleasantness of the situation; and a number of neat and well finished houses give it an air of elegance. Here are two churches, one for Congregationalists, and one for Baptists; 3 distilleries, one of which has lately undergone a laudable transmutation into a brewery. Some vessels are annually built here, and several are employed in the West India trade. A manufactory of sail-cloth was begun here in 1789, and is said to be in a promising way. The trade of the place, however, is considerably less than before the revolution. The whole township contains 330 houses, and 2,408 inhabitants.*

In 1795, by order of the General Court, the selectmen caused a plan of the town to be taken for the State. The surveys were made by James C. McFarland, and Josiah Noyes. According to their report, the town contained fourteen thousand acres, including ponds and roads. "Great Pond" is put down as covering three hundred acres; "Creek Pond" the same; "Little Pond" eighty acres; and "Ayer's Pond" seventy acres. The island in the River is marked fifty acres. Russell's Ferry, (now "Chain Ferry,") and Cottle's Ferry, were the only ones then in use in the town.† Little River was then called "West River."

In the spring of 1796, the inhabitants of the town were startled by the frequency of incendiarism. So serious did the matter become, that a town meeting was held; a reward of three hundred dollars offered for the dis-

* By the preface, we find that the Census is taken from the official enumeration of 1790.

† Swett's ferry, at the Rocks, had just been superseded by Merrimack Bridge, which was completed the same fall. This bridge was one thousand feet in length, and was the longest over the Merrimack. It had four arches, a draw, and was supported by five piers and two abutments. There was but little travel over the bridge, and the proprietors suffered it to fall to decay. It was swept away by the ice in 1818. The present bridge at that place was built in 1838.

covery of the offenders, and a watch ordered to be kept. These vigorous measures had the desired effect, and we hear of no more like depredations.

May 2d, of the same year, a meeting was held to see what the town would do in relation to the withholding of supplies by the national House of Representatives, so as to render it impossible for the President to carry into effect the treaty with Great Britain. Bailey Bartlett was chosen to draft a memorial to the above body, which was adopted by the town, signed by four hundred and eight inhabitants of the town, of more than twenty-one years of age, and sent to Congress. The memorial strongly urges upon the honorable body the importance and duty of faithfully carrying into effect all the provisions of the treaty, that the federal government might not be embarrassed, or weakened, and the honor of the United States, as a young Republic, might be well established.

In the summer of this year, a "malignant fever" made its appearance in several towns in the vicinity, and carried off large numbers. In August it visited this town, and spread alarm and terror throughout its whole length and breadth. A town meeting was called, and a committee of thirteen chosen to take measures to prevent its further introduction into the town. Bailly Bartlett was chairman. Fortunately, the measures adopted proved successful in staying the progress of the disease, and but few of the inhabitants were numbered among its victims.

In the fall of the above year, the town ordered a stone pound to be built. It was set on the site now occupied by the house of A. B. Jaques, Esq., Main Street, and was demolished about the year 1850, when the present wooden structure, on Dow Street, was erected in its place. The first pound-keeper was Deacon Samuel Ames.

From the report of the committee chosen to settle with the town officers for the year ending March, 1798, we learn that the indebtedness of the town at that time was \$2,350.00. For the first time in the history of the town, the committee recommended specific appropriations for the current year. Their recommendations were adopted.*

The first written school report made to the town, was by Rev. Hezekiah Smith, this year (1798). Mr. Smith was chairman of the school committee for the 1st District.

In the early days of the Republic, it was a common custom for towns to discuss the affairs of the nation in their town meetings, and approve or

* Fourteen hundred dollars was appropriated for the support of the poor; one thousand dollars toward the extinguishment of the town debt; one thousand dollars for highways; and six hundred dollars for schools. The Selectmen were ordered to hold regular monthly meetings; a new set of town books were procured, and a new plan for keeping the town accounts agreed to.

disapprove of public acts and measures with entire freedom. The following address from this town to the President, — John Adams, — is an illustration: —

“While we disapprove of an interference of the people with the administration of our National Government, we consider it our duty, at this time, to assure you that the measures you have adopted and pursued as first Magistrate of the Union, have uniformly met our hearty concurrence. In full confidence that those measures have been dictated by wisdom, and the purest principles of patriotism, we cannot withhold the expression of our grateful thanks for your undeviating firmness in their execution — your late exertions to redress our wrongs — to accommodate differences unhappily existing between this country and the French Republic — to conciliate the affections of our Allies — to preserve our neutrality — to establish our peace and happiness — and above all to support the independence, dignity, and freedom of the United States, afford the highest evidence of the justice and wisdom of your administration; and demands in an eminent degree, the gratitude of every patriotic citizen.

“We humbly deprecate the calamities of war — but when the safety, the independence, the freedom of our country require, under the directions of the Government of our choice, imploring a blessing from heaven, we are prepared, with our property and at the hazard of our lives, to support our Government, to vindicate our rights, and to defend our country.”

This letter was transmitted to Hon. Bailey Bartlett, then Representative to Congress, and by him to the President. The following is the President's reply: —

“To the inhabitants of the town of Haverhill in the State of Massachusetts.

“*Gentlemen*: — I thank you for a respectable and affectionate address, which has been presented to me by Mr. Bartlett, your Representative in Congress.

“The interference of the people with the administration of the National Government, in ordinary cases, would be, not only useless and unnecessary, but very inconvenient and expensive to them, if not calculated to disturb the public councils with prejudices, passions, local views, and partial interests, which would better be at rest. But there are some great conjunctions in which it is proper, and in such a government as ours, perhaps necessary. If ever such an occasion can occur, the present is one.

“Your assurance to me that the measures I have adopted as first Magistrate of the Union, have uniformly met your hearty concurrence; and

your declaration that you are prepared with your property, and at the hazard of your lives, to support your Government, vindicate your rights, and defend your country, are to me a great consolation.

“JOHN ADAMS.

“Philadelphia, June 6, '98.”

The following table, showing the number and valuation of the dwelling houses in Haverhill, in 1798, with the name of each owner, and occupant, we have prepared from the official returns, and believe it to be well worth a place in a history of the town:—

*Householders in Haverhill, 1798.**

“General List of all *Dwelling Houses*, which with the *Out Houses* appurtenant thereto, and the *Lots*, on which the same are erected, not exceeding two Acres in any Case, were owned, possessed or occupied on the 1st day of October 1798, within the Assessment District No 4 in the 2d Division of the State of Massachusetts, exceeding in value the sum of One Hundred Dollars.”

Names of Reported Owners.	Valuation in Doll's.	Names of Reported Owners.	Valuation in Doll's.
Ayer Samuel	200	Bradley Samuel	380
Ayer James	190	7—Bartlett Enos	600
1—Abbot Abigail	550	Brown John	150
Appleton Daniel	1200	Bradbury Samuel	180
2—Appleton Daniel	450	Brown Edmund	105
2—Appleton Daniel	200	8—Brown Edmund, adminis-	
Ayer John A.	400	trator	150
Ayer Nathan	850	Blodgett Samuel	800
Ayer James	200	Brickett James }	
Atwood Moses	850	Brickett Daniel }	1000
4 { Atwood Moses }		Bernard Sarah	350
{ Harris Abial }	1000	Bartlet Bailey	2000
Atwood Joseph	500	Bartlett Israel	950
Abbot Abial	—	9—Bartlett Israel	350
Ayer Moses	400	Bradley Nathaniel	1000
Ayer Obadiah }		Bradley Peter	550
Ayer James }	375	Bradley Francis	200
Ayer Jonathan	200	Bradley Joseph	275
5—Ayer Peter	120	10 { Bradley Mehitable }	
6—Ayer Jonathan	140	{ Bradley Joseph }	400
Ayer John	220	Bailey Nathan	350
Ayer Peter Jun	600	Brooks B Cotten	800
Ayer Simen	600	11—Burrell Joseph	400
Adams Phineas	—	Ballard Ebenczer	120
Ayer Peter	350	Bailey Nathaniel	200

* In those cases where the owner is not the occupant, we have prefixed numerals, referring to the list following, where will be found the name of the occupant of the house.

Names of Reputed Owners.	Valuation in Doll's	Names of Reputed Owners.	Valuation in Doll's
12—Bartlet Bailey	400	Chamberlin William	750
Bradley Benjamin	400	Chickering John	700
13—Bradley Benjamin	150	18—Chadwic James	450
Bryant William	175	19—Cawlis John	500
Bricket Barnard	200	Carleton Aaron	250
Bricket John	200	Clements John	175
Bradley Daniel }	700	Clements Benjamin	450
Cook Benjamin }		Clark Nathaniel	180
Bradley David	350	Corliss Swadock John	200
Bailey Benjamin	130	Chase James	200
Bailey Jonathan	350	Corliss Ephraim	700
Bailey Woodbridge	260	Corliss John	350
Bradley Isaac	280	20—Carleton Kimball	450
Bailey Nathan, Jun.	105	Currier Jonathan	320
14 { Bachelor William }	260	Davis Amos	180
Putnam Ebenezer }		Davis James	290
Bradley Enoch	400	Duncan James	1400
Cops Simeon	300	Dodge Joseph	900
Chase Daniel	180	21—Dustin & Treet	250
Chase Daniel, Jun	310	Dusten David }	150
Carr Francis	900	Dustin Nathaniel }	
15—Carr Francis	180	Dusten Thomas	150
Chase Anthony	230	Ela Jacob	290
Chase Woodman	130	Elliot Ephraim	450
Chase Joseph	210	Elliot Thomas	460
Chase John	150	Ela Jonathan	130
Chase Leonard	110	22—Elliot Ephraim	110
Chase Josiah	120	Easterbrooks Hannah	250
Chase Ephraim	120	Emery Ephraim	600
Chase William	280	Emerson Nehemiah	400
Colby Ephraim	110	23—Emerson Nehemiah	300
16—Colby Elizabeth	150	Emerson Susannah	150
Currier Rubin	130	Eames Samuel	400
17—Carr Francis	400	24—Eastman Ephraim	450
Cottle William	150	Eaton Joseph	350
Cottle Thomas	140	Eaton Amos	250
Carleton Enos	170	Emery John	300
Clements Samuel	200	Emerson Ethemore	300
Clements Moses }	400	25—Eaton Rebecchah	320
Clements Amos }		Emerson Abraham	200
Cogswell John	600	Emerson Moses, Jur	230
Cogswell Thomas	350	Eaton Timothy, Jur	140
Chase Amos	500	Emerson Daniel	180
Carleton Phineas	900	Emerson Josiah	180
Carleton Kimbal	950	Emerson John	220
Carleton Jonathan	250	Eaton Phineas	200
Carleton Micah	250	Eaton Timothy	400

Names of Reported Owners.	Valuation in Dollars	Names of Reported Owners.	Valuation in Dollars
Emery Moses	520	Johnson Benjamin	180
McFarland Moses	250	Johnson John, Jur	150
26—Greenleaf Dorothy	700	Johnson Elias	310
George Amos	400	Kelley Joseph	300
George Louis	140	Kimbal Cotton	450
George Austin	140	Kimball David	200
Greeley Joseph	220	Kinrick John	600
Grover Joseph	120	Haddock Delilah	
Gay Joseph	125	Kinrick Abner	200
Gale Moses	1200	Kent Justin	550
27—Gale Moses	200	Kimball Solomon	350
28—Gale Moses	400	Kimball Moses	200
Greenleaf William	1400	Kester Timothy	125
Gage Thomas	300	Kimbal Richard	500
Gage Ebenezer	400	Kimbal Jonathan	200
Greenough, Sally & Betsy	400	Kimball Benjamin	250
Gutridge Barnard	500	35—Kimbal Benjamin	150
29—Green John	200	36—Kimbal James	200
{ Gile Amos }	200	Ladd Nathaniel	300
{ Gile James }		Low Hannah	350
George Richard	150	Ladd Dudley	200
Goodridge John	150	37—Lamson Wm (Heirs of)	200
Greenleaf Caleb	110	Moody Moses	300
30—Greenleaf Abel	250	38—Moody Moses	110
31—Greenleaf Ebenezer	200	Morse Henry	150
Gile John	250	39—Morse, Henry	290
Hunkin Jonathan	190	Morse Oliver	200
Hunkin David	125	Mansise Hannah	1200
How David	2000	Mansise Simon	1300
Heseltine James	200	Moors Benjamin	400
Harrod Joseph	1000	Moors Jonathan	200
Haddock James	150	40—Mash David	700
Haynes Thomas	150	Mash Enoch	500
Hale Ezekiel	400	41—Mash Nathaniel	300
Huse John	300	Mash Moses	500
32—Hill ———	150	Mash Moses, Jur	500
33—Heseltine ———	200	Mash David, Jur	250
Hubbard David	340	Mc hard James	900
Heseltine John	110	42—Moody Abigail	150
34—Hoyt Moses	200	Mullin Robert	175
Heseltine Ladd	180	Mash Cutting	425
Haynes Joseph	300	Merrill Gyles	—
How Isaac	540	Merrill Samuel	500
Ingals Henry	400	Merrill Samuel, Jur	150
Johnson Thomas	180	Nichols Phineas	500
Johnson Nathaniel	150	Nichols Dorothy	160
Johnson John	140	Noyes Follonabee	200

Names of Reputed Owners.	Valuation in Doll's	Names of Reputed Owners.	Valuation in Doll's
Nichols Jacob	500	Swett Abial	250
Ordway Benjamin	170	50— { ——— Straw } 120	
Osgood Abigail	1200	50— { Johnson Susannah } 120	
Osgood Peter	1000	Smiley Mary	200
Ordway Benjamin	275	Sawyer William	800
Ordway Edward	200	Simmons Nchemiah	150
Pike James	120	Straw Sherbon	125
Page Caleb	140	Swasey Moses	150
Page John Chapman	120	Smith Walker	200
Poyn Joseph	650	Smith John	250
Page Joshua	150	Silver Daniel	200
Putnam Oliver	550	Stevens Ephraim	180
Plumer Asa	250	Tyler Job	180
Plumer Thomas	500	Tompkins Isaac	—
Poor John	125	Tucker Ichabod	500
Pettingall Matthew	125	51— Tindle Niles	250
Pecker Ruth	500	Whittier { Joseph	
Peabody Joseph, Jur	300	Whittier { John	200
Page Dorcas }		Whittier { Moses	
Page Susannah }	300	Walker Nathaniel	320
Pettingall Jedediah	150	52— Walker Samuel	200
43— Pecker Ruth	200	White Samuel	600
Robinson Joseph	130	White Samuel, Jur	150
Rollins John	250	White John	2600
44— Runnals Hannah	900	White Leonard	700
Russel John	400	53— White John	1000
Rogers Hannah	200	Willis Benjamin	800
Serjant Elias	180	54— Willis Benjamin	200
Sanders Samuel	135	West Henry }	1200
Swan Francis	200	West Mary }	
45— Serjant Mary	450	Whittier Thomas	300
Sawyer Joshua	250	Wells David	300
Serjant Mary	1000	Woodbury Hannah	1500
Salistall Nathaniel	3000	Weed Joshua	500
Souther Samuel	850	Winn David	150
Swett Abraham	1000	Whitting John	125
Smiley William	250	Wyman Jacob	150
Smith Hezekiah	—	Walker Samuel }	800
46— Smith Hezekiah	900	Walker Nathaniel }	
47— Smith Hezekiah	500	Watson George	600
48— Smith Hezekiah	300	Whittiker William	800
49— Smith Hezekiah	200	Whittiker Peter	200
Souther Jonathan	150	Webster Jonathan	125
Simons Sarah	175	West Henry	375
Simson James	200	Webster Moses	420
Southrege William	800	55— White Samuel	200
Solay Nathaniel	125	Webster Joshua	150

Names of Reputed Owners.	Valuation in Doll's	Names of Reputed Owners.	Valuation in Doll's
Webster Moses, Jur	360	Webster Isaac	290
56—Webster Joseph	260	Webster David	500
Webster Stephen 3d	200	Webster Caleb	350
Webster Stephen 4th	300	Webster Stephen, Jur	500

Signed

Nathel Marsh Principal Assessor

Moses Moody	} Assistant Assessors 4th Assessors District 3d Division.
Samel Walker	
Enoch Bradley	
William Russ	
Stephen Barker	

May 6, 1799

Names of Occupants.

- 1—James Walker
- 2 { Hannah Appleton
- { Hannah Osgood
- 3—Eliphallet Buck
- 4—John Johnson
- 5—James Smiley
- 6—John White
- 7—Francis Bartlett
- 8—John Brown, Jur
- 9—Coffin Dean Harris
- 10 { Mehitable Bradley
- { Eliphalet Noyes
- 11 { Joseph Burrell
- { Susannah Millican
- 12 { John Kimball
- { Sarah Greenleaf
- 13—Joseph Bradly, Jur
- 14—William Bachelor
- 15 { David Bradbry
- { Nathaniel Bartlett
- 16—Barnaby Tyler
- 17 { William Little
- { Samuel Bradley
- 18—Caleb Lebosquet
- 19 { Nathaniel Fitz
- { John Silver
- { George W Hills
- 20 { David Gleson
- { Nathaniel Carver(?)
- 21—Nathaniel Mayhew
- 22—Joseph Lake
- 23—Amos Sawyer
- 24—William F Fry
- 25 { Rebekah Eaton
- { Elijah Eaton
- 26—Zebulun Ingersoll

Names of Occupants.

- 27—Benjamin Chase
- 28 { Daniel Adams
- { David Webb
- 29 { John Green
- { Moses Green
- 30—Oliver Martin
- 31—John Russell
- 32—Oliver Foster
- 33—James Heseltine
- 34—Stephen Corliiss
- 35—John Downing
- 36—Nehemiah Emerson
- 37—Moses Mash, Jur
- 38—Samuel Clark
- 39—David Morse
- 40—James Duncan, Jur
- 41—Jeremiah Stickney
- 42 { Abigail Moody
- { Moses Moody
- 43—Daniel Pecker
- 44 { Hannah Runniels
- { Silas Plumer
- 45—Amos Serjant
- 46—Jonathan Smith
- 47—David Morse
- 48—Asaph Kendall
- 49—Daniel Bradbury
- 50 { William Smith
- { ———— Straw
- 51—Westly Balch
- 52—William Edwards
- 53—Benjamin Willis, Jur
- 54—Samuel Blanchard
- 55—John Downing
- 56 { John Webster
- { Stephen Webster.

CHAPTER XXV.

1800 to 1815.

THE opening of the year 1800, found the whole American people in mourning for the loss of their beloved WASHINGTON.^o Never was a mortal man more beloved; never had a free people greater cause for tears. "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," the sudden death of Washington overshadowed and made trifling all other sorrows; and from the one end of the Union to the other, was seen the "mournful procession," and was heard the solemn dirge, and the soul-moving eulogy.

In these public manifestations of sorrow, this town took a prominent part. The record of January 9th informs us that a meeting of the town was held on that day, "at the request of James Brickett, and others," to see if the town would take measures to notice in an appropriate manner the death of Washington. It was decided to set apart February 22d, (the birth-day anniversary of Washington,) as the most fitting time for that purpose, and a committee of twelve were chosen "to determine in what manner it should be done." On the day appointed, the inhabitants assembled in the old meeting-house on the common, where an eloquent eulogy was delivered by Rev. Abiel Abbot, and Washington's *Farewell Address* was publicly read. After the services at the meeting-house, the town again met, passed a vote of thanks to the orator for his eloquent production, and ordered copies of it to be printed, together with "the Invaluable last address of President Washington," and distributed to each family in the town.

The first notice we find in the records, or elsewhere, of a proposition to supply the village with water by means of an *acqueduct*, is in 1798, when the town's Representative, Nathaniel Marsh, was instructed "to oppose Osgood's petition for an Acqueduct" to take water from "the Round Pond." The next we hear of it, is in 1801, when Benjamin Willis, Jr., Nathan Ayer, Samuel Walker, Jonathan Souther, and Jesse Harding, petitioned the town "for leave to conduct the water by means of an acqueduct from the round pond, so-called, into this part of the town, for

^o George Washington died December 14, 1799.

private and public convenience." The petition was referred to a committee, of which Bailey Bartlett was chairman, who reported that leave ought to be granted such a company, provided that subscription books for the stock were open for all who chose to take a share; that no one should be allowed to take more than one share until ninety days after the book was opened — at the end of which time the remaining shares might be taken by any of the subscribers; and that the rules and regulations of the company be offered to the town for their approbation.

The company was organized the same year, under a general law of the State. The water was at first, and for many years, conducted in wooden pipes, exclusively. Within the last fifteen years, the works have been greatly extended; and the old logs have given place to pipes of cast iron. The works are now among the best in New England. The pond being fed entirely by springs from the bottom,^o the water is remarkably pure and sweet; and, if properly economized, the supply will probably be sufficient for the reasonable wants of a population of twenty thousand. The cost of the works thus far, has been nearly \$100,000.

In 1801, the town again chose five selectmen, instead of three, as they had done for the fifty-one years previous; three assessors; and five overseers of the poor. This was the first time the latter had been chosen since 1734; and the first time in the history of the town that assessors had been chosen as a separate board of officers. From this time forward, the three offices have been kept entirely distinct, and regularly filled. In 1806, the number of selectmen was again reduced to three, and has so remained to the present time.

Some idea of the importance attached to the office of school committee, at this time, may be judged from the fact that the committee for the 1st district consisted of twenty-two persons; that of the 2d of eleven; and the 3d and 4th,^o of eight each.

This year, twelve "Fish Wardens" were chosen, — the first officers of the kind in town, — for the purpose of regulating the fisheries in the town, and seeing that the fish courses were not obstructed so as to interfere with the free passage of the fish up the streams into the ponds. The alewife fisheries had now become quite an important business, so much so, that the next year (1802) the town petitioned the General Court to pass laws regulating it. They declare the present mode of catching the fish to be very destructive, and that but little advantage accrued to the inhabitants from

^o There is not a single living brook, — not even of the smallest kind, — running into this beautiful pond; and, except a small place at the north-west corner, the bottom of the whole pond is a clean gravel.

it. They also asked that the exclusive right to the fisheries within its limits might be given to the town. The prayer of the petition was granted.

The first part of the month of January, 1802, was so mild, that on the 24th of that month, the ice in the river moved with the tide. But little snow fell until the 22d of February, after which great quantities fell, and the weather was exceedingly cold. In March, Bailey Bartlett, and others, "went to Ipswich on the crust of the snow, over all the fences, in a double slay."^o

This year, for the first time, we find that a list of the voters in the town was made out, and accepted; † and a list of names for jurymen submitted to the town for approval, by the selectmen.

From the *Haverhill Observer* of July 9, 1802, we learn that "several gentlemen" celebrated the anniversary of American Independence, in this town, "by a dinner at Lieut Bradley's Tavern, followed by a number of toasts." † This is the first mention we find of such a celebration in the town, and we learn from tradition that it was about this time that the first one was had.

Among the many note-worthy events of this year, may also be mentioned the organization of a Lodge of Freemasons in the town, — a more particular account of which will be found in another place.

In 1803, Ward Eaton, and others, petitioned the town for liberty to erect Hay Scales, — which was granted. The fee fixed upon by the town for weighing hay, was one and one-fourth cents per one hundred pounds, for all over six hundred pounds; and eight cents per load for all less than six hundred pounds. The scales were located on the northerly side of Winter Street, opposite the foot of Pleasant Street, where they remained until about 184—, when they were removed to their present site, — immediately adjoining the town pump, on the northerly side.

^o Bartlett's Journal.

† It would seem as if such a list must have been regularly kept long before this, but the above is the first mention we find of such a thing in the town records.

† "Nat Bradley's Tavern" stood on the lot next north-west of the present South Church, and was at that time the principal stage house in the village. Landlord Bradley was one of the handsomest and most popular hosts in all the region round about. Weighing about 250 lbs.; very neat and particular in his dress; which was always close up with the fashion; lively, social, gentlemanly; he always appeared to feel well himself, and had the happy tact of making all with whom he came in contact share in his good humor. After his death, the tavern was for many years kept by Moody Chase. In 183—, the house was removed to the north-west corner of Winter and Pleasant streets, where it is still occupied as a dwelling house, by Wm. Smiley, Esq.

In May, of the above year, a mail stage commenced running between Haverhill and Newburyport, and has continued its regular trips until the present time.

The committee chosen to settle with the selectmen, overseers, and town treasurer, for 1803, recommended that in future, an "annual finance statement" should be made to the town at its March meetings, which was agreed to, and since that time such a statement has been regularly made, and a committee chosen annually to audit the accounts of these officers, and make their report to the next succeeding annual March meeting.

In 1804, the Fourth of July was first *publicly* observed in this town as a National Anniversary, and was celebrated in a most enthusiastic and patriotic manner. The militia, under Captain Huse, paraded the streets with fife and drum; a collation was served up on the "parade ground,"^o and a splendid dinner provided at "Harrod's Hotel," followed by patriotic toasts. This appears to have been the first public celebration of Independence Day in the town. We learn, from tradition, that the inhabitants of that part of the East Parish near the old meeting-house, feeling hardly able to join in the celebration "up town," got up one on their own hook, at Mr. Woodman Chase's. Their bill of fare, to which each family contributed, in the genuine pic-nic style, included one whole roast pig, and turtle soup.[†] The principal families at the Rocks joined in the up-town celebration.

In *The Observer*, for the same month, (July) we find an advertisement of Slater & Co., Rehoboth, Mass., to the effect that they had appointed an agent in this town to sell their "cotton yarn." A few weeks later, (August) Ezekiel Hale informs the public, through the same channel, that he has established "a Cotton Yarn Manufactory" in this town, and offers the yarn for sale "to those who wish to make their own cotton cloth." From this it will be seen that the manufacture of cotton yarn in this town was nearly coterminous with its first manufacture in the country. The same may also be said of duck, potash, and of the wholesale manufacture of shoes. From the same paper, we learn that, in October of the above year, the making of "cut nails" was commenced in the town, by Sawyer & Cross, "at their shop a few rods east of Bradley's Tavern." They were also blacksmiths.

In October, of the same year, on petition of Bailey Bartlett, and others, a committee was chosen, of which Mr. Bartlett was chairman, to draft a

^o The parade ground was in the rear of the old meeting-house, on the common.

[†] Made from a large turtle caught by Daniel Johnson, who personally superintended the preparation of the soup.

code of By-Laws for the town. At an adjourned meeting, held in December, the committee reported the following code, which were adopted. They were the first code of by-laws adopted by the town. We copy them from the *Haverhill Museum*, of March 5th, 1895, (Vol. 1, No. 14) : —

BY-LAWS

FOR THE

TOWN OF HAVERHILL,

In the County of Essex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Passed at a meeting of the Inhabitants, Dec. 10, 1804, and approved by the Court of Common Pleas.

SEC. 1. *It is ordered*, That no person or persons shall presume to make any bonfires, or set on fire any wood, straw, shavings, or other combustible matter, by night or by day, in any street, lane or alley, or in any public or private yard in the compact part of this town, under the penalty of forfeiting and paying the sum of one dollar.

SEC. 2. *It is ordered*, That no person or persons shall carry fire from any house or place to any other house or place, in the compact part of this town, except in some vessel sufficiently covered to secure the fire from being driven about by the wind, or scattered by the way, under the penalty of forfeiting and paying a sum not exceeding one dollar, nor less than fifty cents. *And it is further ordered*, That no person or persons shall presume to smoke any pipe or segar or have or use any pipe or segar while on fire, in any street or lane in this town, under the penalty of forfeiting and paying a sum not exceeding fifty cents, nor less than twenty-five cents.

SEC. 3. *It is ordered*, That the Selectmen, on complaint being made to them, or any one of them, or upon their own knowledge of any defective chimney or hearth in this town, shall cause the same to be duly examined, and repaired, if it can be done conveniently, or otherwise to be taken down and demolished ; and the owner or owners of such chimney or chimnies, if they neglect to take them down and repair the same, for the term of one week after an order of the Selectmen (duly certified by the Town-Olerk and entered on the town book) has been served on him her or them shall forfeit and pay the sum of three dollars. And the Selectmen, for the time being, shall have full power and authority, and they are hereby required to order and direct the same chimney or chimnies to be repaired or taken down and abated as a common nuisance ; and the owner or owners of

such chimney or chimnies shall pay and satisfy the whole expense and charges of abating such nuisances, to be recovered as the other penalties.

Sec. 4. *It is ordered*, That if any chimney shall take fire through foulness, and blaze out at the top, except when it rains or snows, or when the houses are covered with snow, the owner or owners of the house, to which such chimney belongs, shall forfeit and pay the sum of one dollar: *Provided nevertheless*, that no person shall be subject to this penalty, who has caused his chimney to be swept or fired, for the purpose of cleaning the same, within two months from the time of its taking fire as aforesaid. *And it is further ordered*, That no person shall fire his or her chimney, for the purpose aforesaid, except in a calm time, or when it shall actually rain or snow, and between the time of sun-rising and twelve o'clock at noon, under the penalty of forfeiting and paying the sum of one dollar.

Sec. 5. *It is ordered*, That no person or persons shall hereafter project any stove funnel through the top or side of any wooden building, unless the same be securely surrounded by brick work or iron; and no stove shall be placed in any store, or other building, without a double hearth under the same, under the penalty of forfeiting and paying the sum of two dollars for the first offence, and the sum of one dollar for every week, so long as such offence shall continue, after being duly notified by the Selectmen or any officer of police.

Sec. 6. *It is ordered*, That no cooper, within this town, shall fire or burn any cask in any shop, warehouse, or other place than in a sufficient brick or stone chimney, made safe and convenient for that purpose, on pain of forfeiting and paying the sum of one dollar for each offence.

Sec. 7. *It is ordered*, That no person shall, on any pretense, carry a lighted candle or lamp into any barn or stable in this town, unless in a good secure lanthorn, on pain of forfeiting and paying the sum of one dollar for each and every such offence. *And it is further ordered*, That no person shall smoke, have, or use any lighted segar or pipe, in any barn or stable, or within the yard of any barn or stable, in this town, on penalty of forfeiting and paying the sum of fifty cents for each and every such offence.

Sec. 8. *It is ordered*, That for the future no person or persons shall keep in their dwelling house, shop, or store, within the limits of this town, more than twenty-five pounds of gun-powder, (which quantity shall be kept in a tin or copper cannister, with a secure top) on penalty of paying five dollars for each offence.

Sec. 9. *It is ordered*, That no person shall place and leave, or cause to be placed and left, in any street or lane in this town, any wood, bark,

timber, boards, shingles, clapboards, scantling, shavings, stones, bricks, casks, tubs, crates, boxes, dirt, or any kind of rubbish, or other articles, in such a manner as to obstruct the passage of carriages in the public way, for the space of two hours, on penalty of forfeiting and paying the sum of fifty cents for each and every such offence, and the like penalty for every twelve hours after the owner has been notified by the Selectmen or Inspector of Police to remove the same. *Provided nevertheless*, that any person wishing to repair any building, adjoining any street or highway in this town, may give notice to the Selectmen of such intention, who shall set off and allot such portion of the street or highway adjoining thereto as they shall judge necessary, leaving in all parts, if possible, sufficient room for carts and carriages to pass notwithstanding; and such person may lay and leave, in the place allotted as aforesaid, all the materials necessary for such building, and shall not be liable to the above forfeiture therefor, during such reasonable time as may be necessary for erecting or repairing said building.

Sec. 10. Whereas great inconvenience and hazard are occasioned by loads of wood, butchers' carts, and other carts and waggons, standing in and obstructing the streets and public ways in this town: to prevent which in future, *It is ordered*, That some suitable person or persons be annually appointed in public town meeting, whose duty it shall be to prevent all such obstructions, and see that a free passage be constantly kept open in the streets and ways aforesaid; and whoever shall offend against this regulation, by continuing either of the aforementioned obstructions in the streets or ways aforesaid, after being notified and directed to remove the same by either of the persons appointed as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifty cents, to be recovered by complaint on oath to any Justice of the Peace within this county.

Sec. 11. *It is ordered*, That no horse or horse kind shall be turned out loose, or suffered to go at large, or to go to water, without a suitable person to lead him, within the compact part of this town, under the penalty of paying the sum of twenty-five cents for each and every such offence.

Sec. 12. *It is ordered*, That no person, except the militia on muster days, while under arms, and by command of their officers, shall fire any gun, pistol, squib, cracker, or other thing, charged in whole or in part with gun-powder, in any of the streets, lanes, or public ways in the compact part of this town, or so near the same as to affright any horse, or in any way to affright, injure or annoy any person whatever, on penalty of forfeiting and paying the sum of twenty-five cents.

SEC. 13. *It is ordered*, That no person or persons shall climb behind any chaise or other carriage, passing in this town, without the consent of the owner, on penalty of forfeiting and paying the sum of twenty-five cents for each offence.

SEC. 14. *It is ordered*, That no person shall, in any street, lane, or alley, or other public place, or near any dwelling house in this town, be guilty of rude, indecent, or disorderly conduct, or insult or wantonly impede any passenger, or sing or repeat any lewd, obscene, or profane songs, or write or cause to be written any obscene words on any fence, wall, or other building, or speak, utter, or repeat any lewd, obscene, or profane words, or wantonly injure and deface any fence, wall, or other buildings, or any sign-post or sign, by cutting, scratching, or daubing the same with paint or other matter, or wantonly cut or injure any tree standing in the streets or highways of this town, or rob any garden of fruit or vegetables, or injure any trees, shrubs, or bushes growing in such garden, or without permission from the owner climb on or over the fences thereof, or aid, abet, or advise the commission of any of the aforesaid acts, under the penalty of forfeiting and paying a sum not exceeding two dollars, nor less than twenty-five cents, to be recovered by a complaint on oath to some Justice of the Peace in this county.

SEC. 15. *It is ordered*, That hereafter no vaults, vats, cisterns, cellars, or wells shall be left open, unless the same be enclosed by a sufficient fence, curb, or guard, on penalty of paying fifty cents for the first week, and fifty cents for every week it shall remain open, after being notified by the Selectmen or officer of police to inclose or cover the same.

SEC. 16. *It is ordered*, That proper persons, of good moral characters, shall be annually appointed by a vote of the town, to inspect and inform of the breach of any of these orders or by-laws, this day here voted and ordered; and the persons so appointed shall be called the *Inspectors of the Police*.

SEC. 17. *It is ordered*, That parents, guardians, and masters shall be deemed accountable for all penalties and forfeitures which their children, wards, apprentices, or servants shall or may forfeit, by any of the foregoing regulations.

SEC. 18. *It is ordered*, That it shall be the duty of the Inspectors to cause all these by-laws and orders to be strictly complied with, and to prosecute for all penalties arising under them, either from their own knowledge or from information given them by others.

SEC. 19. *It is hereby voted and ordered*, That all and every the fine and fines, for any breach or breaches of these town orders or by-laws, except-

ing as before provided, may be recovered by action of debt, before any Justice of the Peace in this county, by any Inspector or Inspectors of the Police, or any of the Selectmen of the town; one half to go to and for the use of the poor of the town, and the other half to the Inspector or other person who shall prosecute for the same. And such prosecution shall be commenced within three months from the commission of the offense, and not afterwards.—To prevent all dispute concerning the compact part of this town, it is hereby ordered, that the limits thereof shall be co-extensive with the bounds of the first parish.

Among the town officers chosen in 1805, we find seven "Inspectors of Police." The overseers of the poor were this year, for the first time, voted compensation for their services as such; four ounces of powder were voted to each soldier annually for use on muster days; and a powder house was ordered to be built.^o The latter was a small brick structure, about eight feet square, and was placed on the north side of "Powder House Lane," (now called White Street, between Portland and Huntington Streets,) and will be remembered by many of our readers. It was removed about 1845, when the present one, on Golden Hill, was erected.

The town seem to have had a decided hostility to the erection of any bridges below them, as we find that they remonstrated against the erection of every one of them. This year, (1805) their Representative was instructed to oppose the petition for the Plum Island bridge. Their great objection was, that such a bridge would hinder the passage of boats going to and from the salt marshes for hay. Two years later, they remonstrated against the building of a bridge at Amesbury Ferry, and also against "shortening the arch" of the bridge at Andover.

The 24th of May, 1807, will long be remembered in the history of Haverhill, as the day on which occurred one of those sudden and terrible catastrophes which now and then cast their dark shadows over a whole community.

On Saturday, the 23d, a brig was launched at one of the yards in the village, and a party of the men employed in the yard assisted in getting it down the river. They were returning the next day, in a scow, in the

^o In 1794, when a war with France seemed imminent, the town voted to each non-commissioned officer and soldier who should enlist, if called into actual service, enough to make their pay eight dollars per month. In 1801, the town's stock of military supplies consisted of two narrow-axes, four pick-axes, one hundred pounds powder, fifteen gun-locks, two hundred and fifty pounds leaden balls, and six hundred and twenty-six flints. In 1806, the stock of powder was but thirty-three pounds.

midst of one of the most violent north-east storms ever known on the river, and when a short distance above the Rocks' Bridge, the boat run under and capsized, and six out of the eleven in it were drowned. Their names were Matthew Pettingill, Samuel Blanchard, John Foss, William Hoyt, Benjamin Cole, and Joshua Weed, and all were heads of families. Mr. Cole was found the same day; four were found the next Saturday, and on the Sunday following, the body of Mr. Weed was taken up. They were all brought into the village and buried on the Sabbath, the first four in the forenoon and Mr. Weed in the afternoon. It was surely a solemn day. The names of the survivors were Moses Kimball, Joseph Kimball, Joseph Wells, Nathaniel Soley, and Nicholas Colby. After the boat capsized, Colby, who was a good swimmer, succeeded in getting these four upon the bottom of the snow, which barely kept afloat. He tried hard to save Hoyt, who clung to him, while beneath the surface, with a death grasp, but finding his strength rapidly failing, he was obliged to exert his whole remaining force in tearing himself from the drowning man; and, having nearly exhausted himself in his efforts, Colby endeavored to persuade Moses Kimball, who could swim, to swim ashore and find help, as it was evident the wreck could not long be kept afloat. But Kimball's brother positively forbid his making the attempt. Finding all entreaty unavailing, Colby at length resolved to make the attempt himself, though scarce expecting to be able to reach the land, and bidding them good-bye, he struck out for the shore. John Ingersoll, of the Rocks' Village, a young man lately returned from sea, observing the severity of the storm, and having a curiosity to see its effect upon the river, was that morning walking along the shore, when he came suddenly upon a man feebly clinging to a rock near the water's edge. It was Colby, too much exhausted to drag himself out of the water, or even to speak aloud. With great difficulty, the brave man explained the perilous situation of his companions. Ingersoll immediately ran to the village below, gave the alarm, and, after trying in vain to induce some one to assist him in the attempt, embarked alone in a small skiff, and after great peril succeeded in finding and saving the four persons on the wreck! Surely the names of Nicholas Colby and John Ingersoll well deserve an honorable place in our history. They have it, and may their noble example never be forgotten by their posterity.

Up to this time, (1808) with the exceptions already noticed, the poor of the town had been supported in families, though from time to time investigations were made to ascertain whether that was the most economical plan for the town. From a report made in 1801, it appears that ten persons were wholly supported by the town, and several others assisted. The

cost of supporting the former varied from fifty cents to one dollar and seventeen cents per week. The total expenses for the poor that year was eight hundred and twelve dollars. In 1808, a committee was chosen "to devise some different method of supporting the poor." The result was, that they were "let out to Ezekiel Hale," and he was voted "Master of the Work House." The selectmen were then made overseers of the poor. Under this plan, the expenses run up to \$1,540.35, the same year; and at the next annual meeting a separate board of overseers were again chosen and the manner in which the poor should be supported, whether "by keeping them together, or otherwise," was left with the overseers. For a few years after this, they were kept together in a house hired for that purpose, but in 1814, the plan was given up, the "Poor House Stock & Utensils," (valued at \$50) were sold, and the old plan of boarding them in private families was again resumed.

At a town meeting in September, 1808, a committee was chosen to draft a "respectful petition to the President of the United States, praying him to suspend a part or the whole of the Embargo Act." The President replied, under date of September 21st.

As early as January, 1805, a bill was passed by Congress, forbidding, under severe penalties, armed vessels to leave the United States. The policy of the government was to maintain peace by *avoiding* collisions, rather than by asserting rights; but finally, measures were adopted with a view to punish the aggressors; which in their practical effects, did more damage to the commerce of the Eastern States than all the confiscations of England and the continental powers combined. The first of these measures was the Embargo Act, in 1807, by which vessels were forbidden to go to any foreign port whatever. For contravention of this act, the owners and shippers were liable to a suit for double the value of the vessel and cargo, and the master to a fine of not less than \$1000 for every offence; and his oath was henceforth inadmissible before any collector of the United States. Thus both the export and import trade were killed at one blow.

Against this highly oppressive act, Haverhill, and many other towns, memorialized, and with such effect, that in March, 1809, the embargo was repealed, though all trade and intercourse with France and England were interdicted.

The year 1808 seems to have been selected for a general rebuilding and repairing of bridges in the town. The Haverhill Bridge was rebuilt this year. Instead of three, it was rebuilt with four arches, supported

by three massive stone piers, the stones of which are firmly fastened with iron. The draw, which should have been continued over the channel, was placed close to the Haverhill shore, and reduced to twenty-eight feet in width, — a circumstance now much regretted, and likely to call for some change ere many years. But few bridges can compare with this for durability, or strength. The immense masses of ice that are annually borne down the river with tremendous force, have no other effect upon the noble structure than to cause a slight tremulous motion.

Little River bridge was also rebuilt this year, and several others, at an expense to the town of more than \$2,000.*

In 1809, the right to fish in the several streams in the town, were sold at vendue, and this continued to be annually done so long as the privileges were worth purchasing.†

The following, which we copy from the *Merrimack Intelligencer*, of this place, under date of July 22, 1809, shows that weather was as unmanageable fifty years ago, as at present: —

“Rain. — We believe the oldest person living never knew two such severe storms, in the month of July, as we have witnessed these two weeks past. In consequence of the great rains, that have fallen, our river has already risen to an unusual height, and still continues rising; and we apprehend much injury may be done in the country, especially as it happened at a season when the farmer most needs the warm influences of the sun.”

The warrants for the annual town meetings at this time run “to such as pay one single tax besides the poll or polls assessed, equal to two-thirds of a single poll tax;” and for the meetings to choose Representatives, &c., they were directed to all male inhabitants of twenty-one years old and upwards, possessing a freehold estate of an annual income of at least three pounds, or any estate of the value of sixty pounds.

At the annual meeting in 1810, the train-band applied to the town to increase their allowance of powder, for muster days, but the town seems to have considered four ounces a sufficient amount for such sport, and refused to increase it.

The Haverhill Light Infantry was organized on the 26th of May, and Jesse Harding was elected Captain. One of the articles of its constitution

* Little River bridge cost \$1,837.49; and Creek Bridge \$348.84. The town debt, in March, 1809, was \$1,431.12.

† In 1814, there were four privileges sold, viz.: — at Ezekiel Hale's bridge, at Thomas Dutton's meadow, at Enoch Bradley's mill-pond, and a privilege near John Carleton, Jr.'s. The total amount paid for them was fifty-four dollars. It was a part of the contract that the town's people were to be supplied for their own use, at twenty-five cents per hundred. In 1815, the privileges sold for \$91.95; in 1816, \$46.95; in 1817, \$26.25; in 1820, \$31.83.

directed that, if any of its members should be removed by death, his body should be consigned to the grave with military honors. On the 6th of May, 1823, an elegant standard was presented to the Company by the ladies of the village, through the hands of Miss Polly Dow, accompanied with a pertinent address.

Mirick, in speaking of the company in 1832, says:—"There are but few independent Companies in the Commonwealth whose military conduct is more praiseworthy, and whose evolutions are more correct. The Company is furnished with tents and every other necessary requisite for a fatigue march. In 1831, it established an armory, at an expense of over five hundred dollars; and the accoutrements are there kept in the neatest and most perfect order."^o

The armory referred to was located in the fourth story of the Bannister Block, directly over the *Essex Banner* office. The company disbanded in 1841. Their successors, the "Hale Guards," fully sustain the high military reputation of the town.^o

The ship-building business of the town appears to have reached its highest point this year. Nine vessels were built, which is the largest number built in any one year, so far as we can learn.

In August, a stage commenced running between Haverhill and Salem, making two trips per week. Morse & Fox were the proprietors. This line continued to run until the opening of direct railroad communication between the two places.

At a meeting called for that purpose, in 1811, a petition was received from David Chase, and others, to allow Thomas Johnson "to take water out of the Great Pond, so-called, to said Johnson's Mill," but the request was not acted upon. The proposition was to tap the pond at its north-easterly point,—a short distance east of the Kenos House.

On the 8th of May, of the same year, a Bradford seine caught seven hundred and fifty-five shad, at one haul, which was said to have been the greatest haul for the forty years previous. It is almost, if not quite, within the bounds of truth to say, that the above number is nearly as many as one of our seines now average for a whole season.

In the *Merrimack Intelligencer*, of February, 1812, we find the following interesting item:—

"The Russian Brick Stoves have recently been introduced in Salem, and promise to make a great saving in the important article of fuel. A

^o Since the above was written, the company have dropped the first part of their name, and are now known simply as "The Guards."

handsome one has been built in the Essex Bank, two in a meeting house, and others in private buildings. They were introduced by Capt Towne, from Revel."

The introduction of the above kind of stoves seems to have directed attention to the importance of improvement in the prevalent modes of heating buildings, and we find that it was not long before the inventions of ingenious Yankees completely eclipsed the uncouth Russian apparatus, in every respect. The introduction of cast-iron stoves for simple warming purposes, was soon followed by stoves designed not only for warming dwellings, but for cooking purposes. The latter were at first rather expensive luxuries, and could only be afforded by the most wealthy people. The first cooking stove in the East Parish, was purchased by Dr. Weld; the second by Colonel John Johnson. They cost \$75 each, and though not very large, were each a good lift for four men. Cooking stoves could hardly be said to have been common, until about 1830.

The first musical society in the town, of which we can find any mention, was organized in April, 1812, J. Hovey, Secretary. It was called the "Haverhill Musical Society," and its object was stated to be "to improve in Sacred Music."^o The first singing-school appears to have been kept by Samuel W. Ayer, in the old first parish school-house, commencing in December of the same year.†

The year 1812 opened with the gloomy prospect of a second war with England. Continued depredations upon our commerce, imprisonment of American seamen, and insults to our flag, had forced home the unwelcome conviction that our honor required a resort to arms.

On the 4th of April, Congress passed a ninety days embargo act, and vigorous measures were adopted to protect our national rights. In May, a recruiting rendezvous was opened in this town, at Greenleaf's Tavern, and "men of Patriotism, Courage, and Enterprise," were called upon to enlist in the United States service. On the 19th of June, war was formally declared. Though there was a strong feeling of opposition to the war, our town seems to have considered it their duty to sustain the general government in the matter, and at a meeting called a few weeks later, (July 20) it was voted to give such of the inhabitants as should enlist, while in actual service, ten dollars per month, including the wages allowed by the general government. How many persons enlisted in this town, we are unable to say, but the number was quite large.‡

^o The Society was in existence in 1814, and perhaps later.

† Ayer kept in the same place the next year.

‡ The Massachusetts Muster Rolls, for the War of 1812, are now at Washington. The Secretary of the Commonwealth has, however, been instructed to take measures to have them returned, and we hope that they will ere long be again deposited in our State Archives.

During the next two years, the war was prosecuted with varying success; but in the summer of 1814, more vigorous measures were adopted.

On the 25th of July, 1814, Colonel John Johnson (of East Haverhill) received orders to draft from his regiment^o a sergeant, corporal, and thirteen privates, to march to Newburyport immediately, armed and equipped, with blankets and three days provisions. The names of those drafted at this time from the three companies of regular militia in this town, we are not able to give. From the Light Infantry company, one person was drafted, James H. Duncan, who hired a substitute. This company had already voted, *unanimously*, to march with full ranks, whenever called upon.

September 9th, Colonel Johnson received the following orders:—

“Brigade Orders

Newbury Sept 9, 1814.

Pursuant to General orders of the 6th, and Division orders of this day, you will hold the regiment under your Command in constant readiness to march at a moment's warning, & every man must furnish himself with a good knapsack & Blankets, before Inspection.

You will order the Company of Light Infantry belonging to your regiment,† to march immediately to Boston, completely armed and equipped. On their arrival at Boston, they will be furnished with rations.

You will also order out your regiment for Inspection by Companies, on Tuesday, the 13th inst, at 2 oclk P M, and all deficiencies must be immediately supplied.

You will appoint regiment and order company alarm posts to be appointed where it has not already been done, and in all respects carry into execution the Division orders Inclosed.

Pr order of Gen Stickney,

Col Johnson
5th Regt.”

David Peabody } Brig Qr Master
2d B. 2d D.

The above orders were received on Saturday evening, (September 10th) and the members of the Light Infantry were immediately notified to assemble on the “Church green” at the close of the afternoon services the next day. They met accordingly, and decided to take carriages as far as Charlestown. Early on Monday morning, the company paraded with full ranks, and marched to the Bradford meeting-house, where they had car-

^o Colonel Johnson's regiment consisted of the companies of Infantry in Haverhill and Methuen.

† The Haverhill Light Infantry.

riages in waiting to convey them to Charlestown. On arriving at the latter town, they immediately took up the line of march for South Boston, their place of destination. As the company passed up State Street, their fine martial bearing won the highest compliments from the crowds which lined the street, and cheers upon cheers greeted them. They received the credit of being the best disciplined volunteer company called out.

Below we give the names of the officers and members of the company:

"Company roll of Capt. Samuel W. Duncan's Company of Light Infantry, in the fifth Regiment Second Brigade and Second Division.

Samuel W. Duncan Capt.	John Atwood	} Sergeants
Nathan Burrell Lieut.	Frederic S. Ayer	
Thos Newcomb Ensign,	Leonard Messer	
Nathaniel Emerson	Saml Gardner Jun	
Joseph Coffin	} Musicians	
Saml M. Johnson		
Phineas Carleton ^o	John Davis	Rufus P. Hovey
William White	John Folansbee	Joseph Merrick
Peter Smith	James H. Duncan†	William Swett
Nathan Emerson	Henry Briggs	Caleb S. Cushion
Jere Stickney 2d	Henry Emerson	Thomas M. Greenough
Ephraim E. Lake	Bailey Bartlett Jr	Dudley Porter 3d
Ezekiel Hale Jr	Thomas West Jr	Samuel Noyes
Samuel Hale	John Nesmith	Eleaser A. Porter
Christopher Hale	John Trumbull	Wm P. Loring
William Townsend	Calvin W. Howe	Samuel Curwen.
Isaac Averill	Andrew Frink	

During their stay in South Boston, the company were quartered in a brick house between the bridge and the "Heights." They remained in service until October 30th, when they marched home, arriving in Havenhill the next day.

The same day that the Light Infantry marched for South Boston, a town meeting was held, and the town generously and patriotically voted to purchase arms and equipments for all those of the militia who should be ordered into actual service, and who were unable to purchase for themselves. Surely we may be pardoned if we again point to the earnest, consistent, and never faltering devotion of our town to the work of achieving, and *sustaining*, our National Independence. As at the first, so at the last, they were ready, at every call, to sacrifice their treasure and their lives, for their country's liberty and honor. Though, as we have said, many of its inhabitants condemned this second war with England, as

* Carleton did not march with his company, but paid his fine.

† Duncan having already been drafted, and furnished a substitute, did not march with his company.

uncalled for, and ill-advised; and though towns all about it had passed, and were passing, resolutions of censure and disapproval; yet no sooner had a call been made for soldiers, than the town met at a short twenty-four hours notice, and generously voted, in substance, that *no man's poverty should bar his patriotism!*

A few days after the Light Infantry were ordered out, an order came (September 19) for a detachment of the militia "to march instantly to Beverly." The following named immediately marched:—

From the company of Captain Daniel Appleton, Jr., were
 John Chamberlin, Corporal George Cogswell Robert W. Eaton.
 William George Charles Pike

From the company of Captain Amos Ordway, were
 Hasen Kimball, Sergt Thomas Wood John Simons.
 John Underhill, Corp Benjamin Mills

From the company of Joseph Webster 3d, were
 David Currier Sergt John Atwood Jonathan Corlies.
 Amos Wheeler

The most vigorous measures were adopted for the defence of our sea-coast. Alarm posts were established in every town, at which the companies were to assemble on the prospect of any immediate danger, and in case of an invasion, those nearest were to toll a bell; on which the militia were to appear, perfectly armed and equipped. Many British armed vessels were from time to time seen hovering on the coast, and added not a little to the general excitement and alarm.

The news of Napoleon's abdication, and the success of the allies, was soon after followed by the intelligence that a treaty of peace had been concluded between the United States and Great Britain,* and caused great rejoicing among all classes. Business soon resumed its natural channels, and prosperity again smiled through the whole length and breadth of the land.

That the news of the peace gladdened the hearts of the people of Haverhill, plainly appears from the following account of their celebration of the event. We copy it from the *Merrimack Intelligencer*, a newspaper published in town at the time. The celebration took place February 22d, 1815:—

"CELEBRATION OF THE PEACE.—On the 24th of December last a Treaty of Peace between the United States and Great Britain was concluded at Ghent, by the British and American Commissioners; on the 28th of the same month it was ratified on the part of Great Britain, and on

* The treaty was ratified by the President February 17, 1815.

the 18th of the present month received the signature of the President of the U. States. His Proclamation announcing the complete ratification of the Treaty on both sides, reached this place on Tuesday, the 21st. This put to flight the fears and doubts which some had entertained, in regard to the reception the Treaty might meet with at Washington.

The grateful tidings were welcomed by loud and repeated huzzas; by the peal of bells and the thunder of Artillery and Musketry. The countenances of our citizens were universally brightened with joy. Wednesday being the anniversary sally of that glorious day which gave to the American people their political Saviour, was unanimously fixed upon for the purpose of commemorating the inexpressibly auspicious event which has so suddenly diffused a cheering light over the clouded aspect of our country. At sunrise bells and cannon began to speak our joy; and excepting short intervals, continued their animating eloquence through the day. Flags were flying in different parts of the town,—the stores were generally shut—and the inhabitants one and all, gave themselves to pleasure. At 10 o'clock a procession was formed at the Bridge, and arranged by the Marshals of the day. Majors Duncan, White, and Harding, in the following order:

First Marshal,
Haverhill Light Infantry
attended with a Band of Music,
Magistrates of the Town,
Justices of the Peace,
Clergy,
Military Officers,
Marshal,
Citizens,
Marshal.

The Procession having first moved through the street parallel to the river proceeded to the Rev. Mr. Dodge's Meeting House, where the Treaty of Peace was read to a crowded and attentive assembly, and the throne of Grace successively addressed, in a solemn and interesting manner, by the Rev. Mr. Dodge and the Rev. Mr. Bachelder, rendering thanksgiving and praise to the Almighty Director of human events that he had graciously permitted our distressed country to repose from the tumult and horrors of war.

The audience was gratified also with the performance of several pieces of music happily selected for the occasion. After religious services the procession returned to the bridge, where some difficult evolutions were handsomely performed, and a *feu de joie* fired by the Light Infantry.

In the evening the town exhibited one universal blaze of splendor. Almost every house and store in town, and the dwelling houses of Mr. Chadwick on the opposite side of the river were brightly illuminated.

In many windows the lights were so disposed as to form distinct and beautiful figures. Where all was excellent it is difficult to discriminate; but were we to decide, we should say that the houses of Major Duncan, Dr. Saltonstall, Sheriff Bartlett, and Hon. Leonard White, were particularly distinguished for their brilliancy and beauty. Numerous beautiful transparencies, with appropriate mottoes and decorations, were exhibited in various places. The streets were constantly thronged with people. During the evening, a highly illuminated structure having, for its base, a large arch bearing the inscription "*Peace*" in large capitals, — and this arch surmounted by several small towers rising and diminishing to a point, — and from every part declaring in 'expressive silence' the sentiments of the people, was borne through the streets, accompanied by a band of music. The lights were extinguished at nine o'clock, and the evening was closed with the display of fireworks from the Bridge."

CHAPTER XXVI

1815 to 1840.

A HISTORY of the rise and progress of the shoe-manufacturing business in this town, includes, to a very great extent, the history of the town itself, from the close of the war of 1812, until the present time. But as it seems most proper that we should consider this branch of our town's industry by itself, we propose, in this and the next chapter, to make note only of such other matters as seem worthy of special mention in a work of this kind and extent; and, in the chapter immediately following, give our attention exclusively to the business and business growth of the town during the period above mentioned.

The *Merrimack Intelligencer*, for February —, 1815, notes the death of John Green, "the oldest man in town."

In 1815, the "old Ferry Way" was laid out as a public town landing, about fourteen rods in width. The same year the East Parish central school district was erected, making in all seven school districts in the town, viz.: one each in the First and North Parishes, three in the West Parish, and two in the East Parish. The year previous, each district was required to choose a clerk, to keep a regular record of its proceedings.

The large pile of buildings known as the Bannister Block, were erected this season. The two western stores were owned by David How, the next two by James Duncan, Esq., and the remainder by Wm. B. Bannister, Esq., of Newburyport. The twenty inch brick walls, and massive floor timbers of these stores, present a striking contrast when compared with the light and elegant structures of more recent times.

One ship, *The Thorn*, was launched this year. She had been sleeping on the stocks nearly all the time of the war. After the war, the only vessels built in town, were those built at the yard above the bridge. Previous to the war, there were three ship-yards in the village in successful operation, and a large number of persons were employed in the various branches of the business. David Webster built for many years in the yard nearly opposite the cemetery; Barnard Goodridge in the yard where the house of the late Hon. Leonard White now stands; and a Mr. Kendrick nearly

opposite the foot of How Street. The last vessel built at the lower yard, was by Nicholas Colby, for Moses Gale, shortly before the war. The last one built just below the bridge, was *The Thorn*, launched in 1815, and which had been on the stocks for a long time. It was built by Mr. Goodridge, who afterward took the yard above the bridge. From this time, until 1840, the last named yard was the only one in town, and during the most of that time was in active operation. From about 1835, the business was carried on by Captain William Caldwell, who built in that time five vessels. The last one built by him, (and which was the last one in the town,) was the *North Bend*, measuring about four hundred tons, and launched November 19th, 1840.^o The last vessel built at Cottle's Creek, was probably the one built by Thomas Cottle, in 1752. The last built at the Rocks' Village, was about the year 1800, or perhaps a little earlier.

Although but few vessels have been built in this town since the war of 1812, large quantities of ship timber have, until within a few years, been annually sent from here to supply the yards of Salisbury, Newburyport, and other places. Small quantities continue to be annually sent down the river, but the supply is nearly exhausted, and the business must soon cease altogether.

The 23d of September, 1815, will long be remembered for the violence of a gale since called the "September Gale." It commenced about nine o'clock in the morning, in this town, and continued till two in the afternoon. The air was filled with the limbs of trees, leaves, and a salt spray blown from the Ocean, which encrusted the east side of the buildings, and there remained for some days. The water in the river tasted extremely brackish; and the east side of many trees which withstood the fury of the gale, were killed with the salt spray, as is supposed.

Many of our readers will doubtless recollect the vivid poetic description of this memorable gale, which appeared soon after. The following specimen verses are all we can afford room for in this place: —

"It chanced to be our Washing Day; —
 The clothes were all a drying;
 The stormy winds came through the lines,
 And set 'em all a flying.
 I saw the shirts and petticoats
 Go riding off like witches;
 That day I lost, — ah, how I wept —
 I lost — my *Sunday breeches*."

^o Capt. Caldwell was for many years one of our most active and enterprising business men. He died in January, 1842, aged 59.

As early as 1797, the attention of the towns bordering on the Merrimack was directed to the obstructions in the river, which interfered with its navigation above this village; and a subscription was started for the purpose of rendering the river navigable for boats and rafts as far as Pawtucket falls. Newburyport subscribed upwards of \$1,200, and this town and others united in the project, but the full importance of the plan seems not to have been realized, and the scheme was abandoned. About the year 1815, the subject was again agitated, and it was proposed to cut a canal from Hunt's Falls (Pawtucket Falls) to the Little River in this town. The merchants of Newburyport and of this town took hold of the matter in earnest, and in May, 1816, an act of incorporation was obtained for a company, under the name of "Proprietors of an Association for Clearing and Locking the Falls in the river Merrimac." A survey was made by Leoni Baldwin, and it was found that there was only about forty to forty-two feet fall between the two points. The estimated cost was \$240,000. A subscription was opened which finally reached about \$180,000, and for several years the enterprise was pushed forward vigorously. But finding it impossible to raise the sum necessary by subscriptions, a proposition was made to establish a bank, and invest \$100,000 of its capital in the proposed canal. For this purpose, application was made to the General Court, in 1826, for a charter, under the name of *The Canal Bank*; but the Middlesex canal drew the favor of the Legislature from the object, and thus a large portion of the inland trade was diverted from its most natural channel, to build up Boston. Had the plan succeeded, it was expected that Haverhill would have become a large manufacturing city, and Newburyport a place of extensive commercial importance.

The summers of 1816 and 1817 were unusually cold, and were followed by very early frosts, by which most of the small corn crop was destroyed.*

In the fall of 1816, a violent wind passed over some of the neighboring towns, and over the westerly part of this. The house of Ladd Haseltine was demolished, and his son, Jonathan, was killed by the falling chimney. Some other buildings were also blown down, many others damaged, and fences and trees prostrated.

In the spring of 1818, occurred one of the most remarkable freshets recorded in the history of the Merrimack towns. The snow had been suddenly melted by a violent rain, and the water rushed down the valley

* A Mr. Walker, of Pascham, Vt., being lost in the woods on the 8th of June, and lying out through the night, was so severely frost bitten as to require the amputation of one of his great toes!

of the Merrimack with the greatest fury, tearing up the ice, which was nearly two feet thick, with the noise and convulsions of an earthquake. Driven into immense dams, the ice rolled and flew about in every possible direction. The river was raised twenty-one feet above common high water mark; the country around inundated; buildings were removed, and destroyed; cattle and sheep drowned; and ruin spread on every side. The noble bridge across the Merrimack at the Rocks' Village, became a total wreck, and its fragments were soon lost to sight in the angry and resistless flood. The appalling sublimity of "the great freshet of 1818," will never be forgotten by those who witnessed its desolating march.

In 1818, the town treasurer was made collector of taxes, and discounts were allowed for voluntary payments to him, similar to those made at the present time. After the taxes were made out and delivered to the treasurer, he was to advertise the fact, and all who voluntarily paid their tax within thirty days, were allowed a discount of six per cent.; those who paid within sixty days, were allowed four per cent.; and on those paid within one hundred and twenty days, the discount was two per cent. Those not paid within one hundred and twenty days, were passed over to the collector, who was obliged to collect them within three months, *or pay them himself.*

The same year, Pleasant Street was laid out; and "Pecker's Lane" widened. Winter Street was then known as "the back road to Hale's Mills."

In March, (1818) a stage company was organized in town, under the name of "The Haverhill and Boston Stage Company," with a capital of \$4,200, and went into immediate operation. In 1831, their capital had increased to \$28,900. It continued until the opening of railroad communication with Boston, in 1837, when the name was changed to "The Northern and Eastern Stage Company." The introduction of the easy and rapid-moving railway car, with its tireless "iron horse," soon superseded, to a large extent, the lumbering stage-coach, with its horses of flesh; and the latter rapidly withdrew beyond the reach of its powerful rival, — as the red man withdrew from the presence of the "pale face," — to find a temporary resting-place around the borders of the higher civilization.

As we have already seen, the attention of the town had frequently been directed to the importance of finding out the most consistent and economical plan for supporting their poor, and several methods had been tried, and abandoned. In 1817, the subject again came up for consideration, and a committee was chosen to consider the propriety of purchasing or hiring a

poor-house. The matter continued in abeyance until 1820, when the town voted to purchase the farm of Thomas Cogswell, situated about a mile and three-fourths east of the bridge, for that purpose. The price paid was \$1,500, and a further sum of \$500 was appropriated for stock and utensils. Various additions and improvements have from time to time been made to the land and buildings, until our "Town Farm" is now among the best in the Commonwealth.

Previous to 1820, taxes were abated only in town meetings, but in that year the assessors and selectmen were invested with power to abate such as they deemed it just and proper should be abated. The same power is still vested in the assessors.

About the same time the selectmen were annually granted power to draw jurymen, without, as before, calling a town meeting for that purpose.

From the report of a committee, chosen to re-bound what is now called Main Street, we learn that it was at this time (1820) known as "Broad Street." The name of "Water Street" appears to have been applied to the whole of the river street from Little River bridge to Mill Brook. Little River Bridge was designated as "West Bridge."^o Among the names of streets at this time, we find How Street, Primrose road, Pecker road, Sargeant's road, and Jew Street.

In 1820, a convention was called for the purpose of revising the State Constitution. The delegates from this town to the convention, were, Bailey Bartlett, Moses Wingate, and Charles White.

The Fourth of July, 1821, was celebrated in quite a patriotic manner by the citizens of this town. A procession was formed at Masonic Hall, on Water Street, and marched to "Rev. Mr. Dodge's Meeting House," where the Declaration of Independence was read by James Duncan, Esq., and an oration delivered by James H. Duncan, Esq. After the exercises at the meeting-house, the procession re-formed, and marched to "Kendall's Hotel," where a bountiful dinner was properly disposed of, followed by patriotic toasts. In the evening there was a display of fireworks, the programme for which we copy in full from the *Haverhill Gazette* of June 30th, 1821:—

"In the evening there will be a display of *Fireworks* in front of the Rev. Mr. Dodge's Meetinghouse, to commence at 9 o'clock, in the following order:—*Part 1st.* Rockets. A Wheel. A Shower of Rockets.

^o Little River was formerly called West River, in distinction from the principal stream in the East Parish, which was known as East River. The name *Little River* appears to have been taken from the Indian deed of the town, where it is used to distinguish this stream from the *Great River*.

Cupid's escape from a Hornet's nest. Rockets. *Part 2d.* A Wheel. Rockets. A Wheel. A Shower of Rockets. Cupid's escape from a Hornet's nest."

In December of the same year, a clock was placed in the tower of the First Parish meeting-house. When the new edifice was erected, in 1837, the clock was repaired and placed in its tower, at the town's expense, where it continued to mark the passing hours until, with the building itself, it was consumed by fire, January 1, 1847.

In 1821, the Second Baptist Society was organized, and a neat and commodious house of worship erected the following year.

In 1823, the First Universalist Society was organized, and two years later, a new brick meeting-house was erected for their use, on Summer street.

In 1824, a brick chapel was erected for the Christian Society, on Washington square, and completed in the fall of that year.

An indication of the growth of the town about this time, is also found in the number of new streets laid out and accepted. In 1824, How, Pleasant, Spring, and Stage streets were accepted; and Summer street extended to Kent's lane. What is now Stage street was formerly known as *Colby's lane*, from a Mr. Colby, a tanner, who lived on the south-east corner of the street. His tan-yard was a few rods up the street, on the east side. John Woodman succeeded Colby in his business, and continued to use the yard until he purchased the Mill street property, after which the pits were taken up, and the place transformed into a garden.

After the Rocks' Bridge was carried away, in 1818, the town leased the old ferry at that place to Col. John Johnson, at a rent of \$44 a year. The town of West Newbury also leased the ferry to other parties, claiming at least an equal share in it with this town. After considerable negotiation and delay, the matter was finally settled, in 1825, by each town leasing its right to the same person.

In 1825, the Haverhill bridge was repaired and covered; since which time it has undergone but little change, excepting the addition of an outside foot-path on the east side, some improvements in the draw, and the insertion of extra timbers in the arches.

In February, 1826, a remarkable influenza prevailed in many of the towns in New England, and even in the middle and southern States. In this town, many whole families were confined to their houses. The editor of the *Gazette*, for February 25, reports that four of his printers were on the sick list, and the paper was only got out through the assistance of a hand from Boston. In Newburyport, it was estimated, three out of every

five families were more or less afflicted; and in Boston, at least three thousand persons were suffering from the disorder.

The proposition for a division of Essex County was again agitated about this time, and, in April, 1826, this town took a formal vote upon the matter. Although two hundred and forty-one votes were cast in town for a Governor that year, only sixty-four votes were polled upon the above proposition, and but nine of that small number were in favor of a division. The county was not divided.

Toward the latter part of July, 1826, the people of the town were not a little excited by the reports of several well known persons that a "wild man" had been seen in the woods in the town, who always fled when discovered. Supposing that it must be a man named Andrew Frink, who had, about two weeks previously, suddenly disappeared, in a fit of insanity, and for whose recovery a general turn-out and search of the town had been already made, a large hunting party was made up, and after a long search, and great exertions, succeeded in finding and capturing the man. He proved not to be Mr. Frink, but literally a wild man of the woods. It was supposed from his appearance that he was some unfortunate, who, having perhaps met with disappointment in life, had, in a fit of insanity, fled from society.*

On Wednesday, August 1st, of the same year, there was a great fall of hail in the easterly part of the town. It appeared as if two clouds met at the Great Pond, and then swept round by the East Parish meeting-house leaving a track of about one mile wide, in which the ground was literally covered with hail. The trees, corn, and grass were badly damaged, and several persons severely pelted with the hail-stones. Some idea of the quantity of hail that fell may be gathered from the fact that eight days afterward, Mr Daniel Johnson picked up, from a heap then two and a half feet high, a basket of the hail-stones, and carried them to the village for exhibition. The pile was found at the foot of a hill, from which the stones had rolled against the fence. When first seen, the pile was so high as to cover the fence. Heaps of the hail were visible eleven days afterward; although exposed to the full heat of an August sun.

In 1826, two maiden ladies, Lydia and Abigail Marsh, both natives and residents of the town, gave half an acre of land, on the north side of what is now Winter Street, as a site for an Academy. The fine brick structure now occupied for our High School was at once erected, and was

* The body of Mr. Frink was found, about six weeks after his disappearance, in "Snow's Brook," (Fishing River) about two miles north-west from the village. As he disappeared while in the delirium of a fever, it was supposed that he stumbled and fell into the brook, and was too weak to rise again.

formally dedicated on the 30th of April, 1827, and opened as an Academy. Among the dedicatory exercises, were an oration by Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, of Salem, and an original ode, by John G. Whittier, of this town. The building is two stories high, sixty-two feet in length, thirty-three feet in breadth, has a cupola, and is furnished with a superior toned bell. The Institution was incorporated the same year, and from that time, until 1841, continued in successful operation. In the latter year, the First District High School was organized, and the Academy building leased for its use.

This mention of the Academy, and its plain but really elegant building, will doubtless awaken a variety of emotions among our readers. Many will remember the pleasant scenes and incidents of their academic years, and their eye will moisten as they think of the havoc which Old Time has made among their class-mates. Some were called early to rest; others battled manfully for a time among the temptations, cares, and checkered fortunes of life, but one by one they have sunk exhausted by the wayside, and but a straggling few remain to drop a tear to their memory. The large and pleasant Hall of the Academy was for many years a favorite place for exhibitions, balls, lectures, and religious meetings. Some will therefore associate the name with the fascinations and fleeting pleasures of the dance; while others will remember it as the place where their soul first held communion with its God. And so, whether the reminiscence be pleasant or painful, hundreds whose eye shall meet this page, will pause to recall the scenes they have witnessed, and the hours they have passed, in the old Academy.

At the annual town meeting in 1827, a change was made in the plan hitherto adopted in relation to the school committees. Instead of having large committees in each of the school districts, a General School Committee, consisting of seven, was chosen, and each district was authorized and directed to choose their own Prudential Committee. At an adjourned meeting, the last part of this proposition was reconsidered, and it was decided that the Prudential Committees should also be chosen by the town. One was thereupon chosen for each district.

In the *Gazette* for November 24th, of the above year, we find a notice of the death, in Providence, R. I., of Captain William Baker, a native of this town. Baker worked with Mr. Hall, the distiller, in Cole Lane (now Portland Street) Boston, at the commencement of the Revolution, and was the first one who obtained information of the intended British expedition to Concord. With the assistance of Mr. Hall, he caused the first information to be given in the country, by Adjutant Danvers (or Devens). The

next month, Baker entered the Continental Service. He was subsequently breveted as a captain. He retired from the service in 1780, and toward the latter part of his life, was assisted by a pension.

The carrier of the *Gazette*, in his address to his patrons, January 1st, 1828, informs them that

"Shad Parish still continues much the same ;
The unwearied ghost still watches Country Bridge,
Or stalks, with chattering teeth and eyes of flame,
From his old station, up to Peter's Ridge."

"Shad Parish was long a sort of nickname for the East Parish, on account of the large quantities of shad caught within its limits. "Peter's Ridge" was the residence of "Black Peter," a negro, and the favorite route of a certain ghost that many of our readers have doubtless heard of, was "from Country Bridge to Peter's Ridge."

The first Temperance Society formed in this town, — upon the principle of Total Abstinence from intoxicating liquors, — was organized on the 5th of February, 1828, under the name of *The Society for the promotion of Temperance in Haverhill and vicinity*. The circumstances attending its formation were as follows : —

In the summer of 1827, a Rev. Mr. Hewit delivered a discourse on the subject of intemperance, to a large audience, in the "First Congregational" (First Parish) meeting-house in this town. This discourse excited considerable interest and enquiry concerning the proposed plan of reformation. In the December following, the Rev. Dr. Edwards preached in the same place and on the same subject ; and added much to the feeling that had been previously elicited. Not long after, two individuals, Isaac B. How, Esq., and William Savory, incidentally held a conversation on the evils which this part of the community was suffering in consequence of drinking ardent spirits, and finally concluded that it was best to make an attempt to form a Temperance Society in the town and vicinity. After some consideration, they decided to have a meeting called on the next Sabbath evening, at the large chamber of Mr. Jonathan K. Smith, (the usual place for the evening religious meetings of the Baptist Church) provided the latter could be obtained for that purpose. Mr. Smith readily granted the request. Mr. How then wrote a notice, the purport of which was, that all those in Haverhill and vicinity, who might be disposed to adopt some measures for the promotion of temperance, were requested to meet in Mr. Smith's chamber, on Sabbath evening, December 23d, 1827. This notice Mr. Savory carried to the editor of the *Gazette*, A. W. Thayer, Esq., who readily consented to insert it in his paper for two weeks in suc-

session. The proposition appeared to be well received. Rev. Mr. Keely, the pastor of the Baptist church, advised his church to attend the proposed meeting, and gave notice that it would supercede the usual evening meeting.

When the appointed time came, gentlemen assembled from Haverhill and Bradford; and, at a proper time, the Rev. Mr. Perry, of Bradford, was called to the chair, and Mr. Thayer was appointed secretary. After an interchange of opinions, a variety of resolutions were adopted, among which was one declaring that it was expedient to form a temperance society. A committee was thereupon appointed to report a constitution at a subsequent meeting, and an adjournment was made for one week. At the next meeting a constitution was reported and adopted, and the first Tuesday in February was fixed upon as the time when the constitution should be signed and the society organized. Rev. Mr. Perry was invited to prepare an Address for the occasion. When the time arrived, all then present who desired to do so, (some fifteen or twenty) signed the constitution, and the following board of officers were then chosen: —

Rev. Gardner B. Perry, President; Rev. Dudley Phelps, Vice President; Mr. Abijah W. Thayer, Secretary and Treasurer; Deacon Caleb B. Le Bosquet, Mr. Benjamin Emerson, 2d, Mr. Isaac Morse, and Eliphalet Kimball, Esq., *Council*; and Captain Ezekiel Hale, Jr., and Mr. Andrew W. Hammond, *Auditors*.

After the choice of officers, they repaired to the Baptist Church, where Rev. Mr. Perry delivered his address. Nineteen persons signed the pledge the same evening.

The first Anniversary Address before the Society, was delivered by Rev. Mr. Phelps, February 8, 1829, and the second, by Charles Otis Kimball, February 7, 1830.*

The formation of this society, and the discussions and inquiries which followed its operations, caused no little interest, and even excitement, in the town; and aroused a vigorous opposition to the movement. In consequence of the bold and uncompromising stand taken by the secretary, Mr. Thayer, in his *Gazette*, the circulation of that paper rapidly fell from one thousand down to six hundred copies weekly. But still the work went on.

March 24, 1831, the "Youth's Temperance Association of Haverhill and Bradford," was organized, and thirty-seven signed the constitution the same evening. Elias T. Ingalls was chosen President, and Moses H. Whittier, Secretary.

* A society was formed upon the same plan in the easterly part of the town, January 24, 1830, upon which occasion Rev. Mr. Phelps delivered an address in the Second Baptist Church.

In 1833, the friends of the temperance movement nominated a list of town officers, and by printing the votes on blue paper, literally compelled every voter to "show his colors" at the polls.

Three years later, the large rum distillery then owned by Captain Wm. Caldwell, was sold to Alfred Kittredge, Esq., who took possession on the 3d of March, and put out the fire the same night. In 1840, he erected the range of stores known as the "Kittredge Block," on the same site. Nearly all the bricks used in the construction of the entire block of five stores were made, on the spot, from the clay found around the vats of the old distillery. Well might the editor of the *Gazette* declare that a "great change" had taken place in the public sentiment since the distillery was erected, but a few years before. Two years still later, (1842) strong temperance resolutions were adopted in the annual town meeting; the selectmen were instructed not to grant any licenses for the sale of ardent spirits; and a special committee of five was chosen to visit all persons engaged in the traffic, and endeavor to persuade them to abandon it. If they persisted, prosecution was to follow. Such were some of the rich fruits of the humble movement, set on foot by two humble individuals.

In 1828, the steamer *Merrimack*, Captain Wm. Haseltine, — the first steamboat on the river, — commenced running between Haverhill and Newburyport. The first trip was made from Haverhill, Tuesday, April 8th, 1828. Fare to Newburyport, fifty cents. The *Merrimack* was built, and mostly owned in this town; and was fitted with Wadsworth's Safety Steam Engine, the first one of the kind put in any boat. It continued running, though quite irregularly, for several years, when the enterprise was abandoned.

The Merrimack Bridge, connecting the Rocks' Village with West-Newbury, was completed in the fall of 1828. It is built on Towne's system. It is 900 feet in length, and is supported by four stone piers, and two abutments, each extending some distance from the shore. It has four defensive piers, or *sterlings*, extending some distance above, and a draw. The bridge is built wholly of plank, except the floor timbers, and is, we believe, one of the earliest built upon that plan.

About this time the town found itself without any regular place for holding its meetings. The First Parish, in 1827, had voted to charge the town in future thirty dollars a year for the use of their meeting-house; but having had the free use of it, and its predecessors, since the Parish was first organized (ninety-eight years) the town refused to pay it, and at the next meeting ordered the selectmen to provide some other place.

Accordingly, the September meeting (1828) was held in the West Parish meeting-house; and the November meeting was held in the meeting-house of the East Parish. This "boxing the compass" was not, however, generally satisfactory, and it was voted that all future meetings should be held in the First Parish, provided the selectmen could procure a suitable place. They next met in the Baptist meeting-house, then in the Christian Union chapel, then in the Universalist meeting-house, again in the First Parish, then in Academy Hall, and finally, vibrated between the vestry of the Unitarian (or First Parish) church, and the above-named chapel, until a Town Hall was erected, in 1847.

In 1829, the *Haverhill Institution for Savings* was organized, and commenced business in October of the same year. For a more particular account of this excellent Institution, see the appendix to this volume.

July 14th, of the same year, the *Infant School Society* was organized. Mrs. James H. Duncan, Mrs. Rufus Longley, Mrs. Isaac B. How, managers; and Miss Rebecca Smith, instructress. The object of the society was to provide a suitable place, and instruction, for those too young to be admitted to the then ungraded schools. In this they were successful. A neat and convenient building was erected for their use, where the Town Hall now stands, and the school continued to flourish for many years. It was supported by moderate tuition fees, and private subscriptions.

The Haverhill Lyceum, the first organization of the kind in the town, was formed February 25, 1830, with James H. Duncan, Esq., President, James Gale, Esq., Recording Secretary, and Isaac B. How, Esq., Corresponding Secretary. The object of the association was, to provide for an annual course of lectures, upon literary and scientific topics, to be delivered before the members. The courses usually consisted of ten or twelve lectures each, the expenses of which were defrayed by the sale of tickets of admission. The price of the latter was usually one dollar per course of lectures. The Lyceum was kept up, with but few interruptions, until the organization of the *Haverhill Athenæum*, in 1852. The latter organization, and its successor, the *Haverhill Library Association*, have continued to furnish an annual course of popular lectures to the present time.

In March, 1830, John G. Whittier, then editor of the *Essex Gazette*, in this town, issued proposals to publish a History of Haverhill, in one volume, of two hundred pages, duodecimo, price eighty-seven and one-half cents per copy. If the material swelled the volume above two hundred pages, the price was to be one dollar per copy. Friend Whittier soon found that the amount of labor required to compile the work, and the

Limited encouragement offered, were too serious obstacles to be easily surmounted, and the project was abandoned.

In June, 1831, B. L. Mirick, then a young man employed in the store of Mr. John Dow, as clerk, issued a prospectus for a History of the town. The book was to contain two hundred pages, and the price fixed was one dollar per copy. It was published the following March.

Mirick's *History of Haverhill* was a small sized octavo volume, of two hundred and twenty-seven pages, embellished with a single engraving, — a lithographic view of Haverhill — and, although gotten up with evident haste, and under the pressure of other engagements, it was alike creditable to the compiler and the town. It was published by A. W. Thayer, at the office of the *Essex Gazette*. It is, however, but just to add, that Mirick found a large part of the material used by him, already prepared. Friend Whittier had collected a large amount of valuable matter, which was readily placed in his hands, and the excellent *Historical Sketch of Haverhill*, — prepared by Leverett Saltonstall, Esq., for the Massachusetts Historical Society, and published with their proceedings, in 1816, — left him comparatively little to do, except to arrange the material, and superintend its publication.

Mirick was a man of considerable literary talent, and wrote some excellent poetry. In 1832, he was for a few months editor of the *Middlesex Telegraph*, at Lowell, after which he engaged in the dry goods business, in Boston, and subsequently in Bangor, Maine.

In 1830, in answer to an order of the General Court, the selectmen were directed to have a correct survey made of the town. This was done the following year, and in 1832, James Gale, Esq., published an excellent lithographic map of the town, from this official survey. The size of the map was eighteen by twenty-nine inches, — being drawn on a scale of one hundred rods to an inch. It was the first map of the town ever published.

In the summer of 1831, the inhabitants of the town were greatly alarmed on account of the ravages of mad-dogs in the neighboring towns, and other parts of the State. So serious appeared the danger, that a town meeting was called to consider the matter; but no definite action was taken, and the excitement soon subsided.

The death of Joseph Morse, of this town, which occurred September 26, 1831, under very peculiar circumstances, seems to call for a special notice in this place.

Mr. Morse was a man about thirty-seven years of age, of nervous temperament, and rather tender constitution of body. He had for a long

time been afflicted with palpitation of the heart, which was greatly aggravated by the least excitement, or unusual exercise. For several years he labored under a heavy despondency of mind, — believing that he had “committed the unpardonable sin,” — from which he at last emerged, and for about a year before his death, he was in an exceedingly happy and joyous frame of mind. A short time before his death, he informed his brother that he should live but a short time, and rehearsed the manner in which “it had appeared to him” that he should die. He said that he would be called upon to raise the draw of the bridge,^o to permit a vessel to pass up, and should bleed to death in the act. Nothing could persuade him that this was only the picture of a disordered imagination. *He knew it would be so.* Early in the morning of September 26th, a schooner, commanded by Captain Newcomb, of this town, approached the bridge, and sounded a horn, as a signal for the draw to be raised. Mr. Morse was seen to hurry on to the bridge, and make preparations for raising it. But before he had commenced the actual raising, he was heard to say, “I’m dying;” and on looking up, those on board the vessel distinctly saw the blood pouring from his mouth in a large stream. Before assistance could reach him, he was dead. In the excitement, he had evidently ruptured one of the larger blood-vessels, — already, probably, extensively diseased.

In 1832, great alarm was felt in the town, on account of the awful ravages of the cholera in the country. The excitement and anxiety at length became so great, that a special town meeting was held on the 28th of July. At this meeting, a health committee of seven persons was chosen with power to visit places, remove nuisances, establish a hospital if necessary, and furnish disinfectants. The latter were to be furnished citizens at cost. If the cholera actually appeared in the town, the committee were authorized to send a physician, at the town’s expense, to some place where the plague was, or had been, to learn the best modes of treatment. Resolutions were also passed, urging and requesting all persons to discontinue for a time the use of ardent spirits, unless ordered or advised by a physician. Happily the town was passed over by the terrible plague. One or two persons experienced slight attacks, but none died.

In the summer of 1833, President Jackson paid a visit to New England and was everywhere received with the honors that so justly belong to that exalted station. As he was expected to visit Salem, Lowell, Concord, and other places in the vicinity, a strong desire was manifested to secure a

^o Mr. Morse was toll-keeper at the Rock’s Bridge.

similar honor for this town. Accordingly, June 20th, a town meeting was called, and Ira Noyes and Edwin Harriman were chosen a committee to extend a formal invitation to the President to include Haverhill in the list of favored places. The selectmen, and twelve others, were made a committee of arrangements for the reception, and six were chosen to assist them. The President accepted the invitation, and the citizens vied with each other in efforts to put their houses and streets in holiday array for the occasion. Triumphal arches were erected, flags and banners prepared, buildings decorated, and everything done that ingenuity could devise, or money secure, that it was thought would add to the interest and attractions of the reception.

Almost at the last hour, and while the whole town were on the tiptoe of pleasant expectation, news came that the President had been taken suddenly ill at Salem, and had consequently so changed his route, that he could not visit Haverhill! It was a sad disappointment to the good people of the town, and it was some time ere they could realize the unwelcome fact that all their pains had been taken for nought.

About this time, the subject of railway communication with Boston began to receive attention. The great importance and convenience of such a communication was obvious. The completion of a railroad from Andover to the Boston and Lowell railroad, at Wilmington, was already made certain, and brought the matter directly home to the capitalists and business men of Haverhill. The first meeting upon the subject, was held at the Eagle House, January 7th, 1834,—Hon. James H. Duncan, Chairman, Alfred Kittredge, Esq., Secretary. The meeting decided that the road ought to be extended from Andover to Haverhill, and a committee was chosen to explore the route, procure a scientific survey, and petition the Legislature for a charter. The enterprise was pushed forward with vigor. In the fall of 1835, the work of grading between Andover and Haverhill commenced; in August, 1836, the cars commenced running between Andover and Wilmington; and on the 26th of October, 1837, the road was formally opened to the Merrimack, at Bradford.* The latter was an occasion of great rejoicing in this town. It was celebrated by a free ride of the stockholders over the road, and a splendid collation at Academy Hall, followed by the usual variety of lively and interesting sentiments and speeches.†

* The road was opened to East Kingston in December, 1839, and soon after to Portland.

† Believing that it will even now be read with interest, and will be found more and more interesting, as time shall multiply its changes and improvements, we give in full the "Stage Register" for Haverhill, as published just previous to the opening of the railroad connecting it with Boston:—

The first Anti-Slavery Society in this town, was organized April 8d, 1834. Hon. Gilman Parker, President; A. W. Thayer, Recording Secretary; and John G. Whittier, Corresponding Secretary.^o This was not long after followed by the organization of a *Female Anti-Slavery Society*, and, still later, by the organization of similar bodies in other parts of the town. The movement, however, met with considerable opposition, as may be judged from the fact that, in 1835, an anti-slavery meeting was broken up in the town by a mob! The circumstances were these:—

A Rev. Mr. May, an "Abolitionist Lecturer," occupied the desk of the First Parish society on a Sabbath afternoon, in August, 1835, and, having engaged the Christian Union Chapel for the purpose, was to deliver an anti-slavery lecture at that place in the evening. The evening meeting was entirely broken up, by a mob outside, who threw sand, gravel, and small stones, against the windows, breaking the glass, and by their hootings, and other noises, frightened the female portion of the audience, and led to the fear, on the part of all, that more serious assaults would follow, if the meeting was continued. It was, therefore, summarily dissolved. It was, perhaps, fortunate that the latter course was adopted, as a loaded cannon was then being drawn to the spot, to add its thunderings to the already disgraceful tumults of that otherwise quiet Sabbath evening!

The Fourth of July, 1835, was observed at the Rocks' Village, in a most enthusiastic manner, by the "Democratic Republicans." A procession, escorted by the Haverhill Light Infantry, marched to the Second

"STAGE REGISTER.

"*The Haverhill and Boston Accommodation stage*.—This stage leaves Haverhill every Monday Wednesday and Friday at 8 o'clock, a. m., and arrives at Boston at 1 o'clock p. m. Returning, leaves the city every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, at 2 1-2 o'clock p. m., and arrives at Haverhill same evening.

"*Boston Mail stage* leaves Boston every day in the week, Sunday excepted, at half past seven o'clock a. m., and arrives in Haverhill at 12. Returning, leaves Haverhill every day at 1 o'clock, p. m., and arrives in Boston same evening.

"*Salem stage* leaves Haverhill for Salem every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at 1 o'clock p. m. Returning, leaves Salem for Haverhill every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 7 o'clock a. m., and arrives in Haverhill between 11 and 12.

"*Newburyport stage* leaves Newburyport for Haverhill every day at 9 o'clock a. m., and arrives 1-2 past 11. Returning, leaves Haverhill every day at 1 o'clock, and arrives in Newburyport at 4.

"*Lowell and Methuen stage* leaves Haverhill every day at 1 o'clock, and arrives at half past 4. Returning, leaves Lowell every day at 8 o'clock a. m. and arrives in Haverhill at half past 11.

"*Exeter and Dover stage* leaves Haverhill every day at 12 o'clock for Dover and arrives at 8 p. m. Returning, leaves Dover at 7 1-2 o'clock, and arrives in Haverhill at 1 o'clock p. m. every day.

"*Concord Stage* leaves Haverhill Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 12 o'clock, and arrives at Concord same evening. Returning, leaves Concord Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at 7 a. m., and arrives in Haverhill at 1 p. m."

^o *The Essex County Anti-Slavery Society* was formed June 10th, 1834—Rev. Gardner B. Perry, President, and John G. Whittier Corresponding Secretary. *The American Anti-Slavery Society* was organized in May, 1833.

Baptist meeting-house, where an oration was delivered by J. W. Mansur, of Lowell, followed by a dinner under an arbor near the bank of the beautiful Merrimack. In the central village, the occasion was noticed by the "Young Men's Temperance Lyceum." An address was delivered in the First Parish meeting-house, by Erastus Brooks, Esq., followed by a public dinner.

In the summer of 1835, the brick factory on Winter Street was erected by Ezekiel Hale, Jr., & Son. The building is ninety-five feet in length, by thirty-four feet in breadth, and four stories in height. It was built adjoining the old factory, which was of the same height, and fifty-nine feet in length, by twenty-seven feet in breadth. The whole was intended to run sixteen hundred spindles, turn out six hundred yards of superior scarlet flannel per day, and give employment to about thirty persons. The factory is now owned and operated by Messrs. Stevens & Co., (who purchased it in 1855) and employs about forty persons, turning out about eight thousand yards of excellent flannel per week.

In the fall of 1835, the town voted to build a "Work House" at the town farm. It was to be twenty feet square, and two stories in height, with three strong rooms, or cells, (coiled with three-inch oak plank) on the ground floor, and two rooms in the second story, suitable for workshops. It was erected the following winter, at a cost of \$708.80. At the same time, a committee was chosen to petition the General Court for a general or special act, empowering the overseers of the poor to commit to the work-house all persons who receive any assistance from the town, or any of their families. Such an act was passed, and from time to time, persons have been committed in accordance with its provisions. The number of such committals has, however, always been small, and we believe that for several years past none whatever have been made.

In January, 1836, the First Universalist Society raised their first bell, making the fourth church-bell then in the village. Previous to about this time, the First Parish bell had been regularly rung daily, at twelve o'clock, M., and nine o'clock, P. M. This was an old custom, and, for aught we know, was introduced into New England along with the first church-bell. It is still kept up in very many New England towns and cities. Even in Boston, the familiar tone of the "Old South" bell may still be daily heard above the din of the busy streets, calling the multitude from labor, to their mid-day refreshment. In this town, the daily ringing of the bell was regularly kept up until about the time we have mentioned, after which

it was done a part of the time only, until, about 1848, it was discontinued altogether, much to the regret of many who cherish the "good old customs of our fathers."

In November, 1836, Summer Street was extended from Kent to Mill Streets; and Webster Street was laid out. Both were accepted by the town.

In the spring of 1837, a census of the town was taken, by the assessors, from which it appears that there was then a population of four thousand seven hundred and twenty-six in the town. The whole number of polls was one thousand four hundred and four. The village contained a population of two thousand seven hundred and seventy-one, with eight hundred and thirty-one polls; the East Parish six hundred and ninety-seven population, and one hundred and eighty-one polls; the West Parish a population of seven hundred and seventy-seven, and two hundred and thirty-three polls; and the North Parish a population of four hundred and eighty-one, and one hundred and fifty-nine polls. This was an increase since 1830, of eight hundred and fourteen in population, and four hundred and forty-two polls.

When, in 1828, the town was refused the longer free use of the First Parish meeting-house, the question arose, to whom belongs the land where the First Parish meeting-house now stands? A committee was chosen by the town to investigate the point. The result of their investigations left the matter in doubt. Finally, in 1836-7, the parish decided to replace their old meeting-house by a new and more imposing structure, and made a proposition to release all claim to the "common," in exchange for the Marsh lot, just north of it. The matter came before the town at their meeting in May, 1837, and \$1,000 was appropriated toward purchasing the claim, that the place might be laid out as a *common forever*. The above estate was purchased, at a cost of \$2,750, the buildings sold for \$1,000, and the balance was made up by individual subscription.

James H. Duncan, Esq., was made chairman of a committee to carry out the vote of the town, and to his exertions and liberality we are largely indebted for our present beautiful common. The following vote of the Parish, passed June 5, 1837, shows the conditions upon which the quit-claim was made: —

" Voted, That the Parish will sell, by quit-claim deed, to the Town of Haverhill, for the use of the Town, as an ornamental common, not to be built on, the land of the Parish heretofore used as their meetinghouse lot; reserving all the stones and brick on the same, on full and plain conditions, expressed in the deed, limiting the use of the said land, for the purpose

of an ornamental common, and providing for the said land being sold, and the land reverting to the Parish, if any building or buildings whatever, shall, either by the said town or any person or body, ever be placed or suffered to remain on said land, or on any of the land situate between any part of the said land and the Marsh lot, so called, lying a few rods north-erly of the land so deeded to the Town."

The Parish immediately commenced the erection of an elegant church edifice on the new lot; and at the next annual meeting, the town chose a committee to level the common, and otherwise improve it. It was several years, however, before the work of enclosing and embellishing it was fully completed; and to the active and energetic labors of the ladies of the town must be accorded a large part of the credit due for its final accomplishment.

At the annual March meeting in 1837, the town voted to receive its share of the surplus revenue then about to be divided among the several States. The General Court of Massachusetts had passed an Act authorizing its proportion of the surplus to be divided among the several towns in the State, upon the same conditions that Congress had authorized its distribution among the several States. At the above meeting the town accepted the conditions, and chose a committee to devise some appropriate plan for the disposition of the money. At the adjourned meeting, the committee submitted the following report:—

"The committee chosen at the last meeting 'to recommend a disposition of the portion of the surplus Revenue that may belong to the town' have attended to that duty and Report,

That the probable amount of the Town's proportion of said surplus Revenue will be nearly Twelve Thousand Dollars. That it is payable in four quarterly instalments, two of which will be soon receivable, and the remaining two in July and October next. That as a condition of receiving the money, the Town must give a certificate of Deposit binding the town for a repayment of the same or any part thereof, when required, and that by the Act of the Legislature, the Town must apply the money, or the interest on the same to those public objects of expenditure, for which Towns may now lawfully raise and appropriate money, and to no other purpose. And as the Town is now indebted to the amount of nearly seven thousand dollars, your committee recommend, first, that three thousand dollars of said deposit money be applied to the payment of the Town's debts. Second, that one thousand dollars of the same be re-loaned on interest to the First School District in Haverhill, to enable their building

committee to pay for the School House lately erected by said District. And lastly, in order to secure a safe and productive investment of said deposit money, your committee recommend that the residue of said deposit money, including the future instalments, and the sum recommended to be loaned to said School District, when repaid, be invested in the stocks of the Merrimack and Haverhill Banks at the lowest rate at which shares can be purchased, and that the interest of all the amount invested on interest, be annually apportioned by the Selectmen to the several School Districts for the support of common schools, according to the number of scholars in each school district between the ages of four and sixteen years. And to carry into effect the foregoing recommendations, your committee propose the following votes. All of which is respectfully submitted.

By order of the committee,

James H. Duncan,

Chairman."

Haverhill, April 8th, 1837.

The report was accepted, and its recommendations adopted.

The necessity of an official and well understood name for each of the several streets, now that the town was rapidly increasing in population, and new streets were being frequently laid out, was too apparent to escape attention; and we accordingly find that, at the annual meeting in 1838, a committee was chosen to name them. The following is copied from the records of April 16th, of the same year:—

"Voted That the report of the Committee chosen April 2d, 1838, to name the several streets in the village, be accepted, as amended, which is as follows, viz.

Water St., From the Great Bridge to Gage's corner, or Plain Gate.

Front St.,^o From the Great Bridge to Little River Bridge.

Washington St., From Little River Bridge to West Parish line, by Daniel Silver's house.

Main St., From the Great Bridge to the State line near Plastow meeting-house.

Summer St., From Main to Mill St. near Col. Woodman's Mill.

Broad St.,[†] From Main St. by the Street Pump to Derry St. over the Stone Bridge.

Derry St.,[‡] From Little River Bridge to corner of Derry road west of Moses Poor's house.

^o Changed May 2d, to Merrimack street.

[†] Changed May 2d, to Winter street.

[‡] Changed May 2d, to Essex street (from Little River Bridge to the foot of the hill.)

Bradford St., From Water St. near Mrs Whittier's Brick house, to the Chain Ferry.

Mill St., From Water St., by Col. Woodman's Mill to Pond St.

Jew St., From Derry Street by the brick yard, and Aaron Carlton's house, to New Hampshire line.

Cross St., From Water St. to Mill St.

Kent St., From Water St. crossing Summer St. to Pond St.

Stage St., From Water St. by Merrimack Bank to Summer St.

Green St., From Water St. by Nathan Webster's Hat Factory to Summer St.

Pecker St., From Front St. by the Baptist Vestry to Broad St.

How St., From Front St. to Broad St. west of the Baptist meeting house.

Portland St., From Broad St. to White St.*

Pleasant St., From Broad St. to Pecker St. by Benj Kimball's house.

High St., From Derry St. to Washington St. at top of the Hill.

Primrose St., From Broad St. to Main St. near Mrs Dutton's house.

White St., From Broad St. to Main St.

Pond St., From Main St. by Capt. John Ayer's to Bridge at the great Pond.

Webster St., From Summer St. to Pond Street.

Dow St., From Main St. crossing Webster St. to Kent St.

All of which is respectfully submitted.†

Haverhill, April 16th, 1838.

Moses Wingate, chairman."

In the fall of 1838, Mr. Moses E. Emerson, of this town, advertised, that on the 19th of November, he should commence going to Boston in the cars every morning, returning in the evening, for the purpose of transacting any business entrusted to him. This was the beginning of what has now become an important and extensive business, — the "Express" business. E. C. Thompson & Co., now employ three messengers, (making three trips daily each way) two horses and drivers in Haverhill, and three horses and two drivers in Boston.

In 1839, Ezekiel Hale, Jr., petitioned the town, for liberty to erect a flume at the outlet of the Great Pond, for the purpose of holding the water in reserve to supply his factory during the dry season of the year. He had already expended upwards of seven hundred dollars in widening and deepening the bed of the stream leading from the pond to Little River, and erecting flumes; and now wished to hold the surplus water of the

* Portland street was accepted at the March meeting of the same year.

† School street was accepted the following year.

pond under his own control. The town gave him a quit-claim of its right to erect such a flume, and to flow the pond, on condition that he erected a suitable bridge and causeway at the outlet of the pond, and secured the town from all costs and damages arising from such flowage.^o

The Fourth of July, 1839, was celebrated by a large party at the Great Pond; and by the First Universalist Society, at Ptug Pond. The day was further noticed, by a national salute of twenty-six guns, and the ringing of bells, at sunrise, noon, and sunset, and a display of fireworks in the evening. Previous to this, it had for many years been the practice,—in addition to bonfires, dragging burning tar-barrels through the streets, &c.,—to throw "fire-balls" back and forth through the streets, on the evening of the Fourth of July.† But this year, on petition of many of the citizens of the village, the town voted to prohibit the use of not only fire-balls, but crackers, and squibs.

Toward the latter part of 1839, Rev. Wm. Miller,—whose predictions that the year 1843 would witness the destruction of the world by fire, had already awakened a deep interest in other places,—visited this town, and preached a course of lectures upon his startling topic, in the Christian Union Chapel. The earnest manner of the preacher, the apparent plausibility of his interpretations of scripture, and the awful sublimity of the subject, caused him to be listened to by large audiences, with deepest interest. In January, (1840) he delivered a second course upon the same subject, which deepened the impression already made, and led to a general religious awakening in the town. In the following April, there were, at one time, four series of protracted meetings being held in the village. At the Union Evangelical Church (Winter Street) such a meeting commenced on the 5th of April, and was continued every evening, and a part of the time every afternoon, for some two months. In the height of the excitement, several persons were thrown into a trance state, and the meetings were repeatedly continued until near the morning's dawn. Scenes such as were witnessed in that place during these memorable weeks, are beyond the power of description, and will probably never be repeated in all their wild extravagance.

^o In 1814, Eschiel Hale (senior) petitioned the town for permission to erect a Lock at Little River Bridge, "so as to float lumber to his mill." The matter was referred to a committee, who reported favorably, but the town refused to grant the desired permission. In 1836, Mr. Hale applied to the General Court for permission to make a canal "from Hale's Mill pond, by the Little River, to the Merrimack." The prayer was granted, and the canal was made, but never used. It was intended for the purpose of running logs and lumber between the Merrimack and Mr. Hale's saw mill, which was located on the opposite side of the stream from the present flannel factory.

† These fire balls were balls of cotton, soaked in spirits of turpentine, and thrown back and forth with gloved hands, while burning.

From the official "census of Pensioners," for 1840, we find that there were but six then living in this town. These were James Walker, aged 90; David How, 84; Daniel Bradbury, 77; James Simpson, 83; Daniel Silver, 77; Daniel Clough, 77.

CHAPTER XXVII

1840 to 1860.

THE large increase in the population of the town, in the years immediately preceding that in which our chapter opens, created a demand for more extensive and perfect school accommodations in the central district.

In the year 1838, a small wooden building was erected upon the present site of the School Street school-house, to afford school accommodations for the increasing population in the easterly part of the village. Similar buildings were also erected during the same year in the westerly part of the village, — one on High Street, and one on Washington Street. Previous to this, the old building at the head of the common was the only public school-house in the village.

The School Street house had two rooms, — one for a Primary and the other for a Grammar School, — with an average attendance of about forty pupils each. The Grammar department was under the care of Isaac Ames, Esq.,^o for a short time, and for several years was taught by a succession of teachers, all of whom retained the situation for a short time, with the exception of Mr. John B. Carrick, who taught successfully for several years, until failing health obliged him to resign his charge. He died while the dews of early manhood were fresh upon him, beloved and honored by his pupils, as an affectionate and faithful instructor.

The house was remodeled in 1847, by throwing both rooms into one, for the Grammar School, and fitting up a room in the basement for a Primary department. This proved to be an injudicious measure, as the basement room was damp and unhealthy, and the upper room too small for the large increase of attendance in that department. The old building was therefore sold, and removed, in 1855, and the present spacious and substantial structure erected, at a cost of nearly \$15,000. The building is of brick, with free-stone trimmings, and granite foundation; eighty feet in length by fifty in breadth; two stories in height, — with a fine basement for play-rooms in stormy weather. The building is divided into six school-rooms, and a spacious hall, with ample entries, and closets for clothing,

^o Now Judge of Probate and Insolvency for the County of Suffolk.

connected with each room. The rooms are light, spacious, and well ventilated, and furnished with all the modern improvements and conveniences. Ample play-grounds, ornamented with shade-trees, are connected with the building. The house was dedicated June 17, 1856, with appropriate exercises by the pupils, addresses by gentlemen of the General School Committee, and singing an original hymn. The school is established upon the graded system, consisting of the primary, Intermediate, and Grammar divisions, each division being sub-divided and occupying a separate room. Children five years of age are admitted to the Primary room where they remain until fitted for the next grade.

This school has been under the care of Dr. John Crowell, as principal, for several years, assisted by five female teachers, with an attendance of about three hundred pupils.^o

Since the present building has been occupied, nearly five hundred dollars have been raised by the efforts of the teachers and scholars, and appropriated in purchasing a fine piano, and several beautiful engravings for the hall, and planting shade-trees in the yards.

As early as 1835, the population of the town had reached the number fixed upon by the commonwealth for the establishment of a High School, and a proposition to that effect was made, but was indefinitely postponed.

In 1840, the subject of a High School again came before the town for definite action. A committee was thereupon chosen to consider the matter and report. At the September meeting, the committee reported, that the town was liable to indictment unless they established a High School, or accepted the act of the previous Legislature, which released all towns from establishing such a school, provided they expended twenty-five per cent. more on their district schools than they had previously raised for that purpose. The committee recommended the latter course, which was agreed to, and \$700 additional was appropriated for the purpose.

The next year, the First District voted to establish a High School, and the Academy building was hired for the purpose. The first examination for admission to the school was held at the latter place, April 28th and 29th, 1841, and the school went into immediate operation.

The same year (1841) the town accepted the act of the General Court establishing a "fire department," and the fire companies and wardens were

^o Since the above was written, Dr. Crowell has resigned his position as principal of this flourishing school, and again resumed the practice of his profession. Dr. C. was admirably qualified for the position he so long filled, and to him belongs a large share of the credit due for the high position occupied by this school.

immediately re-organized, agreeably to said act.^o The town also voted to pay the firemen "for staying over night at the Stage Street fire," the previous October, — when the steam mill of Noyes & Dunbar, and the house and shop of Lyman Worthen, were totally destroyed. This was the first instance of payment to the firemen in the town for their services, except the allowance of their annual poll tax, as previously mentioned. At the same time, the selectmen were authorized to pay them for any similar service the ensuing year, at their discretion.

The Fourth of July, 1841, was noticed in town by a grand Temperance Celebration, under the direction of the "Haverhill Washingtonian Society," which had been recently organized, and was then in vigorous operation.

The Washingtonian movement, which originated with a few obscure men in Baltimore, in 1840, spread rapidly over the whole country, and was the means of rescuing thousands from a drunkard's grave. This town was an early sharer in the happy fruits of that movement, and not a few who read these pages have cause for gratitude that they were brought within the charmed circle; while a still greater number, around whose pathway the dark shadows of intemperance were silently but surely gathering, will bless the day that rescued some dear friend from the fearful snares which entangled him.

Many persons will remember the exciting scenes and discussions in Congress, about the time of which we now write, upon "the right of petition." While the free and unrestrained right of the people to petition their representatives in Congress assembled, was claimed on the one hand, it was not only denied on the other, but the dissolution of the Union was threatened if petitioning upon the subject of slavery was persisted in. These threats, while they alarmed many, provoked the just indignation of others. The writer well remembers frequent and warm discussions upon the subject in the place where he was then employed, and the repeated and earnestly expressed wish of one ardent believer in "free speech,"† that these hypocritical threats might be rebuked by petitions from the North, praying for the very thing so fiercely threatened by members from the South. Acting upon the hint, as we have no doubt, Benjamin Emerson, 2d, who was frequently present at these discussions, drew up such a petition, which was signed by forty-four persons, and duly forwarded to the Hon.

^o The next year, the town accepted the code of By-Laws adopted by the Engineers.

† Deacon Tappan Chase.

John Quincy Adams, the fearless and uncompromising defender of the right called in question. The following is a copy of the petition:—

"To the Congress of the United States. The undersigned, citizens of Haverhill, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, pray that you will immediately adopt measures, peaceably, to dissolve the Union of these States.

First, Because no Union can be agreeable or permanent, which does not present prospects of reciprocal benefit.

Second, Because a vast proportion of the resources of one section of the Union is annually drained to sustain the views and course of another section without any adequate return.

Third, Because (judging from history of past nations) this Union if persisted in, in the present course of things, will certainly overwhelm this whole nation in utter destruction.

Benj Emerson 2d
John P. Montgomery
Osgood G. Boynton
Elisha Hutchinson
Franklin Currier
Edward R. Diko
Elijah S. Tozier
Wm Hale
Joseph Flanders
Alfred S. Parmlee
George O. Harmon
N. P. Dresser
James Harmon
Otis W. Butters
John Philbrick

Wm H. Noyes
Edwin A. Sargent
Herman Kimball
Washington Johnson
Thomas Ball
Joseph B. Spiller
J. Henry Johnson
Francis Butters, jr
Sewell E. Jewett
Willibee H. Currier
Daniel Brickett
Cornelius Jennens
Wm N. Davis
Ezekiel Hale, jr
Tappan Chase

Samuel Stuart
Samuel Plumer
Nathaniel Foot
Leonard Parker
Francis Butters
Geo. F. Bailey
Elbridge G. Davis
Alfred Gage
Truman M. Martin
Oliver H. F. Delaware
B. Greeley
Nathan Webster
Charles Fitch
John L. Head."

On the 24th of January, 1842, Mr. Adams presented the petition in the national House of Representatives, and moved its reference to a special committee, with instructions to report an answer to the petitioners. An exciting scene followed. Mr. Hopkins asked if it was in order to move to burn the petition in presence of the House; Mr. Wise, (of Va.,) asked if it was in order to move to censure any member who presented such a petition; and Mr. Gilmer, (of N. C.,) offered a resolution censuring Mr. Adams for presenting it. After an exciting discussion, the House abruptly adjourned. Nearly the whole of the next four days was spent in discussing resolutions offered by Mr. Marshall, (as a substitute for Mr. Gilmer's) declaring that "a proposition to the representatives 'to dissolve' the Union, is a high breach of privilege, contempt offered to the House, a proposition to commit perjury, and involves the crime of high treason ;

that John Q. Adams, in presenting a petition praying the dissolution of the Union, has offered the deepest indignity to the House, and insult to the people of the United States;" and "that John Q. Adams might well be held to merit expulsion from the national councils," for offering such a petition. On the 29th, the resolutions were "postponed for the present;" and February 5th, the whole subject was tabled, by a large majority.

In view of recent developments, and the present condition of our national affairs, we have deemed the history of the "Haverhill Disunion Potition" entitled to a place on the pages of this work, and have therefore given it. As we distinctly understood it at the time, the petition was intended as a rebuke for what were believed to be hollow threats of disunion, and its effect certainly seems to have proved the shrewdness of the petitioners.

The Fourth of July, 1842, was celebrated by the "Washington Street Washington Total Abstinence Society," by a procession to the common, where an address was delivered by Charles T. Woodman, Esq., followed by a collation, at the same place.

At the annual town meeting in 1843, it was voted to divide the "surplus revenue" equally among the inhabitants of the town, each giving his individual note to the town, promising to return the sum received by him, on demand. This was in direct violation of the terms upon which the town itself held the money, and an injunction was immediately issued, restraining them from making such a distribution. A meeting was thereupon called, (June 5) and it was voted to apply the interest of the fund to the support of the schools in town.

The Anniversary of the National Independence was celebrated in 1843, by a Ladies' Levee, on the vacant lot, corner of Summer and Stage Streets, the proceeds of which were applied "for the benefit of the Poor." The day was also observed by the Sabbath School connected with the Second Baptist Society, in a procession, an address by Rev. Benj. Wheeler, of Plaistow, and a collation on the banks of the Merrimack.

The subject of temperance still continued to occupy a prominent place in the public mind, and at the annual meeting in 1844, the town passed resolutions similar to those it adopted in 1842.

Though the common was purchased and leveled several years previous to this time, it was not yet suitably enclosed and laid out. But in 1844, the ladies of the village took hold of the matter, and, in September of that year, held a levee, at the Academy Hall, to provide funds for that purpose. The effort was successful, and the public spirited maids and matrons are fully entitled to this honorable mention for their seasonable services in improving this beautiful park.

In 1845, a new temperance organisation was introduced into town, under the form of a semi-"secret society," known as "The Independent Order of Rechabites." A "Tent" was formed here in the early part of that year, and so rapid was the increase of its members, that in August the large hall in Duncan's Building, Main Street, was leased, and dedicated to their use. The new organization continued to flourish for a few years, when it rapidly fell into decay, and soon ceased to exist.

At the time of the organization of the Rechabites, the Washingtonian Society had ceased to be an active body, and it soon after became extinct. In October, of the same year, an effort was made to revive the interest in the Washingtonian plan, by organizing a new society, under the name of the "Pentucket Total Abstinence Society," but it proved to be short lived.

The same year, another of the so-called "secret" societies was introduced into the town. September 4th, "Mutual Relief Lodge" of the "Independent Order of Odd Fellows" was instituted, and on the 17th of October, the hall over the lecture-room of the Centre Congregational Society, on Vestry Street, was dedicated to their use. The new order took vigorous root, and flourished for several years. It is still living, and by means of its brotherly aid in sickness, and the liberal appropriations from its fund to the "widow and orphan," is quietly diffusing its genial influence to no small extent.

In August, of the same year, a new burial ground was laid out on the north, and immediately adjoining, the first one laid out in the town. It was purchased by a company, and was dedicated April 21st, 1846, under the name of "Linwood Cemetery." It was tastefully laid out and embellished, and is now among the neatest and pleasantest places of the kind in New England.

The wide contrast between the neat and orderly appearance of the new cemetery, and the neglected and dilapidated condition of the old burying-ground immediately adjoining it, naturally excited a desire to see the latter improved and cared for. In this improvement, as in the case of the old common, the ladies were the most active and zealous workers. Foremost among them were Mrs. (Jeremiah) Stickney, and Mrs. (Rufus) Longley. Enlisting the aid and sympathy of others, a levee was held April 10th, 1845, which proved highly successful; contributions were solicited, and freely bestowed; and in the course of the next two years, more than one thousand dollars was raised and expended in beautifying and improving that ancient burial-place. A neat granite monument was erected to the memory of the beloved Rolfe and his family; the old wooden

fence in front was exchanged for one of iron, and that upon the sides gave place to the more appropriate and durable hedge; and every part of the grounds felt the magic touch of woman's hand. The homely and ancient name, "Burying-Ground," was exchanged for that of "Pentucket Cemetery," by which name it will ever after be known.

In June, 1846, the steamer *Lawrence*, a side-wheel boat, about one hundred and forty feet long, and built at Newburyport expressly for the route, commenced running between that place and Haverhill. She proved to be too large and unwieldy for the purpose, and after running two seasons, was sold to parties in Connecticut. June 6th, 1848, a new stern-wheel steamer, of the same name, also built for the Merrimack, at Waterville, Maine, made her first appearance at Haverhill, and the same day went up as far as the new city of Lawrence. This was the first and last trip made by a steamboat so far up the river. The intention about that time, was, to clear the river above this place, so as to allow light draft steamboats to make regular trips between Newburyport and Lawrence. With that view, the legislature had granted (April, 1848) an act of incorporation to James R. Nichols, James H. Carlton, and others of this town, under the name of the "Pentucket Navigation Co.," giving them the exclusive right to navigate the Merrimack, between Haverhill and Lawrence, by steamboats, for twenty-five years, provided they made it so navigable within five years. The only impediment to such navigation, was the rapids in this town, known as Mitchel's Falls, to clear a channel through which it was estimated would cost only about five thousand dollars. But for want of sufficient inducement to warrant even that outlay, the project was abandoned.

Besides the steamboats mentioned, several others ran transiently between Newburyport and this town, at various times, from 1848 to 1854. Their names were, the *Sarah*, *California*, *Merrimac*, *Ohio*, *O. B. Stevens*, *Narragansett*, and *Grace Darling*. The latter was owned by Haverhill men, and was put upon the route in August, 1854. The opening of the Georgetown railroad, about this time, diverted the travel to so large an extent in that direction, that the steam navigation of the river was given up in the fall of the year last mentioned, and will never, in all probability, be again resumed.

In October, 1847, a society was organized in this town, under the name of the "Fraternity of Shenstones." The object of the society, was, to provide means for setting out and taking care of "ornamental trees, in the streets, squares, and other public places in the town." Isaac Ames, Esq., was chosen President, and Thomas M. Hayes, Esq., Secretary and

Treasurer. The fee for membership was one ~~dollar~~ per year. The name was adopted in honor of an English gentleman, who, many years before, labored zealously for a similar purpose ~~in his~~ own country. Through the exertions of the Shenstones, many hundred ~~trees~~ were from time to time set out, which have already become a beautiful "ornament" to more than one street in our village. A large share of the credit which justly belongs to that society for their thoughtfulness, good taste, and large success, is due to the efforts of its originator, and first Secretary. Though long since laid beneath the sod, the beautiful ~~trees~~ he planted, and watched with so much tenderness and interest, will long remind us that he lived not in vain.

The subject of a Town House, or Town Hall, began to be agitated soon after the town found itself obliged to hire a place for its meetings, in 1828. In May, 1831, a meeting was called for the special purpose of considering the matter, but the town voted not to build. Two years later, a committee was chosen to see about a site for such a building, and the probable cost, but nothing definite was done, and the next year the committee was discharged. At the annual meeting in 1835, the town voted to build a Town House, and a committee was chosen to see about a site, &c. Two years later, a proposition was made to purchase the Christian Union Chapel, on Washington Square but it was not accepted. Another two years came and went, and the subject of building such a structure again came before the town, but was indefinitely postponed. Here the matter rested until the annual meeting in 1847, when the town voted to erect a suitable building for their use, on the "south part of the Harrod lot, so called," at an expense of eight thousand dollars. A steeple was to be placed upon the building, provided a clock and bell were provided by private subscription. A plan was presented and agreed upon, for a building seventy-six feet long, forty-two feet wide, and twenty-six feet high above the cellar. The latter was to be seven and one-half feet deep in the clear. The work was immediately commenced, and the building completed early in the following year. Though the town adopted a plan, with the express understanding that parties had offered to erect a building according to that plan for \$8,000, the actual sum expended was \$10,382.44. The clock and bell were purchased as proposed, — by private subscriptions, — and the proceeds of a public levee.

At the annual meeting in 1848, the town voted to allow the county the free use of the hall for the County Courts, if the latter should be removed from Ipswich to Haverhill. It was also voted that the hall should be kept exclusively for the use of the town, except that it might be let "for

such lectures or meetings as shall in the best judgment of the Selectmen have a tendency to improve the morals and intelligence of the citizens." Subsequently, the selectmen were invested with the full control of the hall.

At the same meeting, a committee was chosen to appear before the General Court in aid of the petitioners for a railroad from Newburyport to Bradford.^o It was also voted that future town meetings should be warned by publishing the warrant in each of the newspapers in town two weeks, and posting a copy in the office of the town clerk. This has continued to be the practice to the present time. At the same time a committee was chosen to superintend the laying out of the Common, and the setting out of trees.[†] The hay-scales were ordered to be removed from the Common, and they were accordingly transferred to their present location. A safe was purchased for the better protection of the town records; and the first two books of the records were ordered to be copied. The latter task was performed in a most faithful and beautiful manner, by Mr. Josiah Keely.

At the same meeting, a proposition was made for the town to pay the difference between the cost of a five-inch and an eight-inch iron pipe, from the Round Pond to the top of the hill on Main Street, — The Aqueduct Company being about to re-place the old logs with an iron pipe of the former diameter. The subject was referred to a committee, who subsequently reported in favor of the town's paying the difference between a five and a six-inch pipe, which was agreed to, and the present six-inch pipe was accordingly substituted.

In December, (18th) of the same year, a town meeting was called to consider the expediency of placing a restriction upon the keeping of dogs. It was voted that dogs should not run at large without a muzzle, and the town clerk was authorized to pay one dollar for every dog killed, not so muzzled, provided no man was to be paid for killing his own dog. This regulation proved to be too stringent for practical execution, and, December 30th, another dog meeting was held, when the above vote was re-considered.[‡]

^o The committee were Alfred Kitredge, J. H. Duncan, W. R. Whittier, Rufus Longley, and Caleb Hersey.

[†] The committee were Wm. Taggart, J. H. Duncan, Wm. Merrill, Wm. D. S. Chase, and Thos. N. Chase.

[‡] Gov. Banks, in his annual address to the General Court, in 1860, ventured the opinion, that there were more dogs than sheep in the State of Massachusetts. We are inclined to believe that the estimate is a reasonable one; and also that their extermination would be a positive blessing to the State. The loss of a single life by hydrophobia, now fearfully common, will more than outweigh the good done by all the dogs in the Commonwealth in a generation.

In 1848, "Primrose Lane" was widened and straightened, and elevated to the dignity of a street; and in the following year, Emerson, Vestry, and Cross Streets, were formally accepted by the town.

We have already alluded to the erection of a small school-house on Washington Street, in 1838. In 1843, the school was changed to a Grammar School. In 1845, the building was enlarged by the addition of twenty feet in length, but the rapid growth of that section of the village soon outstripped even that liberal addition, and, in 1849, the building was removed, to give place to the present neat and substantial brick structure. The present school building is thirty-eight by sixty feet, and two stories high. The first floor is used for a primary, and the second for a grammar school. The cost of the building was upwards of three thousand dollars. The school was for several years in charge of Luther Emerson, of this town. It is now under the efficient direction of Mr. J. B. Smith, to whose earnest efforts we are largely indebted for its present excellent standing. The old school building was subsequently removed to White Street, near Portland Street, where it is still occupied for a primary school.

There were at this time in the district five primary, and four grammar schools, besides the High school. The amount paid by the district for their support in 1848, was \$3,164.86. The average weekly cost per scholar, based upon actual attendance, was, nine cents and four mills for primary; fifteen cents for the grammar; and thirty cents for the High school.

In the early part of 1850, the small-pox broke out in the western part of the town, and for a time raged fearfully. It was confined principally to the northern part of the West Parish. In School District No. 2, there were between thirty and forty cases, several of them fatal. The loathsome disease was introduced into the parish by a young lady, on a visit from Boston.

About this time, the town began to make large appropriations for its Fire Department. We have already noticed the organization of the department, in 1841. In 1843, the town voted to build a house for the hook and ladder company; in 1848, a new engine was purchased for company No. 1, and a new engine house was built for them the next year; in 1849, the old engine of company No. 4 was exchanged for a new one, and a new engine was purchased for company No. 2; in 1851, a new machine was procured for company No. 3, and a new and commodious house erected for their use. At the same time, it was voted to pay the firemen, (or, as they were then called, "engine-men,") five dollars each, annually, and twenty-five cents per hour each, for labor at fires — alarms

to be considered as one hour each, if the engine was taken from the house. In 1852, the selectmen were authorized to sell the engine house on Pleasant Street, (about midway between Fleet and Winter Streets, on the south side,) "and the three Fire Engines therein." Other and liberal expenditures have been made from time to time for the purchase of machines, buildings, &c., until we now have a fire department, which, for character and efficiency is second to that of no town in the Commonwealth. There are now four companies, — three in the central village, and one at the Rocks' Village, — each supplied with excellent machines, and commodious buildings for their exclusive accommodation. Besides these, we have a "Hook and Ladder Company," (organized in 1860) well supplied with appropriate carriages and materials, and the occupants of a fine building, erected for their special use, on Fleet Street.

At the annual meeting in 1852, the town voted to place the highways of the town under the general superintendence of one person, who was to be appointed by the selectmen. This plan proved to be decidedly unpopular, and after one year's trial it was abandoned.

In 1853, the town appropriated \$300 toward the expenses of celebrating the Fourth of July. This, we believe, is the only instance in which such an appropriation has been made by the town; the usual course having been to raise money for the purpose by private subscription.

The same year, the streets of the village were for the first time lighted by gas — a gas company having been previously organized in the town, and in successful operation.*

At the annual town meeting in 1854, the following preamble and resolutions, offered by Hon. J. H. Duncan, were adopted: —

"The Inhabitants of the Town of Haverhill, in annual Town Meeting assembled, having seen with mingled emotions of surprise, indignation, and grief, that a provision has been introduced into the bill creating the Nebraska Territory, designed to repeal that section of the Act, known as the 'Missouri Compromise,' by which slavery was forever prohibited in all that part of the territory acquired from France, North of 36° 30', except that contained in the limits of the State of Missouri, and that the same has passed one House of Congress; do, in the exercise of their rights as Freemen, solemnly and earnestly protest against the passage of that provision;

Because, it is an uncalled for and unnecessary violation of a solemn compact, made as a condition of the admission of Missouri as a slave state, which has been held sacred for thirty-four years;

* The gas works of the company are located on the south side of Winter Street, adjoining Little River, and on the east side of the latter.

Because, it is a flagrant breach of faith with the free states, by which the slave states, having secured their part of the compact, would deprive the free states of their rightful share of its benefits;

Because, it is a gross departure from the policy of the founders of the Republic, which was to limit and restrain, with a view to its final extinction, and not to foster and extend, slavery;

Because, the passage of this provision will destroy all faith in compacts and compromises made in Congress, on the subject of slavery, and while it justifies the friends of freedom to take all measures, not forbidden by the Constitution, to curtail and restrain slavery, and the slave power, it invites, and, without cause, provokes renewed and interminable agitation, which will threaten the permanency of the Union. Therefore

Resolved, That the measure above referred to is not demanded by the people of the United States; it is a violation of a compact which ought to be held sacred and inviolate; that it tends to destroy confidence in public faith; is fraught with alarming evils and puts at hazard the integrity and stability of the Union:

Resolved, That a copy of this preamble and resolutions, signed by the moderator, and town clerk, be forthwith transmitted to Hon. N. P. Banks, the Representative of this district, to be by him presented to Congress, and that he be requested to use his efforts to defeat the passage of this odious and unjust provision."

At the same meeting the town voted to prohibit all dogs from running at large, unless collared and muzzled, and the inspector of police was instructed to kill all not so provided. The act of the Legislature, establishing a Police Court in the town, was formally accepted at the same time.

In 1855, the subject of a town High School again came up for consideration, and a committee was chosen to make arrangements for that purpose. The result was, that the Academy building, which had been used by District No. 1, for that purpose, was hired by the town, and a town High School regularly established.*

During the summer of 1856, the Winter Street School building was erected, at a cost of nearly \$18,000. It is a substantial, well-proportioned, and convenient structure of faced brick, two stories in height, about eighty-five feet in length, and sixty feet in width. It contains a spacious hall—occupying one-half of the second story, where the several divisions assemble for devotional and general exercises—six rooms, occupied by two primary,

* The academy building was purchased by the district in 1844 for \$3,000.

two intermediate, and two grammar departments, (with seats for three hundred and eighteen pupils,) and each fitted, within the school-room, and under the eye of the teacher, with closets for the clothing of the children, (an excellent arrangement, yet it is believed the only one of the kind in the State,)—and is every way well adapted to the purposes for which it was intended. The school was organized in August, 1856, from the *material* of the Centre and Winter Street Grammar Schools, and placed under the charge of its present excellent teacher, Mr. E. H. Hammond, a native of this town, then principal of the Centre Grammar School,^o with at first only three assistants; but the wants of that portion of the district made it necessary, during the second and third terms, to occupy all the rooms. The dedicatory services were impressive and interesting. The address at the dedication was given by the Secretary of the Board of Education, Ex-Governor Geo. S. Boutwell.

This school, though not furnished with "*all* the modern improvements," is well provided with suitable and serviceable apparatus for thorough and successful instruction. By the efforts of the principal and his assistants, aided by the noble and generous coöperation of the parents and friends of the school, it has been furnished with a very superior toned piano, and one of Copley's large sized sixteen inch globes; and also, by vote of the district, the present season, (1861) with a splendid set of Pelton's outline maps. The school is organized upon the same general plan as that of School Street, with a principal and five female assistants, each occupying a different room, and conducting their classes over certain consecutive steps in their education, under the general supervision of the principal.

The fourth of July, 1856, was celebrated in this town by a procession—composed of the military and fire companies, Masonic and other societies—an oration, by Hon. Charles W. Upham, of Salem, in the Centre Church, a dinner, and fire-works in the evening.

The same year, Locust, Grand, Orchard, Walnut, and Vine streets were formally accepted by the town, and Kent street widened and straightened.† The year following, (1857) Jew street felt the magic touch of the widening and straightening process; and all the school districts (fourteen in number) were re-bounded. But local improvements did not by any means stop with merely straightening streets. The town voted that in future

^o The old Centre school-house is now occupied for a primary school.

† Chestnut street was accepted in 1853, at which time White street was widened and straightened. The next year (1854) High street was widened and straightened. In 1855, Little River bridge was rebuilt, and Washington square thereby greatly enlarged and improved.

the Town Hall shall not be leased on Saturday evenings "for theatrical or Negro concert purposes."

The salaries of the town officers for 1858, were as follows: Moderator, ten dollars; town clerk, fees; treasurer, one hundred dollars; collector of taxes, three hundred and fifty dollars; selectmen, three hundred and fifty dollars; assessors, three hundred and twenty-five dollars; overseers of poor, one hundred and seventy-five dollars; general school committee, two hundred and seventy-five dollars; inspector of police, fifty dollars; auditors, twenty-five dollars; pound keeper, ten dollars. For the information of those who come after us, we should, perhaps, add, that the same person now usually fills the several offices of town clerk, treasurer, and collector of taxes. The sums paid to the several boards of officers is usually apportioned among the individual members of each, by the respective boards, in proportion to the labor individually performed.

The same year, Merrimack street was paved, from Main street to Washington square; and the year following, Water street was paved, as far as Green street. One year later (1860) the paving of Water street was continued as far east as School street.

In 1859, the town appropriated one hundred dollars for the purpose of setting out shade trees in the town. The sum was divided among the several highway districts.

So rapid was the growth of the town in population in the ten years preceding the date of which we write, that continual complaint was made that it had already outgrown its town house. The subject continued to agitate the public mind of the town, until, in 1859, it culminated in a proposition to build a new one. A committee was thereupon chosen to consider the subject, obtain estimates, plans, &c., and report. The committee consisted of James H. Duncan, Robert G. Walker, A. A. Sargent, Moses D. George, Orenzo T. Emerson, James F. Gile, Elbridge W. Chase. At the next annual meeting, the committee reported a recommendation that the town purchase the Wingate estate, (next north of the town house) with a view to the erection of a larger building upon the old site at some future time. The recommendation was adopted, the estate purchased, and the committee were instructed to report a plan and estimates for a new building. January 7, 1861, the committee reported a plan, which was adopted, and measures were at once taken for the erection of a new building.^o

^o The plan adopted was drawn by John Stevens, architect, of Boston. The contract for the erection of the building was awarded to Messrs. Carleton & Sargent, of this town.

At the time of writing (July 1, 1861) the old building has been levelled, and the foundation of the new structure nearly completed. The following extract from the committee's report will give an idea of the general plan of the new town house:—

"The plan approved is for a building of brick, faced on the front and ends—ornamented with freestone, (or perhaps with iron, if found much cheaper) one hundred and fifteen feet in length, and sixty-seven and a half feet wide, with a tower on the front, south of the main entrance, eighteen by eighteen feet square, for the clock, bell, and dressing rooms, connected with the stage; and a smaller tower north of the main entrance, fourteen and one-half feet square, with a staircase to the stage, clock, and also to the attic of the building. The principal entrance will be through a vestibule on the front between the towers, and there will be also an entrance at the north end into the main corridor. The basement may be entered on a level from Court street, will be ten feet high, and will afford ample accommodations for market stalls and a large grocery store.

The first or principal floor will be divided into rooms thirteen feet high, on each side of the entry or corridor, which is twelve feet in width, for the various town or city officers, police court room, town agency, &c., or it may be thought expedient for a time to omit some partitions, and thus leave a hall on this floor, for exhibitions not requiring the large hall above. It is proposed to light all parts of the building with gas, to warm it by furnaces in the basement, and to convey water where it may be needed. Fire-proof safes to be constructed for the safe keeping of the town records and papers.

The hall is designed to be twenty-eight feet high, to be entered by staircases at each end, thus affording very convenient entrance and egress. Rooms are designed at each end of the hall, and galleries over them. It is proposed to have the stage or platform on the front side of the hall, chiefly occupying the space over the vestibule, between the towers, and projecting about five feet into the hall, thus bringing the entire audience nearer a speaker, who can be seen from any part of the floor and galleries. The hall is estimated to seat nine hundred and fifty persons on the floor, and four hundred and fifty in the galleries; in all, fourteen hundred persons.

It is proposed to use the spacious attic for an armory, should it be wanted for that purpose, and it will afford a room seventy-five by thirty feet, may be well lighted, and easily accessible by the staircase in the small tower, and sound may be prevented by back-plastering between the

floors. In the judgment of the committee, it is desirable to provide all accommodations which will give an income to the town. It is proposed to cover the roof and towers with slate, and tin, where slate cannot be used; to have copper gutters, and to protect the north eaving with a covering of iron. Your committee consider the design and arrangement of the building, which, in some respects, are novel, as highly convenient, and superior to any similar building within their knowledge.

The estimated cost of the building, according to the designs, providing for ornamenting all the exterior with New Jersey freestone, for preparing the foundations, cementing the bottom of the basement, and for completely ventilating the building, as carefully cast by practical men, is forty thousand one hundred and twenty-five dollars; but, to provide for contingencies, is placed at forty-two thousand dollars."

Among the note-worthy incidents of the year 1859, should be mentioned the improvement of the beautiful point of land at the Great Pond, known for many years as the "Fish House Lot," and the formal re-naming of that beautiful sheet of water.

Many years ago, a number of the citizens of Haverhill united in purchasing of the proprietor, a perpetual right for the citizens of the town to use the pleasant point of land near the north-eastern extremity of Great Pond, as a place of summer resort for parties of pleasure. A convenient wooden building was erected on the land, and the place became known as the "Fish House Lot," and was a popular place of resort for many years. But, in course of time, the building fell into decay, and at last was destroyed by incendiarism, and the grounds were neglected, and but little used for the original purpose.

The acknowledged want of a suitable place of resort for picnics and chowder parties, and the convenience of location, natural beauty, and, above all, the memories of "auld lang syne" that clustered around the "Fish House Lot," again directed attention to it as the place most desirable for the purpose; and in the summer of 1858, a few persons called a meeting, upon the grounds, of all interested in the subject. Above one hundred persons were present. Elbridge G. Eaton, Esq., was chosen chairman, and George H. Hoyt, secretary; and after remarks by several gentlemen, Rufus Slocumb, Esq., who had become proprietor of the grounds, subject to the privileges before mentioned, proposed to make over his interest to the citizens of Haverhill and Bradford, for the nominal sum of one hundred dollars, on condition that it should be forever kept as a place of free resort to the citizens of these towns for social festivities.

By a unanimous vote, the liberal offer was accepted, and a committee was chosen to solicit subscriptions, purchase and put the grounds in order, make such improvements as they should deem advisable, and report at a general meeting to be called by them in one year. On motion of G. W. Chase, it was voted that the land should be purchased by subscriptions not exceeding one dollar each, and a subscription paper for that purpose was opened on the spot.

On the 31st day of August, 1859, the committee called a meeting at the grounds of all interested in the matter, which was attended by about two hundred persons. The Chairman, James H. Carleton, Esq., reported that the land had been purchased, about two hundred and fifty trees set out, a substantial fence erected, the grounds graded, and a convenient stone building (twenty by forty feet) erected, at a total expense of about eight hundred and fifty dollars, of which they had received nearly seven hundred dollars in individual subscriptions.

The committee also reported a plan of organization for the preservation and improvement of the grounds. The report was accepted, and a body immediately organized under the name of "The Kenosha Lake Club," and its officers elected.

The organization of the Club was followed by an old fashioned fish chowder, with the usual festive accompaniments.*

* The following beautiful poem, by John G. Whittier, to whom had been entrusted the honor of selecting a new name for the pond, was read upon the occasion :

KENOZA.

As Adam did in Paradise,
To-day the primal right we claim;
Fair mirror of the woods and skies,
We give to thee a name!

Lake of the Pickerel! Let no more
The echoes answer back "Great Pond,"
But, sweet Kenosha, from thy shore
And watching hills beyond;

And, Indian ghosts, if such there be,
Who ply unseen, their shadowy lines,
Call back the dear old name to thee
As with the voice of pines.

The paths we trod when careless boys,
With manhood's shodden feet we trace;
To friendship, love and social joys
We consecrate the place.

Here shall the tender song be sung,
And Memory's dirges soft and low,
And wit shall sparkle on the tongue,
And Mirth shall overflow.

Harmless as summer-lightning plays
From a low, hidden cloud by night—
A light to set the hills ablaze,
But not a bolt to smite.

Kenosha! O'er no sweeter lake
Shall morning break, or noon-cloud sail,
No lighter wave than thine shall take
The sunset's golden veil!

And, Beauty's priestess, thou shalt teach
The truth, so dimly understood,
That He who made thee fair, for each
And all designeth good!

A few days subsequently, the grounds were dedicated, and the beautiful body of water formally christened as "*Kenos Lake*," with appropriate ceremonies.†

Early in the year 1860, the shoemakers of Lynn, Haverhill, and other shoe-manufacturing towns, engaged in a movement the object of which was to free themselves from real or fancied oppression, on the part of the manufacturers, by establishing and maintaining a more remunerative list of prices for the various kinds and qualities of work. The movement commenced with private and public discussions, and was soon followed by a regularly organized "strike" in the principal shoe-manufacturing towns in the State. In this town, upwards of six hundred shoemakers bound themselves not to work, except at prices fixed upon by a committee of their own selection. Side by side in the movement were to be seen those who for years (and when they joined in the strike) received prices which easily gave them from two dollars to four dollars for six to ten hours' labor, and those whose unskilled hands could scarce secure them the above sums per week. Many of the first class engaged in the movement through mere love of excitement, and ambition to lead, while the latter were deluded with the idea that they were ill-paid for their skill and labor, that they were the victims of a sort of petty despotism, and that "plenty of work and good pay" were sure to follow if they but rose in their might and demanded that "capital should no longer control labor."

As might have been anticipated, the whole movement was a failure, and after a few weeks of excitement, idleness, and no little dissipation, the bubble burst, the strike was abandoned, and business soon resumed its wonted channels. It cannot be doubted that most of those who joined in the movement returned to their labor wiser if not better men.

† The festivities closed with the following song, written for the occasion, by Geo. W. Chase:—

Old friends, old friends, we meet again,
Where oft we met of yore;
Again to brighten friendship's chain
By sweet Kenos's shore.
Chorus—By sweet Kenos's shore, my friends,
By sweet Kenos's shore;
Again to brighten friendship's chain
By sweet Kenos's shore.

Our early friendships here we own,
Though wide our lots are cast;
Long years have not our love outgrown;
We'll ne'er forget the past.
Chorus—We'll ne'er forget the past, my friends, &c.

Our hearts are warm as when of yore
Our songs ascended here;
And here by sweet Kenos's shore,
We pledge to memory dear.
Chorus—We pledge to memory dear, my friends, &c.

From north and south, from east and west
We've come with willing feet;
And here again with hearty zest,
Our dear old friends we greet.
Chorus—Our dear old friends we greet, my friends, &c.

It never shall be said with truth,
That now our hearts are cold;
The love that warmed them in our youth,
Shall warm them still when old. [*&c.*]
Chorus—Shall warm them still when old, my friends,

And year by year, till life shall cease,
And earthly joys be o'er;
We'll meet in love, and part in peace,
By sweet Kenos's shore.
Chorus—By sweet Kenos's shore, my friends,
By sweet Kenos's shore,
We'll meet in love and part in peace
By sweet Kenos's shore.

In 1859, Fourth, Huntington and Cedar streets were accepted; and in 1861, Linden, Franklin, John, Harrison, Washington avenue, Beacon, Temple and Duston streets were accepted, and Moore and Dow streets straightened and widened.^o In January, 1861, Fleet and Court streets were also formally accepted by the town. For the information of those not familiar with the usual modern custom in the laying out of new streets, we should, perhaps, add, that, in nearly every instance, new streets in New England villages are first laid out and graded by the owners of the adjoining lands, for the purpose of opening a way for the sale of house-lots, and it is usually several years from such laying out before they are formally accepted by the town as public highways.

^o The work on the latter has as yet only been done on paper.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE MANUFACTURE OF SHOES AND HATS—IMPROVEMENTS.

THE first shoemaker in this town was doubtless Andrew Greeley, who came here in 1646, and some of whose descendants still reside here, and are engaged in the shoe business. From the above date until within the present century, shoemaking was confined almost exclusively to the wants of our own community. Shoes were not made up in quantities, and kept on hand for sale, like most kinds of goods at the present day; much less were they manufactured for foreign consumption. The time is almost within the memory of persons now living, when it was the common custom, outside of the villages, for shoemakers to "whip the stump;" i.e. go from house to house, stopping at each long enough to make up a year's supply of shoes for the family. Farmers usually kept a supply of leather on hand for family use, and in many cases they were their own cobblers. Sometimes a farmer was also the shoemaker for the whole neighborhood, and worked at the latter employment on rainy days, and during the winter season.

In villages, the "village cobbler," or shoemaker, gradually came to keep a little stock of leather on hand, and to exchange shoes with the farmers, tanners, traders, and others, for produce, leather, foreign goods, &c. In this village, as late as 1794, there is said to have been but two shoemakers. Mr. Robert Willis remembers being in the shop of Enoch Marsh, in that year, when the latter was making a pair of shoes for Capt. Benjamin Willis,—of the privateer brig *Betsey*—between the soles of which a layer of gold pieces were placed. The precaution proved to have been timely, as the brig was captured the same voyage.

In course of time, storekeepers began to keep a few shoes on hand for sale. This naturally grew out of the barter system of trade, then so common. They bartered with the shoemakers for their shoes; bartered the shoes with the back country farmers for produce; and then bartered the produce for English and West India Goods.

In August, 1795, Moses Gale, of this town, advertised that he had "several thousand" fresh and dry hides, which he would exchange for

shoes, and would give credit until the shoes could be made from the same hides. This is the earliest authentic information we have found of what may be called a *wholesale* shoe business in the town. From this time, the manufacture of shoes began to increase quite rapidly.

Among the earliest to engage in the manufacture of shoes, were Moses and James Atwood, who also kept a store in the village. During the war of 1812, the first named sent a waggon load of shoes to Philadelphia, on which he realized a handsome profit. These must have been about the first shoes sent in that direction.* David How was also one of the first to encourage their wholesale manufacture. He is thought by some to have been the very first to send shoes to the south, in large quantities. He was for some years the largest manufacturer in town. Wesley Balch is said to have been the first one to manufacture *roan* shoes. If so, he must have commenced previous to 1814, as in that year we find "ladies' black Morocco shoes, with heels; ladies' colored Morocco shoes, with heels; and ladies' colored and black sandals, with heels; for sale by Chase & Cogswell," in this town. Amos Chase, who lived where J. B. Spiller now resides, made "roan ties" about 1810. He manufactured only what himself and one or two apprentices could make. They were spring-heeled, and without any stiffening at the heel. There were no pegged shoes made at that time. A few pegs were made by hand for pegging heels together. At that time no regard was paid to the sizes, or to the number of pairs in a case. Leonard Whittier was one of the first to put up regular sizes in each case.

Aroet M. Hatch was in the shoe business here in 1812. Mr. Hatch was a native of Ashby, but was brought up in the family of Deacon Balch, of East Bradford. He married a sister of Paul Spofford, of Georgetown, and soon after went with the latter to Salem, N. H., where they commenced the manufacture of shoes. After carrying on the business at that place about a year, they returned to Haverhill, and commenced in the Bannister block, as Hatch & Spofford. This was about 1817.

Phineas Webster was one of the earliest, if not the very first, who made the wholesale manufacture of shoes his *sole* business. He commenced about 1815. At first, he exchanged most of his shoes in Danvers, for Morocco and leather. The Danvers tanners and curriers packed their shoes in barrels, sugar boxes, tea chests and hogsheads, without regard to sizes or qualities, and shipped them to Philadelphia and Baltimore, where

* Mr. Atwood subsequently removed to Philadelphia, and founded the first wholesale shoe house in that city.

they were exchanged for a variety of produce, &c. On arriving at these ports, the vessels would be visited by crowds of people, to trade for shoes. The captain would thereupon hoist up his barrel or sugar box of shoes, at once converting the deck of his vessel into a retail shoe shop, and "dicker off" his stock. Mr. Webster is still engaged in the business, in connection with his son. Samuel Chase came to Haverhill in 1815, from Portsmouth, N. H., where he had kept a custom shoe shop. He has from that time to the present year (1860) been one of our most extensive shoe manufacturers, as well as most worthy and respected citizens. Warner Whittier was in the business as early as 1818, and probably earlier, and was for many years one of the most extensive manufacturers in the place. His son, and successor, Warner R. Whittier, Esq., is still in the business.

In January, 1818, Thomas Tileston, who had been engaged in the printing business in this town, removed to New York City, where he received large consignments of shoes and hats from the manufacturers in Haverhill, and established, in connection with Paul Spefford, one of our Haverhill shoe-manufacturers, one of the largest, if not the largest, shoe houses in that city.

Eliphalet Noyes manufactured in the Banister Block in 1820. His shoes were all made in his own shop, and were mostly "women's run-round ties," black and colored.

Thomas Meady was in the business here in 1817, at which date, it has been estimated, there were probably about two hundred shoemakers in town. Meady sent many of his shoes to Richmond, and Norfolk, Va.

James Noyes came here in 1820, at which time Moses French was manufacturing sale shoes, where Haseltine's store now stands, on Water street; and Eben Chase carried on the business where Hunking's block now stands. Jesse Harding was then the only Morocco dresser in town. The father of Mr. Noyes made shoes when the fashion was "picked toes, and wooden heels."

Daniel Hobson commenced the business in Bradford, in 1824, and removed to Haverhill in 1828. He made mostly men's heeled pumps, with strap and buckle. "Hobson's pumps" were for years a standard article. Mr. Hobson is still in the business.

John Follonsbee manufactured shoes near the bridge, in 1826. He afterward went to Philadelphia, where he engaged in the shoe trade.

David P. Harmon commenced the business in 1826, and with the exception of a few years, has continued it to the present time.

In March, 1832, there were twenty-eight shoe manufacturers in the town, viz:—

Jacob Caldwell ^o	Gubtal & Haseltine	Page & Kimball
Caldwell & Pierce	Harmon & Kimball	Daniel S. Perley
Anthony Chase ^o	Moses Haynes†	Samuel Russell‡
Tappan Chase ^o	Caleb Hersey	Job Tyler
Samuel Chase	Keely & Chase	Isiah Webster†
Charles Davis	Richard Kimball	David Whitaker§
Benjamin Emerson, 2d	Oliver P. Lake ^o	Whittier & George
Jesse Emerson†	Thomas Meady	John Woodman
Samuel George	James Noyes	
Joseph Greely	Peter Osgood	

Of the above, at least sixteen kept "English and West India Goods" at the same time. (Cash was a very small part of the price paid for making the shoes.)

✧ Prominent among the causes of the somewhat sudden increase in the manufacture of shoes, are to be found, first, the finishing of goat, kid and sheep skins in the form of Morocco, and, second, the invention of *turned* shoes. The first Morocco used in this town came from Danvers and Newburyport. The first Morocco dresser in town, was Jesse Harding. The first turned shoes made in this vicinity, were made by a "tramping jour," who learned the art in Philadelphia. He was hired in Charlestown, by James Gardner, of Bradford, for whom he worked long enough to allow others to secure the grand secret. His shoes excited a great deal of curiosity at the time, and large numbers of persons went to see how they were made. The introduction of these light, neat, cheap and comparatively durable shoes, in place of the heavy styles then in common use, seems to have given a decided impulse to shoe manufacturing in this town, and from that time the business rapidly increased, until it became the principal, and almost the only manufacturing business in the town.

In 1818, Mr. Rufus Slocumb commenced the regular running of a two-horse "baggage waggon" between Haverhill and Boston, for the transportation of freight. The enterprise proved a success, and he was gradually obliged to increase his freighting facilities, until, about 1835, he kept about forty horses, and two yoke of oxen constantly employed in the business, and his large covered wagons almost literally lined the road from this

^o East Parish. † West Parish. ‡ Pond Street. § North Parish.

town to Boston. The largest freight he ever transported in one day, was in the spring of 1836, when he had full loads from this town for forty-one horses and eight oxen.

Of the amount of business done by Mr. Slocomb previous to 1824, we have no definite data; but the following table gives the number of trips made, and the number of cases of shoes transported by him, from this town to Boston, from that year to 1836, inclusive, and also the number of tons of return freight:—

To BOSTON.					FROM BOSTON.	
Years.	Trips.	Cases.	Tons.	Lbs.	Tons.	Lbs.
1824	98	2197	144	617	172	1312
1825	103	2805	161	184	168	1419
1826	102	2963	169	1930	254	1014
1827	95	3057	177	731	144	1518
1828	96	4177	200	434	228	116
1829	99	5158	253	229	233	1326
1830	104	7008	350	538	273	929
1831	103	9474	456	1020	400	427
1832	103	11039	507	908	426	729
1833	103	10966	543	819	400	117
1834	95	12037	547	206	638	1925
1835	103	19096	860	1219	696	1627
1836	114	26955	909	532	946	180
	1319	116932	5288	1367	4984	639

In March, 1837, there were in town forty-two shoe manufacturers, and fourteen tanners and leather dealers. The following is a list of their names:—

SHOE MANUFACTURERS.

George & Whittier,	George W. Lee,	Samuel Chase,
John Woodman,	Roswell Farnum,	Whittier & Swett,
Charles Hazeltine,	Anthony Chase,	John Kelly & Co.,
James Noyes,	J. & N. S. Fuller,	Keely, Chase & Co.,
Peirce Emerson & Co.,	Charles Davis,	Moses Nichols & Co.,
Benjamin Emerson,	John C. Tilton,	Abel Page,
Emerson & West,	Johnson & George,	Bradley & Hersey,
Nathaniel Currier, jr.,	Charles G. Grimes,	Pecker & Brickett,
Fitts & Roberts,	James Grimes,	Daniel Hobson & Co.,
Marsh & Hutchinson,	Benjamin Buswell,	Ingalls & Johnson,
Brickett & Noyes,	Harmon Kimball & Co.,	Richard Kimball,

Tappan Chase,
Jesse Simonds,
Joseph Greely,

Samuel George,
William Hoyt,
Elbridge Souther,

Samuel Spiller & Son,
John S. Webster,
Cornelius Jenness.

TANNERS AND LEATHER DEALERS.

Hersey & Whittier,
Edwards & Harding,
Hayes & Pemberton,
Thomas Harding,
Richard K. Wheeler,

Ward Brickett,
L. & C. Worthen,
John Woodman,
Nathaniel Currier,
Edmund Kimball,

Blodgett & Head,
William Burgin,
Aaron Gile,
Rufus K. Knowles.

Of the sixty names included in the above list of shoe manufacturers, we believe but twenty-one are now engaged in the same business; and of the tanners and leather dealers, we believe but two (Caleb Hersey and J. D. Blodgett) are in the business at the time of writing, (May, 1861).

The shoe manufacturers in West Bradford (now Bradford) at the same time, were

Josiah Brown,
Leonard Johnson,
Samuel Heath,

William Day & Co., Guy Carleton, jr.,
J. P. Montgomery & Co. Pressey & Fletcher.
Ordway & Webster,

Kimball Farrar, Leather Dealer.

Of these, only Messrs. Johnson, Heath, Ordway, and Farrar, are still in the business, — all of whom are now in Haverhill.

The financial "panic" of 1837, was especially disastrous to the manufacturing interests of this town, and many of its best citizens fell victims to the reverses which followed. It was a serious blow to Haverhill, and it was upward of ten years before it fairly recovered from the shock.

The discovery of the gold fields of California, and the rapid settlement of the Great West, by opening new markets for the various kinds of manufactured goods, gave a fresh impulse to the manufacturing interests in Massachusetts, and in this prosperity our town was a full sharer, as its rapid growth in population, wealth, and business, fully proves.

In 1857, there were in the town upward of ninety shoe manufactories, eighty-two of which were located in the central village. Besides these, there were eighteen inner sole and stiffening manufactories. In 1859, the number of shoe manufactories in the village was ninety. In 1860, there were in the town, according to the returns of the assessors, ninety-eight shoe factories, and two boot and shoe factories. Of these, nine were situated in that part of the town known as Ayer's Village.

The following table, prepared from the books of the Boston & Maine Railroad Co., gives the number of cases of shoes forwarded by them from

Haverhill in 1850, 1855, and 1860. The table does not include the large number forwarded over the road in passenger trains, in the care of the *Express* :—

Years.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct.	Nov	Dec.	Total.
1850	6532	5207	4205	2812	1956	2746	7683	4811	3720	2516	1725	2359	46,272
1855	5700	7086	6609	3899	3288	3555	8016	9249	5400	3449	1833	1900	59,984
1860	4444	7264	7278	6236	3202	3969	10708	10718	7468	3983	1633	953	67,856

To the above number for 1855 should be added about seven thousand cases sent by express, making in all, for that year, about sixty-seven thousand cases. In addition to the number for 1860, should be added about ten thousand cases forwarded by express, (in passenger trains) and about sixteen thousand cases forwarded via Georgetown.^o This gives a total of ninety-three thousand eight hundred and fifty-six cases, which we believe to be very near the actual number manufactured and sold in that year. Estimating them to have averaged fifty-five pairs per case, and to have sold for an average of forty dollars per case, and we have for that year a total of five million one hundred and sixty-two thousand and eighty pairs, valued at the large sum of \$3,754,240.

The quality of the goods manufactured in this town has kept pace with the increased manufacture, and we have no hesitation in saying that, in this particular, as well as in respect to styles and variety, our manufacturers are not behind those of any other place in New England.

We would gladly have closed this brief sketch of the rise and progress of the shoe manufacture in our town, by the announcement that the business was still in a healthy condition, and our manufacturers reaping abundant rewards for their enterprise and skill. But the fact is otherwise. The "panic of 1857," against which our manufacturers stood up with almost unbroken front, had hardly allowed business to resume its wonted channels, and the restoration of commercial confidence, when the southern "Secession," with its long train of deplorable results, overwhelmed the whole country. While we are writing, (July, 1861) a deep financial gloom covers the entire business prospects of our town. Business is almost totally suspended, and an unwonted stillness reigns in our streets. Close upon the heels of broken state faith, has followed individual repudiation, distress, and financial ruin. It is estimated that the manufacturers of this town now hold upward of half a million of dollars in protested notes, from which but a small percentage will, in all proba-

^o The exact number of cases transported by this railroad from December 1, 1859, to March 20, 1860, was eighteen thousand one hundred and twenty-four.

bility, ever be realized. More than one who expected ere long to be able to pass the remainder of his days in pleasant retirement from active business, has seen the bright hopes of long years dashed to the ground, and their place taken by grim visions of grey-haired poverty. The full effect of this sad reverse in the business of our town, cannot now be foretold, but that many years must intervene before it will return to its previous financial condition, is too evident to admit of doubt.

The manufacture of hats has been carried on in this town to a considerable extent for about one hundred years. The first hatter of whom we have found certain mention, was Jonathan Webster, in 1747, though we very much doubt if he was the first man who followed that trade in the town. Many of our readers will remember Mr. Daniel Appleton who carried on the business in the village in 1800, and earlier. He erected the building recently torn down to make place for the new stores now being erected by Mr. Le Bosquet, on the corner of Main Street and Mechanic's Court. The building was erected especially for his business, and the whole of the second floor, and a part of the first floor, was occupied by him for a hat factory. Mr. Appleton's father, (Daniel) and also his grandfather, (Samuel) were hatters. Daniel, senior, carried on the business, at the place already mentioned, for many years, when he was succeeded by his son.

A Mr. Ladd was engaged in the business here for many years previous to 1800, at which time he was quite an old man. His shop stood on the site of the brick building next south of the Town House. Nathaniel Marsh was also engaged in the business about the same time. He occupied the building recently removed from the site of the new brick block of Messrs. Wadleigh & Eaton, which building he erected for his hatting business.* These had all discontinued the business previous to 1805.

In 1815, Nathan Webster, who learned his trade of his brother, Jonathan,† set up the business in the building now occupied as a dwelling house by Andrew Johnson, on the southeast corner of Moore and Water Streets. At first he employed two apprentices, but gradually extended his business until he furnished employment to upwards of twenty journey-men, six to eight apprentices, and twenty girls. He built the two large brick buildings on the east side of Green Street, (now changed to dwell-

* The old building now stands on the wharf, in the rear of Tilton's Building, a few rods southwest of its original site.

† Jonathan learned his trade of Stephen Webster, who died in the Almshouse, in 1859, at an advanced age.

ing houses) and was for a time one of the largest ~~manufacturers~~ in New England. In 1835, Mr. Webster formed a copartnership with his brother David, who had also carried on the business in town since 1818.

The first manufacturer of hats in the West Parish, appears to have been Isaac How, (a brother of the late David How) who married the widow of Pearley Ayer, and soon after commenced the business, near the foot of Scotland Hill. Mr. How was succeeded by his sons, Phineas and Isaac, each of whom carried on the business quite extensively for many years. Phineas purchased the old grist mill at the outlet of Creek Pond, which he converted into a hat factory. It is still used for the same purpose. Isaac, Junior, was one of the largest manufacturers of his time, making at one time from forty to fifty dozens per day. (This was about 1835.)

Among the first to learn the trade of the first named Isaac How, was John Ayer, his son-in-law, who afterward set up the business for himself, near "Greenleaf's corner," about one mile east of the present Ayer's Village, where he carried on the business for several years. In 1801, Mr. Ayer removed to the place lately occupied by his son-in-law, Jonathan Crowell, at Ayer's Village, where he continued to carry on the business for many years. Mr. Crowell learned his trade of Mr. Ayer, whose daughter he married, and succeeded him in the business. Mr. Ayer at one time employed four journeymen and four apprentices, which was considered a "great business" for one man to carry on.

Mr. Crowell continued to carry on the business for upward of forty years, and until his death, in 1860. Among those in his employ at the time of his death, were Mr. J. B. Merrill, who had been in his service, as apprentice and journeyman, for thirty-four years; and Mr. Amos Saunders, who had worked for him nearly forty years. At the time of his death, Mr. Crowell, in connection with his son, Calvin W., and his nephew, Edwin F. Ayer, (a grandson of the first named John Ayer,) under the style of Jonathan Crowell & Co., was manufacturing about eight hundred dozen hats per month, averaging in value about six dollars and fifty cents per dozen, and giving employment to about fifty persons.

John Ayer, son of the first named John, carried on the business at the above named village for many years, where he still resides, though retired from active business.

Among the firms now engaged in the business at the above place, are Ayer & Brothers, grandsons of the first named John Ayer. They give employment to about thirty persons, and manufacture about four hundred and fifty dozen hats per month. The only other establishment of the kind

in that village, is that of John A. Houston & Co., who employ about fifteen persons, and turn out about two hundred and fifty dozen hats per month.

Besides the above named persons, the following have been engaged in the business in the West Parish, since the business was first introduced:—

—— Gleason, Lewis Bailey, Eben Mitchel, Moses Lull, Jonathan and Timothy Emerson, Stephen and Captain Joseph Webster, Stephen Runnels, Joseph and Jonathan Webster, and most probably others whose names have not reached us,

The hats made by Isaac How, John Ayer, and others, in the West Parish, were of wool, and in nearly the present general style of common wool hats. They were carried to Boston, Salem, and other places, for sale, on horseback. Subsequently, Mr. How had a pair of wheels, with shafts attached, which he used for the purpose. One or two boxes of hats were hung below the axle, while the driver mounted a rude seat above, and thus jogged to market, with no little pride. Mr. How's wheels were for several years the only ones of the kind in the town, and his cotemporaries in the business frequently borrowed them to carry their own goods to market. The next improvement in the way of transportation, was the introduction of horse-carts. In 1804, there were but two of these in town. These were owned by Ezekiel Hale and Daniel Appleton. The common quality of hats, which were called "Negro hats," sold for five to six dollars per dozen. Ladd, Appleton, and Marsh, made mostly "fur beaver" hats — i. e., made of the fur of the beaver. Besides these, they made raccoon and muskrat hats, principally for farmers, and common people, for every day use. The best fur hats cost about seven dollars each, and were intended to last a lifetime. A man usually purchased one with his wedding coat, and in most cases he never had occasion to replace it. It was only worn to meeting, and on great and special occasions. It was put on and taken off by carefully taking hold of the buttons which held the turned-up rim, and from Sabbath day to Sabbath day again, with the exceptions mentioned, rested unmolested upon its own particular peg in the "front entry."

The style of fur hats made seventy years ago, were rounding tops, about five inches high, with rims six inches wide. From this the crown gradually extended to nine and a half inches, and the rim as gradually diminished to one and a quarter inches. At the same time the top of the crown gradually enlarged, until it was two inches larger than the bottom. This was the narrow rimmed boll-crowned hat of forty years ago, and even later.

About 1820, Lieutenant Parker Greenough, of this town, made some hats, with pasteboard bodies, covered with cotton plush. These did not "go well," and were superseded by silk hats, which were introduced soon after. The first silk hats made in this town were finished by Nathaniel Carleton, then in the employ of David Webster. Carleton learned the art in Danvers. The first lot of the new hats was finished on Saturday afternoon, and every one (fourteen in all) was sold the same evening, and duly appeared at church the next day.

Nathan Webster made large numbers of "napped" hats. Some of these were fur bodies, napped with beaver; and others were muskrat naps on wool bodies. The quantity of beaver used in napping varied from one to two ounces per hat. The process of napping was invented by a man in Baltimore, and has been but little known in any other country. The introduction of silk hats, which have never been made to any great extent in this town, has finally almost driven the old fur hat out of existence, and but very few are now made or worn.

The only wholesale hat manufactory in the central village at the present time, is that of Messrs. How & Mitchell, on Fleet Street.* This firm occupy the whole of the large four story brick building erected for their use, by James H. Duncan, Esq., giving employment to about one hundred persons, and have for several years manufactured an average of seventy-five dozen hats per day, valued at an average of seven dollars per dozen. The material of their hats is wool, which has almost entirely superseded the more expensive fur.† Of these they manufacture nearly one hundred different styles and qualities, suited to the wants and tastes of nearly every class of people, from Nova Scotia all around to Oregon.

As many and great changes have been made in the general appearance of the town — particularly that part of it included in the First Parish — during the last quarter of a century, by the erection of new buildings, the laying out of new streets, and other improvements, perhaps we cannot more fittingly close this, the last chapter of our general history, than by giving a brief sketch of the more prominent of these changes and improvements.

Some idea of the growth of the central village may be judged by the fact that it now contains upward of twelve hundred dwelling houses, and

* Mr. (P. B.) How is a son of Phineas, and a grandson of Isaac How, both of whom were extensive hatters. Mr. (Eben) Mitchell is a son of Eben, — also a hatter.

† Almost the only fur hats now made are those known as "soft felt." These, and wool hats of similar styles, are now the most common business hats worn; while the stiff and glossy black silk hats (not inaptly nicknamed "stove-pipe" hats) are the fashionable dress hats of the present time.

about one hundred and fifty stores and manufactories. One hundred and six of the latter are of brick, — nearly all of them in blocks, of two to six stores each, and of three and four stories in height. The south side of Merrimack Street, from the Great Bridge to the Little River Bridge, presents a nearly unbroken line of handsome three and four story brick structures, mostly occupied for shoe manufacturing purposes. The north side of the street presents a similar view from Main Street to the "Saltonstall Place." West of the latter, and immediately adjoining, there is a single brick block of two stores. The several streets on "Baptist Hill" show comparatively few vacant lots for building purposes. But the most important improvement in this section of the village, has taken place on the estate of the late Captain Nehemiah Emerson, situated between Winter Street, How Street, and Little River. This estate was laid out for building purposes in 1844, since which time ninety-six handsome dwelling houses have been built upon it. The district included between the Merrimack and Little Rivers, and Winter and Main Streets, now contains one hundred and sixty dwelling houses, and eighty brick and twenty-six wooden stores, or manufactories. Between Little River, Pecker's Hill, Mount Washington,* and the Merrimack, there are one hundred and sixty-five dwelling houses, one brick and two wooden stores. North of Winter Street, and between Little River and a line running northwesterly from the southerly end of White Street, there are one hundred and sixty-seven dwelling houses, at least nine-tenths of which have been erected within about twelve years. Between Main, White and Winter Streets there are ninety-six dwelling houses, seven-eighths of which have been built within twenty years, and probably three-quarters of those within the last twelve years. North of White Street, and between the north-westerly line, above mentioned, and Main Street, there are now seventy-two dwelling houses, all but one of which have been erected since 1850, and nine-tenths of which have been built since 1855. This gives us a total of eight hundred and sixty dwelling houses, and one hundred and forty-one stores, west of Main Street, exclusive of shops, barns, and other out-buildings.

Passing to the east of Main Street, we find, between Main, Summer and Mill Streets, and the River, one hundred and ninety-one dwelling houses, twenty-five brick and seven wooden stores; and to the north of Summer, and between Main and Mill Streets, eighty-four dwelling houses. Easterly of Mill Street are about twenty dwelling houses.

* The name given to the bluff, or table land, lying between the railroad and Silver's Hill. It was handsomely laid out into streets and house-lots, in 1853, and now contains twenty dwelling houses.

Within the above described limits are also eleven churches, viz:—the *Unitarian*, corner of Main and Crescent Street; *Centre Congregational*, corner of Main and Ventry Streets; *First Baptist*, corner of Merrimack and Pecker Streets; *First Universalist*, corner of Summer Street and Bartlett's Avenue; *South*, (Christian Union) corner of Washington Street and Washington Square; *Winter Street*, (formerly Union Evangelical, now Free Will Baptist) corner of Winter and Franklin Streets; *Tabernacle*, (formerly Second Advent, now occupied by Rev. Henry Plummer,) on Tabernacle Street; *Trinity*, (Protestant Episcopal) corner of White and William Streets; *St. Gregory* (Catholic) corner of Harrison and Lancaster streets; *Methodist Episcopal*, Winter street, near Main Street; and the *North Church*, (Orthodox Congregational) corner of Main and White Streets. The following religious societies hold regular services, but are not provided with church edifices:—The *Randall Free Will Baptist*, meeting in Randall Hall, on Duston Street; the *Second Advent*, meeting in Athenæum Hall, (Duncan's Building); and the *Third Baptist*, worshipping in Music Hall, Winter Street, near Spring Street.

The whole number of church edifices in the town at the present time, is sixteen, viz.: eleven in the First Parish, two in the East Parish, (one at the Rocks' Village); and three in the West Parish, (one at Ayer's Village). This does not include the Plaistow, or North Parish church, which is situated a few rods north of the State line.

The following table, showing the date of erection of the principal blocks of stores in the central village, is not without interest, as illustrating the recent rapid growth of the village:—

How & Carleton, (Main Street)	1794 Tilton Block (cor. Fleet St.)	1852
Willis Block, (Water Street)	1811 Duncan & Carleton, ^o	1852
Merrimack Bank,	1814 Exchange Building,	1854
Bannister Block,	1815 Marsh Block,	1854
White's Corner Block,	1808 Essex Block,	1856 and 1859
Woodman's Building,	1824 Franklin Block,	1856
Bank Building, (Main Street)	1831 Masonic Hall,	1856
Haseltine's Building, (Water Street)	Last Factory, (Fleet Street)	1857
	1836 Chase's Block,	1857
Granite Range,	1836 Tilton's Block,	1857
Kittredge Block,	1840 Hat Factory, (Fleet Street)	1857
Currier's Block,	1849 Whittier Block,	1858

^o This was one of the very first full iron front buildings erected in the State.

Osgood's Block,	1821 and 1833 Haverhill Bank Building,	1859
Kimball's Building,	1850 Brickett Building,	1860
Hunkings & Duty,	1851 Machine Shop,	1860
Manufacturers Row,	1850 and 1852 Lebosquet Block,	1861

Passing out of the central village, we find comparatively few changes calling for special notice. Near the junction of the Salem, N. H., and Derry roads, (a short distance west of the summit of Peckor's Hill) a large number of house lots have been laid out, about a dozen houses erected, and the locality christened "Mount Pleasant." Three and a half miles further west, we come to "Ayer's Village," the most busy and thriving locality, outside of the principal village, in the town. The village proper (a part of which lies in the town of Methuen) contains about thirty dwelling houses, nine shoe manufactories, three hat manufactories, a new and commodious school-house, and a new and well-finished church. The part of the village included in Haverhill, contains about sixty legal voters. The principal shoe manufacturers in the place, are Phineas Haynes and Amos Hazeltine, who commenced the business in the winter of 1852-3. They give employment to about seventy-five persons each. In October, 1855, Mr. Hazeltine opened the first store in the place. A second store was opened in 1857, by Monroe Ayer, who also erected a fine hall over his store for public meetings, &c. A pleasant, as well as somewhat remarkable fact connected with this thriving village, is found in the close relationship of its inhabitants. We believe that not only is every business man in the place a native of the immediate vicinity, but they are all more or less intimately connected by the ties of consanguinity. Long may they live together, as now, a "band of brothers."

The North and East Parishes show but few external changes within the past quarter of a century, beyond the occasional erection of new dwelling houses, and the removal of old ones.* It is only when we enter the dwellings and enquire for those who dwelt there but a score of years ago, that we feel the full force of time's great but silent changes. Not one in ten of the familiar faces of twenty years ago, will be found

* We should, perhaps, make special mention of the enlargement of the old burial-ground near the Rocks, — its re-naming, as *Greenwood Cemetery*, — and the erection of a neat iron fence in front of the same, in 1850. These improvements were mostly made by the ladies of the vicinity. In 1850, a large and handsome two-story wooden building was erected about midway between the Second Baptist Church and the village, for school purposes. The cost of the building was about \$2,000.

to-day; not one in ten of the fair fields now yield their increase to the same hands that tilled them then. And so it will be, kind reader, with each returning score of years; while you and I can claim no exemption from the ceaseless change. A few more suns, — how few, 'tis not for us to know, — and we shall moulder in our parent dust. Happy will it be for each of us, if, when the summons calls us hence, we can say of the great work of life —

“IT IS FINISHED.”

CHAPTER XXIX.

ECCLIASTICAL HISTORY.

PREVIOUS to the erection of the northern part of the town into a separate precinct, or parish, in 1728, the whole town was virtually one parish, and matters that are now left entirely with each parish, or religious society, were then considered and disposed of in the *town* meetings, and the record of such action then became a part of the Town Records. Having incorporated the vital parts of these records into the preceding chapters of our history, we shall endeavor, in considering the Ecclesiastical history of the town, to avoid a repetition, as far as is consistent with the accomplishment of our present object.

The earliest records of the *church* still preserved, is "A list of ye names of Persons, adults and infants, Baptized in Haverhill Church By Benjan Rolfe Pastor;" and is in the handwriting of Mr. Rolfe. It appears to have been originally a book made by simply stitching together a quire of foolscap paper, and was afterward, with others, bound into one volume. The first entry in the book, is the baptism of "Hannah, ye daughter of William & Sarah Whittaker," September 24, 1693. Then follows the names of three hundred and two others, closing with the baptism of Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. ———^o August 22d, 1708, —just one week before Mr. Rolfe's violent death by the savages. There are no other records of the church, during or previous to this time, now preserved. Mr. Rolfe's successor (Rev. Joshua Gardner) commences his record with the following entry: — "Anno Dom: 1711. A list of ye names of persons admitted to partake of the sacrament of ye Lord's Supper wth the church of Christ in Haverhill. Since the Revd Mr Benjan Rolf's Death: (It was ye 8th of April In ye above mentioned year before any were admitted: ye Chh yn having been not long resettled.)"

On the page immediately preceding the above, is the following interesting statement, in the handwriting of Rev. Mr. Brōwn, (Mr. Gardner's successor): —

"The account of Such as were admitted to the Lord's Table in Haverhil, before ye Revd Mr. Gardner's Ministry, *sic*, under the first minister

• Name illegible.

ye Reverd Mr Ward; & after him the Revd Mr Rolf; being either never set down, or else the account lost; Such of them as were alive in ye Town, April 1723; were desired to give in their names to ye Pastor then being, which are as followeth "

" Deacon John White, & Lydia, his Widow Hanah Sanders (fro New- wife bury)	
Deacon John Hassaltine & — his Mary Webster wife of Stephen	
wife Mary Cop ye wife of Aaron Cop	
Daniel Lad & Lydia his wife Hanah Heath wife of Joseph	
Widow Hannah Ayer, (aged 84) Martha Heath wife old Josiah	
William Whittaker (Newb.)	
Widow Ruth Ayer (old) Hanah Roberts wife of Ephrm	
Huldah Whittaker wife of Abrr (Topsfield)	
Widow Joanna Dow (old) Widow Sarah Page	
Widow Hanah Dalton Mehetable Clemen, wife of Job	
Widow Mary Boynton Samuel Ayer & Elisabeth his wife	
Ephraim Gile & Martha his wife Hanah Jonson wife of Joseph	
Richard Hazzen & Mary his wife Elizabeth Jonson wife of Thomas	
James Pecker & Ann his wife Anthony Colby (Rowley)	
Widow Ruth Gile Mary Brown,	
Widow Sarah Davis Sarah Emerson wife of Benjamin	
Widow Mary Ayer Hanah Eastman wife of Jonathan	
Nathaniel Merrill & Sarah his wife Martha Emerson wife of Joseph	
Deacon John Mash Benjamin Stanly (of Boxford) "	

From the death of Rev. Mr. Rolfe, in 1708, to April 8th, 1711, there were no admissions to the church. During Mr. Gardner's ministry, forty-eight were admitted; upward of one hundred and fifty baptized; and seventeen owned the covenant. Mr. Gardner died March 21, 1715. He is mentioned as eminently distinguished for piety in very early life. At the age of thirteen, he became a hopeful subject of divine grace, and soon after began to prepare himself to preach the gospel. He entered college at sixteen, and graduated at twenty; endearing himself to all who knew him by his correct habits and amiable deportment, and distinguishing himself as a scholar and a christian. He commenced preaching at twenty-one, was ordained at twenty-three, and died at the early age of twenty-eight years.

After the death of Mr. Gardner, the church and society seem to have had considerable difficulty in their choice of a new candidate, and it was

upward of four years before another pastor was settled. During this time, there were thirty admissions to the church.

The only record of a regular church meeting held during this period, which is now preserved, is dated May 10, 1717,^o when the thanks of the church were voted to Rev. Joseph Parsons for his "labors with us hitherto in the work of ye ministry;" and he was unanimously "made choice of to be their settled minister." The deacons at this time were John White and John Haseltine.†

See p 24

Rev. John Brown was ordained May 13, 1719, and continued with his charge until his death, in 1742. During his ministry, four hundred and thirty-eight persons were admitted to the church, (thirty-two by dismission from other churches); fifty-eight adults, and one thousand and seventy-six children were baptized; and three hundred and sixteen owned the covenant.

That Mr. Brown was faithful in the discharge of his ministerial duties, the remarkable success attending his labors sufficiently testifies. Soon after his settlement, an extensive religious revival commenced among his flock, resulting in sixty-five hopeful conversions. Large accessions to the church were frequently witnessed during his ministry. In November, 1727, fifty-four persons were admitted, and in the following month fifty-six; making the large number of one hundred and ten, in two short months.

In October, 1729, twenty-five members of the church, residents in that part of Methuen now Salem, N. H., were dismissed, for the purpose of joining in the formation of a church at that place. And in November, 1730, a similar request was made by forty-six members, "for the purpose of uniting in a church state in the North Precinct," — which was granted.

This brings us to the first division of the town into Precincts or Parishes, each of which will now be noticed, in chronological order. The subsequent divisions of the parishes into several religious societies, will be noticed in the same order.

^o This is, in fact, the earliest record we find preserved of any church meeting in the town; — unless we consider the mere entry of names and dates of admissions to the church as records of such meetings. After this, we find no similar record, until January 11th, 1730-31, from which latter date we have a regular entry of the proceedings at the church meetings.

† In January, 1720-21, the above named desired to be dismissed from service as deacons; the former pleading as excuse, "his business in the affairs of State," and the latter, "his age and infirmities." John Mash and James Ayer were chosen in their stead. In February, 1737-8, Wm. White and Daniel Little were chosen, and in January, 1737-8, Nicholas White and David Marsh were chosen to the same office.

THE FIRST PARISH.

By the erection of the northerly part of the town into a separate parish, in 1728, the rest of the town became, as a matter of course, also a distinct parish. From this time forward, strictly parish business was transferred from the town to the parish meeting. The two precincts were designated as the "North Parish," and the "South," or "Old" Parish. Still later, the last named was called the "First" Parish, by which name the legal successor of the first church and society in the town is still known.

The first regular parish meeting of the latter, was held November 24th, 1729, by virtue of a warrant from Richard Saltonstall, Justice. Captain Joshua Bayley was chosen moderator, and John Eaton, Clerk. From this time, parish meetings were held regularly.

In March, 1730-1, the parish voted to "give to ye Revd Mr Brown ye timber of the forte yt is about his house, to dispose of it as he pleaseth." This is the last notice we find of the old fort, or any other means of defence against the Indians.

In November, 1731, petitions were received from persons in the easterly part of the town, and from others in the westerly part, praying "that there might be some money raised by ye parish yt they might hire a minister to preach to ym in ye winter seson, wn bad Traviling," — but the requests were refused.

In 1732, the parish enlarged the burying place, by purchasing half-an-acre of land adjoining it.

The health of Mr. Brown, which had been gradually failing for some time, had become so poor, that, in December, 1733, the parish voted to hire another minister "to assist Mr. Brown for three months this winter." The easterly and westerly parts of the town seem to have improved the above opportunity to again press their own claims; as we find that at the first meeting called to see about an assistant for Mr. Brown, "considerable discourse," and "some hard words," passed, but no vote was taken; while at the next meeting, the vote to hire such an assistant was immediately followed by votes to procure, and raise money to pay, ministers for each of the above named sections, for the winter following.

The success of the two wings of the parish, in securing a minister in each, was undoubtedly gratifying to them, and prepared them for requesting still larger favors. We are not, therefore, surprised to find, that, in the following February, propositions were made to divide the Old Parish into three distinct parishes, and to build two new meeting-houses; one near

the house of Nathaniel Merrill, Jr., and the other near that of Richard Hazen. It was also proposed to set off to Amesbury West Parish, those living near the Amesbury line, and to the North Parish, those who could most conveniently attend worship at that parish. All these propositions were negatived.

Four weeks later, a vote was passed to set off those living east of a line from Elisha Davis' to the "pond bridge," and so on by the brook to the North Parish Line, into a new parish. The vote was, however, dissented to by twenty-two persons living within the bounds of the proposed new parish.^o Then, after "great Debat," and "some hard words," a committee was chosen to set off a parish "at the west end of the old or south parish." The bounds of the latter were not settled until some time afterward, — being several years in dispute.

We have already mentioned, that Rev. Mr. Brown was a person of weak physical constitution. Even as early as 1720, he was for several months unable to preach, and the town provided a substitute. In 1733, he was in a "weak state of health," and from this time until 1742, his parish were yearly obliged to provide for the supply of the pulpit for weeks, and sometimes for months at a time. Consumption at last triumphed, and, on the 2nd of December, 1742, this faithful pastor fell asleep in the arms of his mother earth. After his death, the parish voted to raise one hundred pounds, old tenor, to defray the expenses of his funeral, which was to be delivered to "Madam Brown, to be used at her discretion."

Soon after the death of Mr. Brown, an invitation to settle was extended, to the Rev. Edward Barnard, which was accepted, and he was ordained on the 16th of April following.[†]

The salary of Mr. Barnard, was fixed at one hundred ounces of silver, or its equivalent, annually, together with the use of all the parsonage land and buildings, except one lot near the river; and also "a reasonable support & maintainance when by ye providence of God he shall be disabled from ye work of ye ministry, so long as he remains our minister."

The first church bell in the town, was purchased by this parish, in 1748. It was imported from London expressly for them, and, judging from the records, its purchase and proper "Hanging" must have been a prolific theme for town talk. It was finally "voted to Hang the Bell on the top of the Meeting house, and Build a proper place for that purpose;"

^o Although the easterly part of the Old Parish was, by the above vote, set off, it was not legally incorporated into a separate parish until 1743. For a further account of its incorporation, see chapter xx.

[†] "April 16, 1743. Great Snow Storm, eleven inches on a level. Rev. Barnard Ordained."—*Dr. Bayley's Journal*.

and "to Raise one Hundred pounds old tenor towards defraying the Charges of building the Steeple, and Hanging the Bell." The belfry was built on the ridge of the meeting-house, and the bell-rope descended to the broad aisle. It was voted "to Ring the Bell at one of the clock every day and at nine every night and on Sabbaths and Lectures." The first bell-man, was Samuel Knowlton.*

The old meeting-house having become too small for the parish, the subject of a new one began to be agitated in 1761. The house was, withal, so much decayed, that the bell could not be rung with safety, and it was therefore taken down, and hung on two pieces of timber placed crosswise at the top, on the hill, near the parsonage house. It was not fully decided to build a new house until 1765. For this purpose an appropriation of three hundred pounds was voted, to be paid in lumber. The dimensions of the new house were ordered not to exceed sixty-six feet in length, and forty-eight feet in breadth. - It was erected, and mostly finished, in 1766. The whole of the ground floor (excepting the aisles) was occupied by pews, which were built by the parish, appraised by a committee, and sold at auction. The "men's seats," and the "women's seats," were therefore, from this time forward, confined to the galleries.

The house was located on the common, about midway between Main and Winter Streets, a little north of the foot of Pleasant Street, with the principal end to the northeast—or directly across the common. It remained standing until 1837, when it was taken down. It was set, when built, "at the northerly side of the old meeting-house, as near to it as may be convenient." It was surmounted with a steeple, at the easterly end. Though but three hundred pounds were appropriated for building it, yet we find, from a petition of Isaac Osgood, and others, to the General Court, in February, 1768, that more than one thousand were expended on it.†

In 1764, the parish voted "that the version of Psalms by Tate & Brady with the largest impression of Dr Watts Hymns be sung in public in this parish."‡

The first intimation we find in the parish records, of Baptists in town, is under the date of January, 1765, when a warrant was issued by John Brown, a justice of the peace, for a parish meeting, "to see if the parish

* After him, John Whiting performed the responsible duties of bell-man. Upon the death of the latter, his widow took his place, and had charge of the bell and the meeting-house for many years. She died in 1798, in the 100th year of her age.

† A new parsonage house was erected in 1773, "near the old one."

‡ In 1760, some alterations were voted to be made in the front gallery, "for a conveniency of singing." In 1775, the parish voted "to omit the reading of the Psalms to be sung in Public Worship."

will vote that any ordained or gospel minister shall or may preach in said meeting-house at any time when it does not interfere with the Rev Mr Barnard's Public Exercises."° The parish refused to grant such permission.

Though the Baptists are not mentioned by name at this time, it is certain that they were the persons who made the request. We first find them referred to as "Baptists," in 1770, when the parish chose a committee "to agree and settle with those persons that have brought certificates from the Baptist church for the time past." The next year, "it was put to vote whether the parish would excuse the Baptists from paying rates for the time past, and it past in the negative." It was then "voted that the several Collectors in this parish be advised not to take Distress on the Baptists for their rates for two months from this time, but if there be no agreement between sd baptists and the parishes Comtee within sd two months then sd Comtee shall advise sd Collectors and point out to them what persons upon whom they are to take Distress."

Among those whose goods were taken by distress, to pay their parish taxes, was John White, who thereupon commenced a suit against the collector, to recover. The parish defended their officer, and recovered judgment against Mr. White. The right of the parish to tax all who resided within its limits for the support of the "regular" ministry, having been thus established, a compromise appears to have been made between the parish and those who gave in certificates that they were of the Baptist denomination, by which the latter were eased of a part of their burden.†

In 1774, the parish were again called to mourn the death of a beloved pastor. In January, Mr. Barnard was gathered to his last resting-place. His disease was paralysis.

Rev. Edward Barnard was a son of Rev. John Barnard, of Andover, and grandson of Rev. Thomas Barnard, of the same place. All of them graduated at Harvard College—the first named, in 1736. Mr. Barnard was ordained in 1743, and died January 26, 1774, aged fifty-four years, after a successful ministry of thirty-one years. During this period he baptized nine hundred and eight persons;‡ married two hundred and

° The warrant declares, that "whereas Samuel White, Timothy White, James Duncan, William Greenleaf, John White, Daniel Appleton, Dudley Led, Benj Mooers, with upwards of thirty others," had applied in writing, and showed that they, together with others, had previously applied to the parish committee to call such a meeting, but had been refused; therefore the warrant was issued.

† In June, 1774, an act was passed, exempting Quakers, and Baptists, or Antipedobaptists, from all taxation to other denominations. They were simply required to file a certificate from the proper officers of their own denomination, to the effect that they were members thereof, and paid taxes accordingly.

‡ Between the death of Mr. Brown, and the settlement of Mr. Barnard, seven children were baptized by various ministers.

eleven couples; and ninety-four were admitted to the church (eighteen by dismission). The number who owned the covenant, was ninety-six. Mr. Barnard is everywhere spoken of as a man of distinction and real worth. His style was flowing, his language elegant, and his sermons correct and finished compositions. As a pulpit orator, he was deservedly popular. His sermons were instructive, plain, and practical. As a companion, he was social and undisguised; as a scholar, inquisitive and general; and as a pastor, watchful, affectionate, and unwearied. In his temper, he was uniform; in his affections, benevolent; and, in his religion, exemplary. Those who knew him best, loved him most. Several of his sermons were published, and it was at one time proposed to publish a volume of them, but, on the breaking out of the Revolution, the design was abandoned.

In his theological views, Mr. Barnard was ranked with the Arminians; with Dr. Webster, of Salisbury, Dr. Tucker, of Newbury, Dr. Symmes, of Andover, Mr. Balch, of Bradford, and others.

"These clergymen and others, seventy or eighty years ago," says Bradford, "gradually departed from the Calvinistic system, and forbore to urge or to profess its peculiar tenets, although they did not so expressly and zealously oppose them as many have done in later times. They also omitted to press the Athanasian creed, or to use the Trinitarian doxology; but preferred scripture expressions on these disputed points. They did not insist, as a preliminary to the ordination of a young man to the christian ministry, on his professing a belief of the Trinity, or of the five points of Calvinism. They required a declaration of faith in the Bible, and a promise to make that the standard and guide of their preaching. But a belief in Jesus Christ as the true Messiah, the only Mediator and Redeemer, and the pardon of sin, on repentance, by divine grace, was considered as necessary by this class of theologians as well as by those who received the tenets of the Calvinistic system. They held christian fellowship with each other for some years; but the difference of sentiments has produced an alienation between them, much to be regretted by the true spiritual christian."

During the year 1765, and the remaining period of Mr. Barnard's life, repeated applications were made by individual members of his church, for a dismission, and a recommendation to the Baptist church, then established in the parish. This was peculiarly calculated to embitter and becloud the closing years of his life, and caused divisions in his church and society. He was accused of "not preaching the gospel;" of "not being converted;" and many other "hard and greivous" things. But when, — thirty years after his ordination, and a few months before his

death, — he looked back over these "years of temptation, provocation and reproach," he gratefully acknowledges that "God was pleased to throw in a balance by the attachment of those to his person and ministry, whose sentiments and regards are most to be valued;" and he declares, "Nothing has been delivered by me that I would not venture my own soul upon."

After his death, the parish met, and chose a committee to take charge of his funeral;^o and subsequently, they voted to erect a monument over his grave. This is a large slab, resting upon four pillars, with the following inscription:

"Beneath are the remains of the Rev. Edward Barnard, A. M. pastor of the first church in this town, who died Jan. 26, 1774, in the 54th year of his age and 31st of his ministry. In him were united the good scholar, the great divine, and exemplary christian and minister. His understanding was excellent, judgment exact, and imagination lively, and invention fruitful; eminently a man of prayer; as a preacher, equalled by few, excelled by none; indefatigable in the discharge of his ministerial duty, and possessing the most tender concern for the happiness of those committed to his charge. His piety was rational, disposition benevolent, of approved integrity, consummate prudence, great modesty and simplicity of manners. He was a kind husband, tender parent, faithful friend, and agreeable companion. His life was irreproachable, and death greatly lamented by all who knew his worth. Mark the perfect man and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.

His grateful flock have erected this monument, as a testimony of their affection and respect for his memory."

After the death of Mr. Barnard, the parish were without a settled minister for upward of three years, when Rev. John Shaw accepted an invi-

^o Rev. Benjamin Parker preached soon after, as one of his bearers, (1) and the *Salem Gazette* thus notices it: "We have just heard from Haverhill, that the Rev. Mr. Parker, having preached as a bearer to the Rev. Mr. Barnard, deceased, the people of Mr. B's parish requested a copy of his sermon for the press; and a number of gentlemen therein were pleased, at the same time, to make him a present of a very handsome suit of clothes. The promoter and encourager of said affair has also presented him with a new wig." (2)

(1) The custom then was, for the neighboring ministers to act as pall-bearers, when one of their number died, and immediately afterward to supply the vacant pulpit one Sabbath each. The number of bearers on such occasions was usually eight.

(2) The parish also generously allowed Mrs. Barnard the free use of the parsonage house, together with a part of the land, and pasturage for a cow, until the settlement of another minister, three years afterward.

tation, and was ordained March 12th, 1777.* His salary was £100 yearly, and the use of the parsonage.

In the same year, the burying ground in the parish was again enlarged, by the gift of a piece of land from Colonel Joseph Badger.

In 1790, and subsequently, the parish meeting-house is designated in the parish warrants as "the Congregational meeting-house in said parish."

Many of our readers will remember that the seats in the large, square, pen-like pews of the old meeting-houses, were hung on hinges, and were usually turned up in "prayer time," to allow the occupants a chance to lean against the high railing, for support, during the long prayers. And they will also remember the artillery-like explosions which always followed their turning down at the close of the prayer. They will therefore appreciate the rebuke contained in the following vote, passed in 1791: "Voted that Coll James Brickett, Deacon Joseph Dodge, and Doct Saltonstall be a Committee to speak to the Revd Mr Shaw that he would speak at some Convenient Season unto the People that they would Let their Seats Down without Such Nois."

In the same year, "a pew for the women to sing" was built in the gallery of the meeting-house; and it was voted "that the Company of Singers should choose such Persons among them Selves to Lead in the Musick and Regulate the same as they shall think proper."

After a ministry of almost eighteen years, Rev. Mr. Shaw died, very suddenly, September 29, 1794, aged forty-eight. The day before his death, he preached as usual, and was apparently in good health. The next morning he was a corpse.†

Mr. Shaw was a son of the Rev. John Shaw, of Bridgewater. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1772. His widow married Rev. Stephen Peabody, of Atkinson. She was the sister of the wife of John Adams, and greatly respected for her piety and domestic virtues. Mr. Shaw is described in his epitaph, as "A bright example of benevolence, meekness, patience and charity; an able advocate of the religion he professed, and a faithful servant of the God he worshipped."

In his system of religious faith, Mr. Shaw was Calvinistic; in his preaching, evangelical; in temper, mild and forgiving; and hospitable

* Mirick says, that the reason why another minister was not settled sooner, was on account of the "great dissensions," and "the strong excitement which existed" in the parish; but we have been unable to find evidence of either in the records. During this interim, but four preached as candidates, two of whom received invitations to settle, and a third was desired to preach longer.

† The parish subsequently erected suitable monumental stones to his memory. Mr. Shaw had one son, William Smith Shaw, who died unmarried, in Boston; and one daughter, Abigail, who married Rev. Joseph B. Felt, of Hamilton—now of Boston.

and benevolent to all with whom he had intercourse. As a man, a christian, and a minister, he possessed the entire confidence of his church and society. During his ministry, he baptized one hundred and sixty-three children; * married one hundred and seven couples; fifteen persons owned the covenant, and fifteen were admitted to the church.

After Mr. Shaw's death, the society were destitute of a regular ministry about ten months, when the church and parish, unanimously, invited the Rev. Abiel Abbot to settle with them. The invitation was accepted, and Mr. Abbot was ordained June 3d, 1795. His salary was £110 per annum, with the use of the parsonage house and lands.

Rev. Abiel Abbot, D.D., was born in Andover, Mass., August 17, 1770, and was a son of Captain John Abbot, of that town. His preparatory studies were pursued at Phillips Academy, under the direction of the celebrated Dr. Pemberton, during which time he occupied the front rank in his class. He entered Harvard University in 1788, and passing through his collegiate course with high reputation as a scholar, was graduated in 1792 with distinguished honors. The subsequent year he spent as assistant to his brother in Exeter Academy; and the greater part of the year following, as principal of the Academy at Andover. During this time, he pursued his theological studies with Rev. Jonathan French. In 1794, he commenced preaching at Haverhill, and having accepted a unanimous call, was ordained pastor of the First Congregational Church in this town, June 3d, 1795.

His ministry here was harmonious and successful, and when, in 1803, he felt it his duty to ask a dismission, he received from the church and society the most ample testimonials of unabated love and respect.

The cause which induced Mr. Abbot to ask for a dismission, was the inadequateness of his salary. He requested the parish to make an addition of \$200 per annum. As the parish did not feel able to grant his request, and he was led to believe that such a course was his duty, he applied for and received an honorable dismission.

Application for his services was soon after made by the first parish, in Beverly, where he was installed December 14, 1803. Here he ministered with success, and with little interruption, until 1818, when failing health, and the advice of physicians, induced him to spend a few months in a Southern State. He returned in 1819, with health improved, and continued his professional labors with diligence until 1827, when he again sought a milder climate, and passed the winter in Cuba. In the following May,

* Between the death of Mr. Barnard and the settlement of Mr. Shaw, twenty children were baptized.

with high hopes of restored health, he embarked for Charleston, S. C. He arrived on Saturday, preached on the following Sabbath, and the next day embarked for New York. On Tuesday he was taken ill; and as the vessel was coming to anchor at Staten Island, on the following Saturday, he breathed his last, and was interred at that place. Thus, in the 24th year of his ministry, and the 57th year of his age, was taken to his rest an eloquent, learned, affectionate and faithful minister.

Dr. Abbot was married in 1796, to Miss Eunice, eldest daughter of Ebenezer Wales, Esq., of Dorchester. He left, at his death, a widow, two sons, and five daughters.

In the commencement of his ministry, Mr. Abbot entertained a belief in the Trinity, but on this subject his views altered, and the fundamental principles of Unitarian belief became the objects of his decided conviction. During his ministry forty-nine were admitted into the church, and one hundred and twenty received baptism.

The dissolution of Mr. Abbot's connexion with the parish, was followed by five years and six months, in which the church and society were destitute of a regular pastor. Finally, in October, 1808, Rev. Joshua Dodge received an invitation to the pastoral office, which he accepted, and he was ordained the 21st of the December following.

Mr. Dodge's salary was \$500 per annum, and the use of the parsonage, and if he should "be rendered unable to supply the Desk," he was still to have the use of the parsonage, and \$200 per annum, so long as he continued minister of the parish.

In 1809, the parish petitioned the General Court for permission to sell a part of the parsonage land "on the principal street," for house-lots, on condition that the proceeds should "be kept forever as a Fund, the interest or income of which shall be appropriated, exclusively, for the support of the minister, or his successors in said parish; & be managed by Trustees." The request was granted, and seventeen hundred dollars' worth of lots were sold immediately.*

In the winter of 1812-13, a stove was "erected in the meeting house," by private subscription. It was placed in the pew of Mr. John Dow. For some reason, the stove did not answer expectations, and, in 1815, it was "disposed of." Artificial heat was not again resorted to until 1821, when two "elegant stoves" were presented to the parish; by Moses B. Moody, Esq.

* In 1820, the fund had increased to \$3808.91. In 1827, it was \$4508.91.

In 1822, Mr. Moody bequeathed to the "First Congregational Society," the munificent sum of three thousand dollars, which was to be paid them on the decease of his mother.

In 1827, the parish voted to charge the town \$30 per year for the use of the meeting-house for town meetings. This appears to be the first charge of the kind; but as the parish had already furnished the town with a place for their meetings, without any fee, *for ninety-eight years*, we cannot well charge them with mercenary motives in the matter.

In May, 1827, Rev. Mr. Dodge asked for a dismissal from the church and society, which was granted.

Rev. Joshua Dodge was born in Hamilton, Mass., September 22, 1779. He received his preparatory education at Atkinson Academy, and graduated at Dartmouth College, in 1806. He entered upon a course of study for the ministry soon after leaving college, with Rev. Abiel Abbot, then of Beverly. Mr. Dodge baptized about one hundred and thirty during his ministry here, and about eighty were admitted to the church.

Soon after he left Haverhill, Mr. Dodge was settled in Moultonborough, N. H., as colleague with the venerable Mr. Shaw, where he remained a useful pastor for about twenty years.

It is with feelings of sadness that we add, that, a few years since, unmistakable symptoms of insanity compelled Mr. Dodge to withdraw entirely from pastoral labors and responsibilities. He died at the Insane Asylum, at Concord, N. H., in March, 1861, aged 81 years.

In the November following the dismissal of Mr. Dodge, a call was extended to Rev. Dudley Phelps, of Andover, which was accepted, and he was ordained on the 9th of January, 1828. His salary was fixed at \$700 per annum.^o

About this time, troubles broke out in the church and society, which finally led to a division and separation. As we have already seen, Rev. Mr. Barnard in later life gradually receded from Trinitarianism, and his successor, Rev. Mr. Abbot, was classed as a Unitarian, and it appears that a large number of the society, though not a majority, entertained similar opinions. But with such prudence and moderation had pastors and people managed the affairs of church and parish, that all had, previous to the settlement of Mr. Phelps, lived and worshipped together in comparative harmony. Mr. Phelps (who was a graduate of Yale College, of the class of 1824, and of Andover Theological Seminary, in 1827) was, in respect to scholarship and

^o The use of the parsonage house and land, was not included; a large part of the land having already been sold, and the proceeds funded. The house was soon after, (1831) purchased by Dr. Moses Nichols, and is still occupied by him.

talent, much above the average. In his religious opinions he was strongly orthodox, and he preached them in a very decided and uncompromising manner. He also entered early and with zeal into the temperance and anti-slavery movements, and though admirably fitted for a reformer, by his firm and bold temperament, and his persevering energy, yet these qualities did not so well serve to promote the work of conciliating and harmonizing a society holding adverse and conflicting sentiments. In private intercourse, Mr. Phelps is said to have been eminently social, genial, and generous, and even playful and humorous; but in the pulpit, his independence and plainness of speech often approached to bluntness, and severity. It is not, therefore, strange, that his preaching should have separated still more widely, rather than have harmonized, these conflicting elements in his church and society.

In the warrant for the annual parish meeting for 1830, we find an article "to see if the Parish will vote to dismiss the Rev. Mr. Phelps from the pastoral charge of said Parish." The vote upon this article was indefinite postponement.*

Finding that their numbers were then insufficient to effect his removal, the opponents of Mr. Phelps took measures to increase them. It was, at that time, the law, that every person must belong to some religious society in his town, and was liable to be taxed to support such society; and those residents of a parish who were not duly enrolled as members of some other society, were, in the law, considered as members of the oldest, or parish society.

This will explain the fact that soon after the difficulties alluded to commenced, we first find the names of persons entered on the parish books as having "become a member of the parish. Eighteen such are recorded in 1831.

September 13, 1832, another attempt was made to "dissolve the connection between Rev. Mr. Phelps and the Parish," but it was defeated by a majority of thirteen votes. Two months later, (November 8, 1832) the proposition was again made, and carried in the affirmative. It is an interesting fact connected with this sudden change of majorities, that between the last two dates, seventeen new members were added to the Parish — *all of whom were Universalists.*

* It was a part of the agreement between Mr. Phelps and the parish, "that at any time it should be thought expedient, at a Legal meeting, warned for the purpose, to dissolve the connexion between the Pastor and parish, a majority of the legal Voters present concurring, it shall be dissolved, giving him three months notice he having the same privilege to ask a dismission."

Finding themselves in a minority, the Orthodox members soon after withdrew, and united in forming the "Independent Congregational Society," — since called the "Centre Congregational Society."

At the next annual parish meeting, a Unitarian committee was chosen to supply the parish pulpit. Three months later, a meeting was called to see if the parish would extend a call to Rev. Andrew P. Peabody (Unitarian) to settle with them. This proposition was indefinitely postponed; and an addition of four (three of them Universalists) was made to the committee for supplying the pulpit. Upon this, the previous members resigned, and the meeting dissolved. A majority of the committee were now Universalists and the pulpit was supplied accordingly. September 30th, (1833) a meeting was called to see if the parish would extend an invitation to settle to Rev. J. H. Bugbee (Universalist). Upon this, a proposition was made and inserted in the same warrant, to divide the funds of the parish "equally between the several religious societies within the territorial limits of the First Parish;" and thereupon sufficient aid was called in to indefinitely postpone the proposition to settle Mr. Bugbee, and also to pass votes to divide the funds as proposed, and to choose a committee to report a plan for doing it.

December 2d, the committee submitted a report, recommending a petition to the General Court for a repeal or amendment of the Resolve of 1809, establishing a Parish Fund, and of the Act of 1823, relating to the management of the Fund, so as to allow the parish to make the proper division.

The report was accepted, a vote passed to divide the funds "among the various religious societies within the limits of said parish," and a petition presented to the General Court agreeably to the recommendation of the committee.

April 2, 1834, a parish meeting was called, "to see if the Parish will request the Rev. Joseph Whittlesey to settle with them as their minister and Pastor, for one year or more." Mr. Whittlesey was then, and had been for above seven months, settled as pastor of the "Independent Congregational Society." The apparent strangeness of the proposition is, however, explained by the fact that negotiations were then on foot between the Unitarians and the above society, to join interests, outvote the Universalists, who had now become a majority in the parish, and divide the parish funds equally between themselves. Before the arrangements were fully perfected, the Universalists offered the Unitarians their aid toward reinstating the latter in possession of the parish, and parish funds, upon more favorable terms than were about being agreed upon by the parties first named. The latter offer was accepted. The former petition to

the legislature was thereupon withdrawn; Rev. Nathaniel Gage (Unitarian) was settled as minister for five years; the taxes of sixty-eight members of the parish (Universalists) were abated; it was "Voted To allow those persons about to secede from the Parish, the sum of Four Thousand Dollars for their interest in the Funds in the hands of the Trustees belonging to the Parish;" the money was paid, and the Universalists withdrew, leaving the parish organization and funds in the possession of the "Congregational Unitarians," where they yet remain.*

In 1837, the parish society, (now Unitarian) disposed of their interest in the "common," and erected a new church edifice on the lot next north of it, at an expense of \$8,706.34. The new church was dedicated December 6, 1836.

Rev. Mr. Gage continued with the society until the summer of 1840, when he was succeeded by Rev. Nathaniel P. Folsom.† The salary of the latter was \$800. He remained with the society until the fall of 1846. He was succeeded by Rev. James Richardson, who was settled March 24, 1847, at a salary of \$700, and remained until September 27, 1850, when he was dismissed, at his own request.

On the morning of January 1, 1847, the elegant church edifice, erected in 1837, was totally destroyed by fire. In the following November, the society voted to replace it, and the present structure was soon after erected, at a cost of \$7,126.91.

Rev. Frederic Hinckley was settled as pastor of the society, November 9, 1850, and remained until July 9, 1853. His salary was \$800. His successor was Rev. Robert Hassall, who received and accepted a call to settle, in January, 1856, and remained with the society until 1858. His salary was \$1,000. April 7, 1859, Rev. William T. Clarke received an invitation to settle, which was accepted. His salary was the same as that of his immediate predecessor. Mr. Clarke is the present pastor.

THE NORTH PARISH.

As we have already mentioned, the northerly part of the town was erected into a separate Precinct, or Parish, in 1728, and a meeting-house erected the same year. The *Church* was not organized, however, until two years later.

* The whole amount of the fund, in April, 1838, was \$11,296.46. The \$4,000 had not as yet been taken from the fund. This had accumulated as follows:—From sales of parsonage lands, at sundry times, \$10,532.77; donation from "A Friend from the First Parish in Haverhill," August 24, 1836, by the hands of David Marsh, 2d, \$300.00; interest accumulated when no minister was settled, viz: from June 18, 1837, to January 9, 1838, and from January 1, 1834, to July 2, 1834, \$300.00. In April, 1831, the fund was only \$3,661.00.

† Rev. Nathaniel Gage was a graduate of Harvard College, of the class of 1822. He died at Cambridge, May 7, 1861, aged 60 years.

When the New Hampshire line was run, in 1740, about two-thirds of the inhabitants of the Parish fell to the north of the line. The portion which fell to the south of that line were soon after incorporated into a parish by themselves; or, rather, the General Court declared them to be, to all intents and purposes, the North Parish in Haverhill.

The old meeting-house fell to the north of the State line, and the parsonage to the south of it; and though at first about two-thirds of the original parish became a part of New Hampshire, at present, and for many years past, the membership and attendance at the old church has been about equal from Haverhill and Plaistow.

In the preparation of the following account of this church, we have drawn largely from the excellent sketch prepared by its late pastor, Rev. Charles Tenney, and published in a work entitled *New Hampshire Churches*, 1856.

The church was organized November 4, 1730, on a day of Fasting and Prayer, specially appointed for this purpose. It was originally styled the *Church in the North Precinct of Haverhill, Mass.* It was composed of fifty-nine members from the First Church in Haverhill. On the 4th of March following, ten more were added from the First Church in Haverhill.

At the above named meeting, Mr. James Cushing was invited to be their pastor, and was ordained on the 2d of December following. Nothing appears to have occurred, during his ministry, which continued about thirty-three years, that disturbed the harmony of the church, or the comfort of the pastor. There was not, perhaps, what may be termed a revival of religion, yet a good number were added to the church—one hundred and sixty-four in all—one hundred and fifteen by profession, and forty-nine by letter. The greatest number in any one year (1837) was fourteen. The half-way covenant practice was then in use and during Mr. Cushing's ministry, two hundred owned the covenant in this way, and had their children baptized. It does not appear, from the records, that he baptized an adult, on receiving members to full communion; and this practice will account for the great number of infant baptisms during this time, which was one thousand two hundred and seventy-five;° Mr. Cushing died May 13, 1764, aged 59 years.

Rev. James Cushing was a son of Rev. Caleb Cushing, of Salisbury, Mass., and graduated at Cambridge in 1725. Mr. Cushing was a solid and fervent preacher, prudent, steady, patient, condescending, and candid;

° During his ministry, Mr. Cushing married two hundred and twenty-four couples.

and he preserved for the thirty-four years of his ministry the most unruffled tranquility, peace and harmony, in his society.

On the 25th of October, 1772, thirteen of the members of this church, resident in Atkinson, were dismissed and recommended for the purpose, in union with others, of being organized into a church in said town.

On the 6th of March of the year following the death of Mr. Cushing, Mr. Gyles Merrill was ordained pastor of the church, and died April 27, 1801, aged 62 years, after a ministry of about thirty-seven years. The number of admissions to the church was fifty-nine — forty-seven by profession, and twelve by letter. The Rev. Mr. Merrill had a peaceful ministry and was greatly respected and beloved by his people. As a preacher, he was orthodox in faith, of sound learning, discreet, and was justly and highly esteemed.

The simplicity, kindness, and dignity of his manners, are even yet remembered by many, with the greatest respect and veneration. He had the welfare of his people constantly at heart, and those who survive him testify to his amiable disposition, and his devoutness as a christian. Mr. Merrill was a graduate of Harvard College, of the class of 1759. Like his immediate predecessor, Mr. Merrill was a native of Salisbury. He commenced preaching in the North Parish as soon as the reverend "bearers" at Mr. Cushing's funeral (eight in number) had, according to custom, supplied the vacant desk one Sabbath each.

After the death of Mr. Merrill, this church was without a settled minister twenty-five years; and, during this time, became much enfeebled. The records do not show that more than eight persons were admitted to the church — for seventeen years not one.

On the 26 of December, 1826, the Rev. Moses Welch, who had been preaching to the people as a stated supply for about two years and a half, was installed pastor of the church, and continued with them till the 2d of February 1831, when he was dismissed at his own request. There were admitted to the church after Mr. Welch's installation thirty-six — three by letter, and thirty-three by profession, and all of these thirty-three, except two, were the fruits of a revival which occurred in 1827. Mr. Welch baptized twenty-six children.

On the day of Mr. Welch's dismissal, the Rev. Samuel H. Peckham was chosen to be pastor, and he was installed the 23d day of the same month. Much of Mr. Peckham's ministry was unquiet and unpleasant, yet in a very good degree successful. He was dismissed September 10th, 1838, having the "undiminished confidence" of the dismissing council, as "a

good and able minister of the gospel." During his ministry, of about seven years, there were added to the church thirty-one by profession, and five by letter, and twenty-three children were baptized.

Rev. David Oliphant statodly supplied the pulpit after Mr. Peckham's dismission. A neat and commodious house of worship was erected in 1837, in the place of the old house, which had become wholly unfit for use. The new house is the property of the proprietors. Mr. Oliphant left in 1852, and during his ministry there were added to the church, seven by letter, and twenty-five by profession. Infant baptisms, thirty-two.

Rev. Charles Tenney commenced his labors with this church early in 1853, and remained its pastor until November, 1858, when he was called to a larger field of labor. From this time, to August 1859, the society were without a pastor, when Rev. Homer Barrows, then of Wareham, Mass., received and accepted a call to settle with them, and at once entered upon the discharge of his duties as a pastor.

THE WEST PARISH.

In 1734, the westerly part of this town, was, by the General Court, erected into a separate parish, or precinct, under the name of the *West Parish of Haverhill*.

The first parish meeting was held on the first day of May, of that year, the warrant for which was issued by Richard Saltonstall, Esq. The meeting was held at the house of Thomas Haynes, who was chosen moderator, and Peter Ayer was chosen parish clerk. At this meeting, the parish voted to build a meeting-house, and to set it "on the southeasterly corner of Samuel Eatton's pasture."^o The house was erected and mostly finished the same season. The pews (sixteen in number) were not, however, built until three years afterward.

At the time the first parish meeting was held, the timber was already on the ground selected as a site for the meeting-house, and so rapidly was the work pushed forward, that services were held in the new house as early as October.

The first minister engaged upon trial, was a "Mr. Googgins," who preached four Sabbaths. After him, a "Mr. Skinner" preached about two months. Mr. Skinner was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Bachellor, who preached with such acceptance, that (June 9, 1735,) he was invited to settle as their minister.

^o A few rods from the present house of Timothy J. Goodrich.

The parish voted Mr. Bachellor "a sofishant hous the Bigness of Mr. Nathan Websters well fineshed and a Barn of thurty feet long and twenty feet wid and convenanay in land parstin for ceeping three cows on hos and teen sheep sumer and winter;" and "one hundred and thirty pounds in pasabil money or Bills of Creedit and value," annually. In addition to the above, they voted to give "his weded wife so long as she shall con-teeneu his widow the hool Benefet of the pasneg Cept in teenitabal Repaires;" and "twenty pounds in bills of credit or pasibel money annuialy" to Mr. Bachellor, when he should be "Disanabled for carieng on the work of the ministry" among them, by old age.

Mr. Bachellor accepted July 21st, and was ordained soon after.^o

It appears that the liberal support voted to Mr. Bachellor, was a cause of considerable "gealosey suspishon and unciseynes" on the part of some of the parish, and a meeting was warped to reconsider the matter. At this meeting, the parish voted to give him, in lieu of the house, barn, and land accommodations, two hundred and fifty pounds a year,—to which he agreed.

In the spring of 1736, the parsonage lands lying in the vicinity of *Parsonage Hill*, which had been given to the North and West Parishes to divide between them, were divided by a joint committee. The same year (December 6) the proprietors of the undivided lands in the town, gave Mr. Bachellor seventy acres of land in the West Parish, for his own use, also forty acres to the parish. In 1739, the parish voted to give Mr. Bachellor the use and possession of all the "parsonage lands and meadows belonging to ye West Parish," so long as he should continue to carry on the work of the ministry among them.

Soon after the Parish was incorporated, the commoners gave them a tract of land to purchase a burying-ground, and roads to their meeting-house. This land was sold in 1738, and in 1740 (November 25) the Parish "Voted Twenty-two pounds to Mr. Thomas Haynes with what he has already had for half an acre of Land for a Burying-place where we have already Bureyed Sundry of Our Dead." The spot referred to, is about one-fourth of a mile south of the site of the old meeting-house.

The depreciation in value of paper money, which was an active cause in the troubles which broke out in the East Parish, seems also to have been a stumbling block in the way of the church and society in the West Parish. From time to time the parish voted Mr. Bachellor an addition to his salary, in consideration of "the fall of the present currency." In 1749, the

^o Mr. Bachellor had preached in the parish twenty-one weeks before he gave his answer.

addition made was £70. At the annual meeting in 1750, the parish "Voted not to pay the Revd Mr. Bachellor his salary this year without a receipt or discharge in full." This displeased many, and a meeting was called shortly after, to see if the parish would "reconsider and disanul that vote," but the meeting refused to act upon the question. After considerable negotiation, the parish (December 18, 1750) voted Mr. Bachellor £66.18.4, in addition to what had already been paid him, in full for his salary from his settlement to that time. This was not satisfactory to some of the parish, and, failing to "Disanul ye vote," they "dissented against ye Illegal proceedings."^o

In 1755, these difficulties assumed alarming proportions. Mr. Bachellor was accused of heresy, in saying that the work of redemption was finished, when Christ uttered the words "It is finished." This, his enemies, (led on by Joseph Haynes, a shrewd and fearless man, of superior native talent, and quite extensive reading,) denounced as downright heresy, and made them the ground-work of a sharply contested controversy, which raged with violence for a number of years, and finally ended in the removal of Mr. Bachellor, 9th October, 1761, upon terms that day recommended by a Council. The subject was considered by the Haverhill Association, and two Councils called for that purpose, who upheld Mr. Bachellor, and published several pamphlets defending his conduct from the aspersions of his enemies. These drew from Mr. Haynes, a large pamphlet, called "A Discourse in order to confute the Heresy, delivered, and much contended for, in the West-Parish, in Haverhill, and countenanced by many of the ministers of the neighboring parishes, viz: That the blood and water which came from Christ when the soldier pierced his side, his laying in his grave, and his resurrection, was no part of the work of redemption, and that his laying in the grave was no part of his humiliation." It was printed in 1757. This drew a pamphlet in the following year, from the Association and Councils, vindicating the measures they had taken, to which Mr. Haynes soon after replied. A Council of nine churches convened by adjournment on the 19th September, 1758, when twenty charges against Mr. Bachellor were laid before it, condemning his conduct and doctrines. The Council sat four days, and decided that they were not sufficiently supported. Col. John Choate of Ipswich, one of their members, differed from this decision and published his "reasons of dissent." The same Council again met in the following year, when Mr. Haynes gave

^o The dissentients were Thomas Haynes, Joseph Haseltine, Thomas Page, Joseph Hutchens, Daniel Led, Jr., Peter Carleton, Jonathan Emerson, Joseph Haynes, Timothy Emerson, and William Ayer.

them some "friendly remarks," which were afterward published; but this second examination of the charges only confirmed them in their former decision.

Rev. Samuel Bachellor was a graduate of Harvard College, of the class of 1731, and a man of superior talent and attainments. During his ministry in the parish, he baptized about four hundred and fifty; thirty-eight owned their baptismal covenant; and one hundred and eighteen were admitted to the church.* After his dismissal, Mr. Bachellor continued to reside in the parish until his death. In 1769, and again in 1770, he was chosen to represent the town in the General Court.

After the dismissal of Mr. Bachellor, the parish was without a settled pastor nine years.

In March, 1762, Rev. Nathaniel Noyes commenced preaching in the parish, shortly after which, the church and parish voted "to settle upon Congregational Principles" and to organize the church according to the platform of church discipline agreed upon by the Cambridge Synod in 1649, — "except the 11th section of the 10th chapter of that platform, which allows the elder a power to negative the Brotherhood." In the October following, the church and parish extended a unanimous invitation to Mr. Noyes to settle with them, but he declined. The next January the invitation was renewed, but without success. After Mr. Noyes left, a Mr. Wheeler occupied the pulpit for a short time, when he was succeeded by Rev. John Carnes.

In March, 1766, Mr. Carnes was invited to settle with the parish, but declined. The call was renewed April 14th, and accepted, but, for some reason not stated, he was not settled.

In June, 1767, a call was extended to Rev. Joseph Willard, (afterward president of Harvard College) who accepted, and the last Wednesday in October was assigned for his ordination; but, for reasons not given, the ordination never took place.

In March, 1769, Rev. Phineas Adams received a call by "a great majority" of the parish, though several were so strongly opposed to his settlement that they petitioned to be released from paying toward his support. The following December the call was repeated, when it was accepted, and Mr. Adams was ordained January 9, 1771. He continued with the parish until his death, in 1801, during which time, for ought that appears upon the records, the society was prosperous and united.

* The church was organized October 22, 1735, with seventy-seven members, all of whom had been dismissed from the First Parish Church for that purpose. Nathan Webster and Peter Ayer were chosen deacons, in November, 1735.

Mr. Adams, who graduated at Cambridge in 1762, was a man of mild and conciliatory manners, amiable disposition, sound sense, excellent understanding, and extensive reading. He was not bigoted, and seemed well calculated to quiet a turbulent society. After his death, the parish met, and voted to pay all the expenses of his funeral.

During his ministry, Mr. Adams baptized three hundred and thirty-one (adults and infants); sixty-nine "owned their baptismal covenant;" and sixty-two were admitted to the church.

At the first church meeting after the settlement of Mr. Adams, John Smith and Thomas Webster were chosen deacons. In 1782, Moses Webster, and in 1785, Joseph Eaton, were chosen to the same office.

The first mention we find in the parish records of a school in the parish, is in November, 1751, when it was voted to build a school-house eighteen feet square, at "ye Clay pitts near ye end of the Road that leadeth to ye house of Mr Jonathan Webster." At the next meeting, an effort was made to have the school-house placed in the centre of the parish, but without success. For some reasons, the building of the school-house proceeded very slowly, as we find that as late as February, 1754, it was only partly finished, and was ordered to be removed to the east end of the meeting-house. The next month, a proposition was made to move the meeting-house and the school-house to "Lad's plain," in the "center of the Parish," but the proposition failed. The December following (1754) the school-house was yet unfinished. At this time, the parish voted that a school should be kept one-third part of the time at or near Peter Carleton's; one-third at Stephen Webster's; and one-third at Samuel Whitker's. It continued to be so kept until, at least, 1772. In 1774, it was kept at or near Jeremiah Hutchin's; Timothy Eatton's; and Peter Emerson's; at which time, there was as yet no school-house in the parish. In the spring of 1791, the parish appropriated £82 for the building of three school-houses. One was set "westward from Thomas West's, on Enoch Bradley's land; and one "near James Chase's." The location of the third one does not appear. They were all built in 1791.

In 1792, the inhabitants of the "Eastern, on Jew street," petitioned for a school in their vicinity a part of the time, but the request was not granted.

In 1770, the parish voted "to continue to sing Dr Watts' Psalms & Hymns in the congregation." This is the first allusion to singing we find in the parish records. One of the articles in the warrant for the annual meeting in 1771, was "To see if the Parish will vote a part of the Frunt Galary for those to sit in who Have Larnt or are Larning to Sing by Rule.

Either to Build a Pew or other wise as Shall be thot most proper." As the parish at the time voted to make extensive repairs in the meeting-house, no recorded action was taken about the singing; but a pew was doubtless built at the time, as we find that "the Singers Pew" was enlarged in 1788, and again in 1794. In 1810, the parish appropriated thirteen dollars toward the support of a "singing school." This, we believe, is the earliest distinct allusion we have found, in any of the records or papers we have examined, of a singing-school in the town, though it is by no means improbable that such schools were kept years before. Indeed the fact that some were "Learning to sing by Rule" as early as 1771, would seem to imply that something of the kind was then in operation.*

In 1786, a proposition was made to purchase grounds for one or two new "burying-places." The matter was referred to a committee, who reported it inexpedient for the parish to purchase. A private subscription was then started, and ground for a second burying-place was purchased the same fall. It was located on the northerly side of the Salem, (N. H.) road, and near Creek Brook.†

After the death of Mr. Adams, the parish was without a settled minister for twenty-five years, during which period its religious affairs were in a very unsatisfactory state.

In 1803, a Mr. Mead occupied the pulpit for some months, and the proposition was made for the parish to join with the North Parish, and hire him, to preach one-half the time in each parish, — but it was not agreed to.

At the annual parish meeting, March 17, 1806, it was

"Voted, that the Baptists, Methodists, or Universalists, who belong to the West Parish, should have a right and privilege to draw out of the parish treasurer's hands, as much money as they pay in by taxes, — after allowing or deducting for levying and collecting the same, — for to hire such minister or ministers as they choose, provided they are of good standing or character, when there is not a minister employed by the parish committee as has been usual in times past."

The above continued to be the practice until 1809, when a committee consisting of one from each denomination was chosen to divide the money raised for preaching, among the several denominations.‡ If any person

* The earliest mention of a singing-school in the village, which we have found, is an advertisement of Samuel W. Ayer, in December, 1812, of his intention to commence a "Singing School, at the First Parish School House."

† The cemetery opposite the brick meeting-house has been laid out but a few years, and is the third in the parish.

‡ The only denominations represented by a "committee man," were the Congregationalists, (for "Standing Order") the Methodists, and the Universalists.

refused to say to which one he desired his money to be paid, it was to be divided equally among all of them.

From 1809, to 1818, the above plan continued in operation. Each denomination had preaching of their own, as many Sabbaths in the year as the money thus divided would furnish.

In 1818, ten members of the parish petitioned for a parish meeting "To instruct the Committee of the Congregational order how much preaching to engage;" and also "To see if Preachers of the Universal order shall be admitted to preach in said Meeting House in the West Parish the present year." At the same time, fourteen others petitioned for a meeting, to see if the parish would vote that the money paid into the treasury for the support of preaching, might not be drawn out "to hire the Congregational, Methodist, and Universal Preachers, as usual."

This was an attempt, on the part of the Congregationalists, to regain entire control of the parish, but it was unsuccessful. The parish refused to act upon the propositions in the first petition, and agreed to those of the other.

In May, 1821, the parish voted to extend a call to Rev. Mr. Pomeroy, but no action appears to have been taken by the church, and he was not invited. One year later, a proposition was made to invite Rev. Mr. Lambard but it was not agreed to. Two years still later, an attempt was made to unite on Rev. Stephen Morse, but this also proved unsuccessful.

Finally, in September, 1826, the church unanimously invited Rev. Moses G. Grosvenor to become their pastor. In this call, the parish joined, and Mr. Grosvenor accepted the invitation. He was ordained December 27, 1826.

Soon after the settlement of Mr. Grosvenor, David Webster, by his last will and testament, bequeathed to the parish two pieces of land, containing about twenty acres; two thousand dollars in money; and all the residue of his personal estate, after paying his debts, &c. The conditions of the bequest were, in substance, as follows:—The income and interest of the property bequeathed was to be "applied exclusively for the support and maintainance of an ordained Gospel minister of the congregational or presbyterian denomination, who is orthodox or Calvinistic in his sentiments, in the west or second parish in said Haverhill." Whenever any minister of that description should be "regularly ordained and settled" in the parish, "according to the custom of congregational or presbyterian churches," the trustees^o were to pay over to the proper parish officers the

^o John Marsh, Esq., and Mr. Brickett Bradley, of Haverhill; and Rev. Gardner B. Perry, Rev. Ira Ingraham, and Mr. David O. Kimball, of Bradford, "their successors," &c., were designated as trustees of the property bequeathed.

income of the bequest. If there should not be any such minister so settled, the bequest was to be an accumulating fund in the hands of the trustees for the term of ten years, (unless such a minister should be settled before that period) when the income was to be paid over "to the domestic missionary society" to be applied specially for the support of preachers of the Gospel, of the denomination aforesaid, in such vacant and destitute parishes as are unable to supply themselves." The income was to revert to the parish whenever they settled a minister as specified; and at the expiration of ten years after such a minister had been settled by the parish, and had "remained as such during that period," the trustees might, by consent of the judge of probate, transfer the capital sum of the bequest to such trustees of the funds of the parish as should be duly authorized to receive the same. The will is dated July 12th, 1827. Mr. Webster died October 18th, 1828, aged 79 years.

Mr. Grosvenor was a Congregationalist, and was settled as such. By the terms of his settlement, the connection between the pastor and the parish could at any time be dissolved by a three months' notice from either party.

It could hardly be expected that such a settlement would be satisfactory to the other denominations in the parish, and we accordingly find, under date of January 10, 1828, a petition from thirty-nine members of the parish, requesting a parish meeting, "To see if the Parish will vote to appropriate any money, and if any, how much, to hire ministers to preach in said Parish, in addition to the Revd Mr. Grosvenor." The meeting was held, and it was voted (yeas fifty, nays fifty-three) not to hire any other minister, as petitioned for.

A few weeks later, (March 13, 1828) a meeting was called to see if the parish would give Mr. Grosvenor a "three months' notice to withdraw his pastoral connection" with the parish. The proposition was carried, and Mr. Grosvenor was accordingly dismissed.^o

^o During Mr. Grosvenor's ministry, thirty-one were admitted to the church; twenty-three were baptized; and ten renewed their baptismal covenant. From the death of Rev. Mr. Adams, in 1801, to May, 1834, there were thirty admissions to the church. From the same date, to August, 1834, thirty-three persons were baptized. In August, 1830, Deacon Aaron Clarke, (who removed to this town from Wells, Me., in 1807,) was chosen deacon (associate) with Deacon Moses Webster. Deacon Clarke died March 3, 1838, aged 90; and Deacon Webster died January 27, 1837, aged 90. The latter was a member of the church fifty-one years, and for forty-four years one of its deacons. In May, 1834, the church adopted a new form of "Articles of Faith and Covenant." September 6th, of the same year, nineteen persons were admitted to the church. In the records of 1821, and subsequently, we notice that persons admitted to the church were frequently "baptized the same day." Several are recorded as having been "rebaptized" on their admission. In February, 1827, Joseph and Moses Webster were chosen deacons.

The Congregationalists, finding themselves in the minority in the parish, soon after decided to withdraw, and organize a new society. They erected a neat and substantial brick meeting-house,^o one mile west of the old parish meeting-house, and, August 3d, 1829, petitioned for a parish meeting to see if the parish would "vote to give the Rev. Abijah Cross a call to settle with them in the gospel ministry to preach in the brick meeting house," on condition that his salary should not commence until the next annual parish meeting, in March, 1830; that the parish treasurer should "pay over annually to that part of the parish that do not wish to pay Mr. Cross, all their taxes, and so much of the annual income of the parsonage property as shall bear an equal proportion to their parish taxes or rateable estates;" that the latter should have "a right to spend the money thus paid over, in the old meeting house, for such preaching as they shall choose;" and that a three months' notice shall be sufficient to dissolve the connection between Mr. Cross and the parish.

The next day, (August 4, 1829) the Universalists petitioned for a parish meeting, "to see if the parish will vote to give a call to Rev. Daniel D. Smith to settle with us as our minister," &c. A parish meeting was thereupon warned for the 26th of the same month, to act upon the several propositions of the two petitions. In the meantime, (August 20) the church extended a unanimous call to Mr. Cross, to settle with them, as their minister.†

On the 26th, the parish met, and voted to give Rev. Mr. Smith a call to settle with them for two years; and *not* to give a call to Rev. Mr. Cross. Mr. Smith accepted the same day.

October 20th, a meeting of the church was held at Dea. Moses Webster's, and a committee was chosen to remonstrate against the settlement of Mr. Smith. But the remonstrance did not prevent the settlement of Mr. Smith over the parish society.

At the next annual parish meeting an effort was made to revive the old plan of dividing the receipts from parish taxes "among the different denominations," but was unsuccessful, — as was also one to sell wood from the parsonage land for the same purpose.

^o It was dedicated May 7, 1829. The first meeting was held in it in the February preceding.

† The church had from the first been a Congregational Church, and when the Congregationalists seceded from the parish, the church went with them, as a body. The Universalists had no church organization in the parish, until after the final separation, in 1829. They were among the members of the old parish, but not of the old parish church.

The Methodists never had a regular church organization in the parish. In 1818, they held one communion, for which time they requested the use of the communion vessels belonging to the parish church, but were refused. In lieu of them, they used decanters and common tumblers. Even their use of the "Sacrament Table," was thought to have been "an unchristian encroachment on the ecclesiastical rights of the church" in the parish, " & highly reprehensible."

May 4th, 1831, the church renewed their call to the Rev. Mr. Cross, which was accepted; and he was installed on the 18th of the same month. He continued a faithful pastor of the church and society until January 26th, 1853, when he was dismissed by a mutual council, at his own request.*

Rev. Abijah Cross was born in Methuen, Mass., October 25, 1793, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1821, and entered the Andover Theological Seminary the year following. Shortly after this, he left the Seminary, and pursued his theological studies chiefly with Rev. Dr. Dana, of Newburyport. He was licensed to preach in 1823; and in March, 1824, was ordained at Salisbury, N. H. He was dismissed from that church in April 1829, and immediately after, commenced preaching in the West Parish. After his dismissal, in 1853, he continued to reside in the town, most of the time in the village, until his death, April 14, 1856.

Rev. Mr. Smith continued with the parish (Universalist) society, until 1831, from which time, until 1834, that society was without a regular minister. In March, of the last named year, a call was extended to Rev. Thomas G. Farnsworth, previously pastor of the First Universalist society in this town, to settle with them for ten years, at a salary of \$400 per annum, with the use of the parsonage. The invitation was accepted. Mr. Farnsworth remained with the society until April 1837, when he was dismissed, at his request.

In 1832, a proposition was made to remove the old meeting-house, to some point nearer the centre of the parish. A committee was chosen to estimate the cost, &c.; and in 1834, the house was taken down, moved one mile and a quarter west, re-framed, and re-erected.

After the dismissal of Rev. Mr. Farnsworth, in 1837, the parish society were destitute of a regular minister, until June, 1840, at which time Rev. Henry M. Nichols was ordained and settled, at a salary of \$500 a year. Mr. Nichols continued with the society until his death, in 1842.

About this time, the bequest of Mr. Webster began to attract special attention by the two societies in the parish. The income of the fund had accumulated until it alone amounted to several thousand dollars, but not a dollar of it had as yet been applied to its intended purpose, and, as then organized, neither of the two societies could lay claim to it. The parish (Universalist) society were without the specified kind of a minister to entitle them to the bequest; and the church (Orthodox) society no longer

* During the whole ministry of Mr. Cross in the west parish, (nearly twenty-four years) one hundred and forty-one were admitted to the church, and one hundred and one baptized.

had a minister who was settled by the parish. Neither society could claim the benefit of the fund, but each could prevent the other from enjoying it.

From March, 1844, — when a committee was first chosen by the parish society, "to act in reference to the Fund of the late David Webster," — down to 1852, — when the matter was finally adjusted, — the disposition of this fund was a prolific theme for society discussions and negotiations. Various offers were made by each society, from time to time, until March 29, 1851, when the Congregational society offered the parish (or Universalist) society \$2,400, for the privilege of becoming themselves the *Parish*; — which was accepted. The Universalists, or parish society, were to retain possession of all the parish property they were then in possession of, and were to relinquish to the Congregationalists, or church society, all right and claim to the *Parish*, and the latter were to have the Webster fund.

April 27, 1852, an act was obtained granting leave to the parish society to make the transfer, which was accepted June 17th, and in the October following, (October 6, 1852) forty-five members of the Congregational society were admitted members of the parish. On the 16th of the same month, thirty members of the parish withdrew from it, and it was thus left in the hands of the Congregationalists, where it yet remains.

Soon after the transfer of the parish was perfected, in 1852, the then parish (now Congregationalists) took measures to settle a minister agreeably to the conditions of the will of Mr. Webster, and, December 14th, extended a call to Rev. S. E. Kendall, — which was declined.* January 26th, 1853, Rev. Mr. Cross was dismissed from the Congregational church and society, at his own request, and, in March, Rev. Asa Farwell was invited to settle as their pastor. Mr. Farwell accepted, and was ordained April 21st, of the same year.

Rev. Asa Farwell was born in Dorset, Vt., March 8th, 1812; fitted for college at the Burr Seminary, Manchester, Vt.; graduated at Middlebury College, in 1838, and at Andover Theological Seminary, in 1842. From 1842 to 1852, he was principal of the Abbott Female Academy, at Andover. He commenced preaching in the West Parish, in February, 1853, where he yet remains.

From the settlement of Rev. Mr. Farwell, in 1853, to the present time, (December, 1860) there have been fifty-five admissions to the church, and thirty baptisms.

In December, 1844, Ezra B. Welch and John Mitchell were chosen deacons; in December, 1856, Daniel Webster was chosen in place of the

* Mr. Kendall was invited to settle as a colleague of Mr. Cross.

latter, who had removed from the parish; in December, 1860, Isaac Pettingill was chosen in place of Deacon Welch, removed from town. It is an interesting fact that of the fifteen deacons of the church, from 1735 to 1860, seven were of the name of Webster, viz.: Nathan, Stephen, Thomas, Moses, Joseph, Moses, and Daniel Webster.

The Universalist Society. As this society was the Parish, from 1828 to 1852, we have already given the most prominent points of its history down to the latter date, and find but little to add in this place.

Since the death of Rev. Mr. Nichols, in 1842, the society have had no settled minister, though they have had preaching the most of the time. The following named, in their regular order, have supplied the desk for one year or more, each, since the period referred to:—Rev.'s Josiah Gilman, Cyrus Bradley, W. W. Wilson, Willard Spaulding, James E. Pomfret, Lemuel Willis, Martin J. Steere. The Rev. Mr. Wilson continued with the society about four years. Mr. Spaulding was their minister at the time the parish transfer was effected. Mr. Steere is their minister at the present time.

August 30, 1852, the society was re-organized, under the name of *The First Universalist Society in the West Parish of Haverhill*. This was rendered necessary by the transfer of the parish organization to the Congregational society, as already mentioned.

In 1857, a proposition was made to the society, by that portion of its members residing in "Ayer's Village," so called, to remove the meeting-house to that village, or to build a new one at that place. The proposition was indefinitely postponed. Two years later, the proposition was again made, but, by the vigorous exertions of those opposed to the change, it was negatived by *one majority*. This was in April, 1859.

June 12th, of the same year, a meeting of the residents of the above named village was called, when it was unanimously voted to build a meeting-house at that place, and a committee was chosen to purchase a site for the proposed edifice.

July 4th, those interested in the movement organized themselves, under the general statute, into a corporate body, by the name of *Ayer's Village Associates*, for the purpose of holding and transferring property, and managing their affairs, in a legal manner. An eligible lot of land was purchased, situated a few rods east of the four corners in the village, on the north side of the street, and a neat and convenient church was promptly erected, at an expense of about \$5,000. It was dedicated April 25, 1860. As the members still hold their individual membership in the

old society, they have not, as yet, perfected their organization as a religious society. Since the church was dedicated, the desk has been regularly supplied. Rev. Mr. Damon, formerly of the Summer Street society, now preaches one-half of the time, and the remainder is filled by short engagements, as opportunity offers.

EAST PARISH.

We have already given^o an account of the erection of the easterly part of the town into a separate Precinct, or Parish, in 1743, and need not repeat it in this place. In November, of the same year, the first parish meeting was held "at the house of Nathl Whittier, deceased."† Robert Hastings was chosen clerk, and a committee was chosen to select a location for a meeting-house, who reported, at an adjourned meeting, a recommendation that it be erected "at the south side of Turkey Hill, near the south-east end of the Hill." The report was accepted, and measures were at once taken to have the meeting-house so far finished as to allow it to be used for meetings by the following September, — which was done. The house was not actually *finished*, until a few years before it was torn down, in 1838, — nearly a century after. The gallery floors were laid about 1752, "the windows on the back side of the pulpit" were cut out in 1753, at the request of the minister, Rev. Mr. Parker, "for his conveyance of air in the summer season;" the house was plastered in 1768; the pews were built at various times from 1744 to some time subsequent to 1816‡; the east end was clapboarded, and "the fore doors & window frames" painted in 1793. Until about 1816, the two sexes sat apart during service, (except those families who were so fortunate as to own pews) and the "women's seats" are mentioned even later than that date. The house was first artificially heated in 1829, when two "box" stoves were introduced. The writer well remembers their gigantic proportions, and long funnels. The latter, in the absence of a chimney, were thrust through the windows on the north and south sides of the house.

As soon as the house was ready for occupancy, the inhabitants of the parish invited the neighboring ministers to fast and pray with them, "for ye divine direction, in order to give a Person a call to settle among them in the work of the ministry." For that purpose, September 6th, 1744, was set apart. After the meeting was concluded in the afternoon, the

^o See page 320.

† Where John B. Nichols, Esq., now lives.

‡ After the house was erected, sixteen privileges for building pews in it were sold at auction.

ministers recommended Mr. Benjamin Parker as a person well qualified for the place. Accordingly, October 4th, a call was extended to Mr. Parker to become their minister. The parish voted to give him the use of all the parsonage land; build him a parsonage house and barn; and pay him £100 Old Tenor, and £70 "provision pay," annually, for the first three years, and after that, the provision pay was to be increased to £100 per annum. The call was accepted, and Mr. Parker was ordained November 28, 1744, at which time the church was "gathered." The latter consisted of sixteen male members. At the first church meeting, January 31, 1745, Robert Hunkins and Peter Green were chosen *deacons*.^o

Although the church was not gathered, and a pastor ordained, until this time, "the inhabitants of the precinct had constant preaching for some time previously."[†]

It was a part of the agreement with Mr. Parker, that a parsonage house and barn should be built for his accommodation, but for some reason, (probably on account of the large expense already incurred for the new meeting-house) the parish in the following March (1745) chose a committee to request him to wait a time before obliging them to build the house. His answer was, "no, he would not,"—and the house was built and finished before the next October. The house is still standing, nearly opposite the meeting-house, and is occupied for the original purpose.

In 1748, the parish built a school-house, about six rods northerly of the meeting-house, and laid out two burying-grounds, the first "between Jonathan Marsh's barn and Gravel shoot," the other "in the corner of Richard Colby's land nearest country bridge." Both of these places are still used for the purpose, and are the only ones ever laid out in the parish. A few years subsequently, the school money was divided into two parts, and one school was kept at Gideon George's, and another at Joseph Greele's. This plan continued in operation until the division of the town into smaller school districts finally took the matter entirely out of the hands of the parish.

In 1767, several persons "brought in their papers as Baptists," and requested to be exempted from parish rates, but were refused. In return, they refused to pay the rates, and after several efforts to collect them, the parish finally, in 1768, voted to free all "who were baptized before they were rated in 1766." The next year the privilege was modified so as to exempt only those who had been baptized "by Dipping or plunging in the water."

^o In 1767, Joseph Kelley was joined with them.

[†] Rev. Mr. Parker's Church Records, 1744.

The number of Baptists seems gradually to have increased, until a Baptist church was finally formed in the parish. Their influence may be judged by the fact that as early as 1780, Rev. Hezekiah Smith was, by a vote of the parish, invited to "preach or Lecture one Sabbath in the meeting house."

We have already mentioned one of the "peculiarities" of Rev. Mr. Parker, in his reply to the committee requesting farther time to build his parsonage house. His determination, manifested thus early, to have the articles of agreement carried out to the letter, was subsequently, in part, at least, a cause of much trouble. It was a part of that agreement that he should be paid £100 annually, *Old Tenor*; and when that currency afterward depreciated largely in value, the parish were, perhaps, less inclined to make up the deficiency, than they would have been under other circumstances. The unpleasant state of feeling thus engendered, was afterward greatly increased by the course of Mr. Parker in withholding his encouragement and sympathy from the patriots of the Revolution. He was believed to be a loyalist, or "tory," and when his parish, in 1775, requested him to abate somewhat of his salary, his answer was that he would not, but "would stand for the whole of it." Twice a committee was then chosen, and sent to "treat with him," in regard to annulling the contract. Then a committee was sent to gain his consent to a reference of the matter to "the neighboring ministers, or any other persons," but he not only refused, but desired "the parish would not trouble him with any committees hereafter, for he would not hear them." Upon this

"It was put to vote by the moderator to see if the Parish will have the Reverend Mr Parker to Preach to them any more for the futur or not, it passed in the affirmative — they would not have him."

"It was put to vote by the moderator to see if the Parish will Shut up the meeting house Dors and fasten them up for the time to come—it passed in the affirmative."

Captain Daniel Johnson, Anthony Chase, and Samuel Ayer, Jr., were then chosen "a committee to fasten up the meting house dors on Monday the 8th of January inst," — (1776).

Matters remained thus for twelve months, when the parish joined with Mr. Parker in calling the help of an ecclesiastical council to settle the difficulties. The council met at the house of Elias Johnson, and after two days' negotiation, the connection between Mr. Parker and his parish was dissolved.

He soon after removed to his own ~~farm~~, about a mile south of the meeting-house,^o where he continued to ~~reside~~ until his death, in 1789. He was interred in the burial-ground ~~near the~~ meeting-house.

Rev. Benjamin Parker was a son of Daniel, of Bradford, and a graduate of Harvard College in 1737. His ~~first~~ wife was Elizabeth Fletcher, of Dunstable; his second wife was Lucy Baggles, of Billerica. By the first, he had six children; and by the second, one.

During the ministry of Mr. Parker, ~~seventy-seven~~ persons owned the covenant, and three hundred and ~~thirty-four~~ (mostly children) were baptized. He married one hundred and ~~thirty~~ couples.

No services were held in the ~~meeting-house~~ from January, 1776, until the spring or summer of 1778, when ~~the~~ pulpit was again occupied, though irregularly. From November, 1777, to April, 1780, and from December, 1780, to December, 1791, there are ~~no~~ parish records, though it is certain that regular preaching was had at ~~least a~~ part of the time. Nehemiah Ordway (of Amesbury) supplied the pulpit regularly from 1788 to November, 1793,[†] when Mr. Tappan, of Newbury, was engaged for a time. Mr. Tappan also kept the parish Grammar School. In the winter of 1794-5, there were no services in the ~~meeting-house~~. The church finally became nearly extinct. Only one male member resided in the place; no church meeting was held for many years, and the church records could not be found.

These records were supposed to have been concealed or destroyed by Mr. Parker, previous to his death; but a few years since, the original book of church records was conditionally returned to one of the deacons of the church by a daughter of Mr. Parker, and is now virtually in possession of the rightful owners.

In October, 1796, the parish invited Rev. Isaac Tompkins to settle among them, in which call the members of the church desired to join, but it was questioned whether there was then a regular church in the parish.

Under these circumstances, it was considered advisable to begin anew, and a council was called, January 11, 1797, for the purpose of forming a

^o That now occupied by Henry Davis and next north of Joshua Lake. Mr. Parker purchased it of the heirs of Timothy Eaton.

[†] Rev. Nehemiah Ordway graduated at Harvard College in 1764, and was ordained in Middleton, Mass., in 1768. He afterward requested and obtained a dismissal, and came to Haverhill and preached in the East Parish seven years. He went from Haverhill to Raymond, N. H., and afterward removed to Pembroke, N. H., where he died in 1836, aged 98 years.

new church. Twenty years had made great changes in the parish, as may be seen from the following extract from the minutes of the council.*

"They esteem it a departure from chh order to constitute those members of a new chh, who continue members of other chhs; because it will involve them in inconsistent obligations; and therefore cannot embrace, in the number of candidates, those who are of that description. At the same time they esteem the number of *four*, tho' extremely small to form a chh, not contrary to gospel rule; because *where two or three are met together in X's name*, the Head of the chh has promised to be with them. The council also have in view the almost certain prospect of immediate additions by regular dismission & recommendation from other chhs & from this christian society. Therefore impressed with the solemnity of the transaction, and conceiving ourselves duly authorized, we do constitute and declare Elias Johnson, Ephraim Elliot, Joseph Greely, & Samuel Woodbury a regular church of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The council do not mention the names of the women whom they admitted,† for the reason (as given by Rev. Mr. Abbot, scribe, in a note to the minutes) "that they tho't it sufficient to mention the names of the men, as the male members are considered as constituting the body qualified to transact business as a regular chh."

Immediately after their organization, the church extended a unanimous call to Mr. Tompkins to become their pastor, which was accepted, and he was ordained March 1st, 1797. His salary was \$250 the first year, with the use of the parsonage buildings and lands, and wood for his fires. After that, he was to have such a salary as should be agreed upon. It is with pleasure we record the fact, that, from his settlement to his death, (in 1826) the connection of Mr. Tompkins with his church and parish was uniformly pleasant and satisfactory to all parties. After his death, the parish voted his widow the free use of the parsonage house and adjoining land for one year.

Rev. Isaac Tompkins was a son of Christopher, of New Bedford, where he was born, April 16, 1761. He received his theological education under the direction, principally, of Rev. Samuel West, D.D., of the same place. He was a man of strong mental powers, well indoctrinated in theology, a decided Calvinist, an argumentative and faithful preacher, unexceptionable in moral and ministerial character, and highly esteemed by all who knew him. From respect to his talents and acquirements, Brown University

* The council met at the house of Elias Johnson.

† Nine in number.

conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts, as early as 1795. Mr. Tompkins died November 21, 1826, aged 65 years.*

During Mr. Tompkins' ministry, thirty-one adults, and forty-nine children were baptized, and sixty-one persons were admitted into the church. Twenty-five of the latter were admitted at one time, — April 11, 1813, — and eight more May 23, of the same year.

Elias Johnson and Francis Swan were chosen deacons, on the day of the ordination of Mr. Tompkins. Thomas Johnson was chosen to the same office April 12, 1812.

After Mr. Tompkins' decease, the society had no regular supply until 1828, when Rev. John H. Stevens, who had been the minister at Stoneham, Mass., received an invitation to settle, which was accepted, and he was installed in April of the same year. Mr. Stevens remained with the society until the spring of 1833, when his health declined, and he was dismissed at his own request.† During his ministry in the parish, he baptized nineteen persons, (nine of them adults) and nineteen were admitted into the church.

From the dismissal of Mr. Stevens, until the early part of 1835, the society was again without a settled minister. In May, of the latter year, Rev. James Royal Cushing, (who had then supplied the pulpit for some time) was invited to become their pastor, and accepted. He was installed June 10, 1835.

The early labors of Mr. Cushing in the parish, were particularly successful. In November, 1835, twenty-two persons were admitted to the church by profession — twelve of whom were baptized.

In March, 1837, Tappan Chase and Nathan Johnson were chosen deacons, in place of deacons Foot and Johnson, resigned, "on account of age and infirmity." In 1839, Charles Coffin was chosen to the same office, in place of Tappan Chase, removed from the parish.

In 1838, the old meeting-house, that had withstood the elements for nearly a century, was taken down, and the present house erected, nearly on the same site. Many can remember the venerable, weather-beaten old

* Mr. Tompkins married, January 29, 1797, Mary Alden, daughter of Captain John Alden, of Fairhaven, Mass., who was a lineal descendant of John Alden, the Pilgrim. They had seven children, Lois Alden, Sarah, Isaac, Christopher, Mary, Samuel Sprague, and Abigail Weld. Lois A. married Judge Spooner, of Fairhaven; Isaac is a merchant of Chester, N. H.; Christopher married a daughter of Enoch Foot, Esq., of East Haverhill, and now resides in this town; Mary married Charles Chase, and Sarah married Anthony Chase, (brothers) of East Haverhill. Mrs. Tompkins was born February 16, 1767, and died August 30, 1844, aged 79 years.

† Mr. Stevens returned to Stoneham, where he continued to reside until his death, which occurred a few years since.

church, with its large square pews, its capacious galleries, its lofty pulpit, and still loftier "sounding-board." We shall never forget our childish speculation as to the support of the latter, nor our great relief when, standing on the back seat in the ancient gallery, we actually saw with our own eyes the heavy braces that kept it in place; and we are therefore prepared to sympathize with the worthy minister^o whose first sermon under it was delivered in the constant fear of being crushed by its fall!

In April, 1844, the connection between Mr. Cushing and his charge was dissolved, the parish having voted "not to raise any money for the support of preaching the ensuing year."

Mr. Cushing is a native of Salisbury, N. H., where he was born November 23, 1800. He is a great-grandson of Rev. James Cushing, the minister of the North Parish from 1730 to 1764. He received his theological education at the Seminary in Bangor, Me., and was first settled in the ministry at Boxborough, Mass. Afterward, he was for a short time a city missionary, at Boston. From Haverhill, he went to Wells, Me., where he remained, settled in the ministry, for some ten years, when he removed to Taunton, Mass., where he is now pastor of a society.

During the ministry of Mr. Cushing in this parish, he baptized fifteen children, and twelve adults; and twenty-eight persons were admitted to the church.

In November, 1848, the society extended a call to Rev. Wm. Cogswell, D.D., to become their pastor, but he declined. At the same time, Stephen S. Crosby was chosen deacon, in place of Nathan Johnson, removed from the parish.

In June, of the following year, Rev. Wales Lewis, of Kingston, Mass., received and accepted a call to settle in the parish. Mr. Lewis continued with his charge until the spring of 1857, when he was dismissed at his own request.[†] During his ministry, eight persons were admitted to the church by profession, — all of whom were baptized, — and two children were baptized.

In August, 1857, Rev. Abraham Burnham accepted an invitation to settle in the parish, and was ordained the following October. Mr. Burnham is still the pastor. Since his settlement over the society, there have been six admissions to the church by profession, and two by letter.

Mr. Burnham was born in Dunbarton, N. H., April 9, 1829; graduated at Dartmouth in 1852, and at Andover in 1857. He commenced his

^o Rev. Mr. Tompkins.

[†] Mr. Lewis is at present settled in Lyman, Maine.

labors in the parish immediately after the dismissal of Mr. Lewis, and received an invitation to settle as soon as he had completed his studies.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH.

The First Baptist Church and Society in this town, had its origin in a casual visit of the Rev. Hezekiah Smith to the town in the autumn of the year 1764. He was a young man, who had recently graduated from the college in Princeton, N. J., and been ordained to the christian ministry, and his preaching was attended with remarkable success. At first, he ministered in the pulpits of the "Standing Order," but when converts were multiplied, and there were indications that a church of "Separatists" under this "New Light" leader, would be organized, those pulpits were closed against him. There being at that time no recognized Baptist Church in the immediate vicinity, the brethren in Haverhill were obliged to proceed to their organization without council from abroad; and, accordingly, on the 9th of May, 1765, seven brethren and sixteen sisters, in all twenty-three persons, "after solemn fasting and prayer, mutually agreed to walk in gospel order together, having been first baptized by immersion, but not joined to any church." With one exception, these persons had all been baptized by Mr. Smith.

On the 28th of June, 1765, the church gave Mr. Smith a call to become their pastor. This call does not appear to have been either accepted or declined until August 22d, 1766, when Mr. Smith was received to membership, by letter from the Baptist Church in Charleston, S. C. The call was then renewed, and on the 12th of November, 1766, Mr. Smith became the pastor of the church, and continued in that office until his decease. Though Mr. Smith did not formally become the pastor of the church until the latter part of 1766, he "advised and directed" in the formation of the church, and "constantly preached" from that time forward.

Immediately after the organization of the church, a large and commodious meeting-house was erected, and finished the same year. It stood near the present church, and was at first built without a steeple. The latter was added in 1799.

Previous to July 1, 1767, those admitted members of the church were all residents of this town. In February of that year, the church voted "that one or two members with the Pastor, be authorized to receive any person or persons into this church whom they shall esteem to be meet subjects, provided the person or persons live at such a distance that they cannot attend to be received into the church according to usual order." In pursuance of this vote, persons were baptized and received to member-

ship in the church, whose residences were scattered over a wide extent of territory to the north and east of this town. The pastor, with one or two of the brethren, made missionary tours from time to time. Falmouth, (Portland) Gorham, Sanford, Narraganset, (Damariscotta) Berwick, Saco River, and other places in the State of Maine; Brentwood, Stratham, Exeter, Deerfield, Hopkinton, Dunbarton, Nottingham, and other settlements in New Hampshire; and Methuen, Dracut, Chelmsford, Bowley, and other towns in Massachusetts, experienced the effects of these itinerating services. The records mention frequent calls from these, and other places, for the church to permit their pastor to come and baptize them and assist them in forming a church, &c. As early as July, 1768, it is recorded that the church "approve the doings of the Pastor and brethren in dismissing from Haverhill church the members residing at the eastward, and in constituting them into two Baptist churches, one in Gorham and the other in Berwick, Me." May 4, 1781, several persons in Bowley, who had been baptized, but had not joined any church, were organized as a *branch* of the Baptist Church in Haverhill. They chose Samuel Harriman elder, and continued as a branch of the Haverhill church, until 1785, when they were set off as a separate church, and eight more were dismissed from the mother church to join them. In the same year, eleven brethren in Newburyport requested the same privilege, which was granted. These scattered churches and members shared largely in the perplexities suffered by the "Separatists" of the times, and frequent appeals were made to the parent church in this town, for sympathy, counsel, and assistance, in behalf of those distant members.

Nor did the parent church herself escape those perplexities, — not to call them by a harsher name. Its members were taxed to support the churches of the "standing order;" their goods were not unfrequently distrained for the payment of these taxes; their religious services were disturbed or interrupted; the "standing clergy" forbade the pastor from preaching within parish bounds; and in one instance, as he was delivering a lecture upon a week-day evening, in a private house, a stone was hurled at him through a window. Fortunately the missile failed to accomplish the intended purpose.

About 1744, the law of the province was so modified, that Baptists and others were exempted from paying taxes to the "standing order," provided they filed certificates to the effect that they attended worship and paid taxes in their own denomination. The Baptists made frequent efforts toward securing a more perfect religious freedom, and were finally successful.

On the 31st of July, 1767, the church voted unanimously to join with others in the formation of the Warren Association. In their letter upon that occasion, they state that their original number was twenty-three; that thirty-four were added to that number by baptism, in the year 1765; twenty-nine in 1766; and twenty-one in 1767; thus giving them, at the date of the letter, one hundred and seven members. The Warren Association was organized September 9, 1767, by the churches in Warren R. I., Bellingham, Middleboro, and Haverhill, Mass.; the first organization of that character ever established in New England.

At the organization of the Massachusetts forces, in 1775, Rev. Mr. Smith was appointed chaplain to the regiment of Colonel Nixon, in which were many Haverhill men. From the records of his church, under date of July 12, of that year, we find that they "voted that our Pastor shall comply with the request of Col Nixon, and supply as chaplain the quarter part of the time for the future in his regiment." Mr. Smith accepted the appointment, and served in that capacity until 1780, when he was honorably discharged, at his own request, and returned to the more grateful labors of his ministry at home. Though his pastoral labors had been in the meantime suspended, his pastoral connection remained unbroken.^o

In February, 1793, the society received an act of incorporation, under the name of *The First Baptist Society in Haverhill*.

In 1796, the society made an effort to secure for themselves a share in the parsonage lands in the town, but without success. Similar efforts were made, from time to time, as late as 1818, but were alike unsuccessful.

In 1799, the meeting-house was thoroughly repaired and improved, and a steeple erected. Samuel White, Esq., presented the society with a fine bell for the latter, which was acknowledged by a handsome vote of thanks and a vote that the donor should be exempt from all taxes for the recent repairs.

After a faithful and successful pastorship of a little more than forty years, Mr. Smith was called to a higher field of labor. He died January 24, 1805, at the age of 68 years.

Rev. Hezekiah Smith, D.D., was born on Long Island, New York, April 21, 1737, of pious and reputable parents. He received his public education at Princeton College, where he graduated in 1762, and took his master's degree in 1765. After he left college, by advice of his physician he spent some time in travel, for the benefit of his health. On his arri-

^o Mr. Smith's salary was £65 in 1794; £80 in 1798; £90 in 1803; and \$200 in 1804.

val at Charleston, S. C., he was ordained as an Evangelist; after which he visited various parts of the United States; — in one year travelling more than four thousand miles, and preaching about two hundred times. He came into New England in the spring of 1764 intending to return in the fall. He preached frequently while here, and came to Haverhill to supply the pulpit at the West Parish for a time. His preaching was remarkably successful. He was endowed with a commanding presence, rare social qualities and pulpit talent, and had enjoyed the best educational advantages of his time. He preached without notes; and his plain and practical sermons, able expositions of scripture, (in which he excelled) strong and commanding voice, and impressive manner, drew together large numbers from the neighboring parishes. When it became known that the popular preacher was a *Baptist*, (which fact was not at first even suspected) it added fresh fuel to the smouldering fires in the above parish, and the doors of the pulpit were speedily closed against him.

Mr. Smith was among the first and firmest friends of Brown University, and travelled through various parts of the country to collect monies for its benefit. At an early period he was one of its Fellows, and continued so until his death. Sensible of his talents, his theological knowledge, the excellence of his character, and its indebtedness to him for his great exertions in its behalf, that University, in 1797, conferred upon him the honorable degree of Doctor of Divinity.

On the day of Mr. Smith's death, his society met, and voted to pay all the expenses of the funeral, and also to provide the widow, her daughter, "and the girl," with "a suit of mourning."

During the ministry of Mr. Smith, three hundred and five persons were admitted to the church, including the original members.

In the May following the death of their first pastor, the church secured the services of Rev. William Bachelder, whose labors with the church in Berwick, Me., for some nine years previous, had been attended with signal tokens of divine favor. In September, the church gave him a call to settle permanently with them, which was accepted, and Mr. Bachelder was installed on the 4th of December in the same year. His salary was \$600. In this office he continued with great acceptance and success until his death, which occurred April 8th, 1818, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the twenty-sixth of his ministry.*

During this time, two hundred and nine persons were admitted to the church. But few men have passed from among us whose memories are

* Mr. Bachelder was born in Boston, March 25, 1763.

more ardently cherished by the living, than is that of Mr. Bachelder. He adorned every relation in life, the civil, social and domestic. He was unwearied in the discharge of his duties, both temporal and spiritual. The Maine Literary and Theological Institution will long cherish his memory, as one of its earliest patrons and warmest advocates.

In the July following the decease of Mr. Bachelder, the Rev. George Keely came to Haverhill, and for the first time ministered to this people. He had recently arrived, with his family, from England, where, having pursued a course of theological study, under the tuition of the venerated John Ryland at the Seminary of the Baptists, in Bristol, he had been for several years successfully engaged in the ministry. On the 21st of August following, the church gave him a call to settle, which was accepted, and he was installed their pastor on the 7th of October, 1818. His salary was at first \$800, and afterward \$600.

In April, 1820, a plan for a permanent ministerial Fund was adopted by the society. The Fund was to be formed by quarterly contributions, donations, &c., and neither principal or interest were to be used until it amounted to \$1,000, and none of the principal until it amounted to \$10,000. In April, 1822, the amount of the Fund was \$95.96. In October of that year, Mrs. Sarah How made a donation to the Fund, of \$1,000. October, 1823, Mrs. Anna, widow of Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, donated \$500. April, 1825, Mrs. Rebekah, widow of James Duncan, Esq., also donated \$500. The trustees of the Fund were incorporated in 1823. The quarterly collections were discontinued in 1828. In 1830, the Fund amounted to \$3,013.33. In 1842, about ninety-three acres of land, which was given by Mrs. Sarah How, subject to the life estate of David How, Esq., came into the possession of the trustees. In April, 1860, the Fund amounted to \$3,694.76.

In 1822, stoves were for the first time placed in the meeting-house. The same year, \$25 was appropriated for the "support of the music," which appears to have been the first appropriation of the kind. In 1830, a bass-viol was purchased by the society; and in 1834, a double bass-viol was added.

Rev. Mr. Keely continued pastor of the church until April 13, 1832, when he was dismissed, upon his resignation, after a settlement of nearly fourteen years. He still continues to reside in the town, and retains his membership in the church, honored and revered. During his ministry, one hundred and twenty-five persons were admitted to the church.

May 26th, 1832, the church extended a call to Rev. Stephen P. Hill, in which the society joined on the 4th of June. Mr. Hill accepted in July, and was ordained on the first of the October following.

In 1833, the old meeting-house was taken down, and a new one erected in its place. A neat and appropriate building was also erected a few rods east of the new meeting-house, for a vestry. When the present church was erected, the vestry was removed a short distance directly west, to How Street, and was occupied for a primary school, until the summer of 1860, when it was removed to the rear of Washington Street, and transformed into a carpenter's shop. The hill upon which the old meeting-house stood was cut down considerably previous to the erection of the second house, and still more when the present church was built. The new meeting-house was dedicated November 8, 1833.

In the fall of 1833, Rev. Mr. Hill asked and obtained leave of absence for one year, from October 1st, on the score of impaired health. The next April, he resigned his pastorate entirely. He was subsequently, and for several years, settled in Baltimore, when he removed to Washington, D. C., where he now resides.

February 2d, 1835, Rev. Edward N. Harris received and accepted a unanimous call to settle with the church and society. He was to be allowed a part of the time until the next November, to complete his studies at Andover Theological Seminary. The church at this time was unhappily distracted by divisions, and Mr. Harris was never installed as pastor. He resigned April 1, 1836.^o During the four years intervening between the resignation of Rev. Mr. Keely, and the settlement of a permanent successor, sixty persons were admitted to the church by baptism.

In July, 1836, Rev. Arthur S. Train entered upon his ministry with this society, and on the 5th of the September following, received a call to become their pastor. The invitation was accepted, and he was ordained October 20th of the same year. His salary was at first \$600, but was gradually increased, until, in 1856, it was \$1,200.

In July, 1848, it was voted to build a new meeting-house, and the present imposing structure was accordingly erected, at an expense of upward of \$17,000.

Mr. Train continued with the church until January 1, 1860. During his ministry, three hundred and ninety-one persons were admitted to the church — two hundred and twenty-five of them by baptism. The volun-

^o Mr. Harris afterward became a Universalist, and April 19, 1838, was installed as pastor of the First Universalist Society in Methuen, Mass.

tary contributions of the church and congregation during the same period were \$20,927.41.

Rev. Arthur S. Train, D.D., is a native of Framingham, Mass., where he was born, November, 1812. He graduated at Brown University in 1833, and was subsequently Tutor in that institution until September, 1836. In June, 1859, he was unanimously elected Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Duties in the Newton Theological Institution. He entered upon the duties of that office in November, although his pastoral connection with the above church was not dissolved until January, 1860. During his ministry in Haverhill, Mr. Train married two hundred and seventy-seven couples.

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The first meeting of those persons who afterward constituted the first Christian Church in this town, was held in Bradford, December, 1803, at the house of John Marble. Rev. Elias Smith, — who made his home in Portsmouth, where he had a church, — preached on the occasion. The following is a full copy of the records previous to April, 1805: —

"An account of the reformation in Bradford and Haverhill, and the gathering of the Christian Church, and its proceedings. —

"December 22, 1803. A Door was opened in Bradford (by Bro. John Marble) where Elder Elias Smith Preached the Gospel the first time in Bradford. The word had some effect.

"Sept. 26, 1804. Elder Smith Preached again in Bradford. God blessed the word to the awakening of some Souls, who soon after found peace in believing.

"Nov. 27, 1804. Elder Smith Preached at Mr. Silas Plummer's, in Haverhill. A Solemn time. The word had effect on some minds.

"The Winter following, Elder Smith, Elder Abner Jones,* Elder Pottle, & Bro. John E. Palmer, often attended meetings in Bradford and Haverhill, under whose improvement the reformation was carried on."

The following spring (April 18, 1805,) Elder Smith baptized four persons in Bradford, "who gave a reason of their hope to a number of Brethren that attended, and were considered members of the Christian Church in Portsmouth."† Between that date, and the organization of the church in 1806, fifty-four persons (seventeen males, and thirty-seven females) were baptized, by Elders Smith and Jones. Of these, thirty-nine were

* Of Charlestown.

† These four persons were Samuel Heath, Sally Johnson, Betsey Kimball, and Eliza Parker.

baptized in Bradford. The greater part of them were between the ages of twelve and twenty-five years.

The record of the formation of the church is as follows:—

"April 9th 1806. Thursday. The Church met at Mr Silas Plummer's in Haverhill.* Elder Smith attended. Most of the Brethren present. This day the Brethren and Sisters in Bradford and Haverhill who had before been considered members of the Church of Christ in Portsmouth, by the consent of the Brethren there, and their own agreement, consider themselves a Church of Christ to act in all things respecting themselves, and at the same time to be in connection with the churches in Portsmouth, Boston, Nantasket, Chebacco, and Woodstock Vermont, as all have agreed to take the New-Testament as their only rule, naming and owning the name of Christ (that is Christians) laying aside all human creeds, articles, platforms, covenants, associations, councils, and every human form of government, for the government of Christ and that only. Copied from Bro Smith's hand."

January 31, 1807. The church met at Thomas Plummer's, in Haverhill, when they "received Bro Palmer as a preacher of the Gospel, and consented to give him a letter of recommendation as such."

January 26, 1808. "The Brethren appointed Bro John Marble, Bro John Plummer, and Bro Daniel Buzzel, to collect the Church Records and copy them into a Book."

In the June following, a church meeting was held "to enquire into the minds of the brethren concerning Bro Frederick Plummer, whether they thought God had called him to preach the Gospel, and whether he ought to be Ordained as such." The brethren decided that it was his duty to work in the ministry, and on the 15th of the following September, he was ordained. The place of ordination was the beautiful grove that stood on the east bank of Little River, near the easterly end of Walnut Street.†

For several years the meetings were held in private houses, after which a large room was obtained in the upper story of a building then belonging to George W. Ayer, and situated on the site now occupied by the Whittier Block, Merrimack Street.

The church was prosperous and united for a number of years after its organization, though its practice and defence of "religious freedom in act

* His house was situated on Merrimack Street, in front of the present Baptist Church.

† Mr. Plummer was baptized May 2, 1805, by Rev. Elias Smith.

and belief" brought upon it no small share of opposition, and unpopularity. But divisions ere long began to creep in between its members, and were soon succeeded by general coldness and indifference. The interest gradually declined until the fall of 1816, when the meetings appear to have been discontinued altogether, and the body ceased to act as a church. The last entry in the records is dated October 8th of that year. The whole number recorded as baptized previous to the latter date, is one hundred and thirty-two. The church was supplied wholly by itinerant preachers during this period of its history, of whom the following names are preserved in the records: — Elders Elias Smith, Abner Jones, Henry Pottle, John E. Palmer, Samuel Rand, Frederick Plummer, Douglas Farnham, ——— Ramzey, Asa Foster. and John Capron.

In the fall of 1821, an effort was made to revive the church. A meeting was held, October 16th, at which Elder Jones preached, but the effort to resuscitate was unsuccessful. Matters thus remained until the winter and spring of 1823, when another effort was made, and this time with success. At a meeting in April (1823) the living members "covenanted anew, and were reorganized as a church, Elder Abner Jones being present.^o Soon after, several persons were hopefully converted. This was followed by a glorious revival, in which, we trust, about fifty were brought from darkness to light."

The meetings were now held in the "old Haynes house," so called, which stood near the corner of Emerson and Merrimack Streets. Early the next spring, (1824) the church commenced the erection of a neat brick chapel, on the west side of Washington Square, which was completed and dedicated the ensuing October. It was called the *Christian Union Chapel*.

In April, 1825, the church "selected Abel Nichols and George W. Ayer for Deacons, upon trial." These appear to have been the first ones chosen.† At the same time, Henry Plummer was "selected as Bishop."

June 16th, of the same year, Elder Ebenezer Robinson was "acknowledged as Pastor" of the church. He was engaged to preach only a part of the time, however, and continued with the society until April 2, 1827, when his connection was regularly dissolved.

August 2, 1826, Henry Plummer was regularly ordained to the work of the ministry, in the new chapel, and became the regular pastor of the church; though, through an informality, Elder Robinson remained nominally the pastor until the following April.

^o The whole number was thirty-two — eight males, and twenty-four females.

† Nichols resigned the office April 9, 1833.

From the re-organization, in April, 1823, to October of the same year, the desk was principally supplied by Elder Jones; and from the latter date, to the settlement of Robinson, by Elder Henry Tatem.

In December, 1829, the church "acknowledged Bro John Morse as a Deacon."

At a church meeting August 2, 1830, it was "agreed that the male members of this church form a quorum for business, without the voice of the female members, except in the receiving and excommunicating members." This, however, was not generally satisfactory, and in the January following it was "repealed."

May 8, 1832, David Evans and Oliver H. Roberts were chosen deacons; and in the following month, "James Palmer, Samuel Greenleaf, Richard Woodman, and others, were chosen as *helps* in the church."

The number of worshipers had so much increased under the constant and earnest labors of Elder Plummer, that in the above year, it was found necessary to enlarge the chapel, which was accordingly done.

Elder Plummer continued the faithful and successful pastor of the church, until the spring of 1843, when his connection was dissolved, at his own request. During his pastorate, he baptized upward of three hundred and eighty persons, and thirty others were received to fellowship.*

From the dismissal of Mr. Plummer, in 1843, until 1856, when he again assumed the pastoral charge, the church was under the successive pastorate of Rev.'s H. P. Guilford, ——— Pierce, ——— Morrison, Timothy Cole, William P. Merrill, ——— Davis, and ——— Martin. The only baptisms from December 31, 1843, to November 14, 1847, were three, all by Rev. Mr. Merrill, at the latter date. From this time there were none until subsequent to January, 1850. A revision of the records at the latter date found two hundred and seven members in good standing. December 1, 1854, John Bond was chosen deacon.

August 3, 1856, Rev. Mr. Plummer again received a call to become the pastor of the church, which he accepted. At the same time, Oliver H. Roberts was chosen a deacon of the church. April 3, 1857, John Tenney and John Brown were chosen to the same office. A revision of the church records in 1858, showed a total of one hundred and thirty-seven members in good standing, thirty-nine of whom were males.

Mr. Plummer remained as pastor of the society until the spring of 1857. He was succeeded (August 29, 1858,) by Rev. Leonard B. Hatch,

* From the re-organization, in 1823, to the settlement of Mr. Plummer, in 1830, thirty-five persons were received by baptism, and four by letters of recommendation.

who subsequently received a call to settle, and was ordained as their pastor January 5, 1859.

Soon after the settlement of Mr. Hatch, the chapel of the society was thoroughly re-modeled and repaired; and a steeple and bell added. The whole expense of the improvements was about \$8,000. The church was re-dedicated May 17, 1860. The number admitted to the church between February 1, 1859, and February 1, 1861, have been thirty-four, nine of them by letter.

Mr. Hatch continued with the society until April, 1861, when he was dismissed at his own request.^o

SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH.

About the year 1817, a few persons of the Baptist faith, — not exceeding fifteen in number, — residing in the extreme easterly part of the town, conceived the idea of holding regular religious services in the old school-house on the common, a little southeast of the present new school building. For this purpose, they joined in engaging the services of a Mr. Merrill, of Amesbury, a lay preacher, and from that time regular meetings were held on the Sabbath, and were well attended. Some two years afterward, Mr. Merrill was succeeded by a Mr. Westcott — also a lay preacher — who preached regularly until the latter part of 1820.

On the 31st of January, 1821, "A respectable number of the inhabitants in Haverhill and Amesbury, convened at Wm. Chase's;" signed the articles for a second regular Baptist society in Haverhill; and after making choice of Cutting Moody as moderator, attended prayers. Having invoked the divine blessing upon their proceedings, they completed their organization, by choosing Wm. D. S. Chase clerk and treasurer, and Cutting Moody, Samuel Pillsbury, and William Chase, "a committee to procure a teacher for the society, and draw orders on the treasurer." At a subsequent meeting, the society voted to raise the sum of \$100 to support preaching that year. The number of persons who united in the organization of the church was eighteen. Phineas Nichols and Stephen Bayley were the first deacons.

In 1822, a meeting-house was erected, and completed in the fall of the same year.† In the year following, a steeple was added. The cost of the building was about \$2,500.

^o Mr. Hatch is a native of Bristol, R. I. He prepared for the ministry at Madison University, Hamilton, N. Y.

† The land (one-half an acre) was presented to the society, by Wm. D. S. Chase.

In 1823, William Bowen, then a student at Waterville, Maine, supplied the pulpit during his vacation, and with such acceptance, that he was invited to settle here as soon as his studies were completed. He accepted the call, and was ordained in the spring of 1825. He continued with the society until 1828, when he was discharged at his own request. His salary was \$270 per year, with the privilege of three Sabbaths' vacation.

From the dismissal of Rev. Mr. Bowen, in 1828, the society was for twelve years without a settled minister. During this time, however, several candidates received invitations to settle,^o but declined. The difficulty attending the settlement of a new minister, we understand to have been the limited salary offered, and not, as is too often the reason in similar cases, the want of harmony among its members.

Happily, with the increase of years, there was a corresponding increase in the resources of the society; and in June, 1839, Rev. Isaac Woodbury received and accepted a call to settle, at a salary of \$450. Mr. Woodbury continued his labors with the society until the early part of 1842. In March, of that year, Rev. J. M. Harris accepted an invitation to become their pastor, and was ordained the same spring. His salary was \$350. Mr. Harris remained with the society until 1848.

In July, 1850, Rev. A. Brown received a call, and was ordained the September following (September 11, 1850). His salary was the same as that of his immediate predecessor. Mr. Brown continued with the society until early in 1856. In March, of the same year, Rev. C. Fletcher received a call to settle, at a salary of \$500, — but declined.

One year later, Rev. Edward Humphreys accepted a similar invitation. He was ordained May 28th, and remained as pastor of the church and society until March, 1861, when he was dismissed at his own request. The present number of church members is about eighty.

In 1857, the meeting-house was thoroughly re-modeled, and a bell added; and the house was re-dedicated in November of the same year.

FIRST UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.

The first mention we find of religious services being held in the First Parish by this denomination, is in February, 1811, when the Rev. Hosea Ballou preached in the meeting-house belonging to the above parish, for which courtesy, a card of thanks was presented to the parish, by "the

^o Rev. John Jennings, in 1836; and Rev. John Burden, in 1838. Besides these, the pulpit was occupied during this time by Rev. Asa Niles (1839), Mr. Knight (1857), and others.

members of the Universalist Society."^o There was not, however, a regular organization in the town, until March 17, 1823, when fifteen persons met at the tavern of Asaph Kendall, "and organized themselves by choosing Barnard Goodridge Moderator, & Thomas Meady Clerk & Treasurer." The name adopted, was, "The First Universalist Society in Haverhill and adjacent towns."

The first sermon before the new society, was preached by Rev. Mr. Ballou, shortly after the organization, in the old Masonic (or Assembly) Hall, which stood on the north side of Water Street, nearly opposite the ferry-way.

Public services continued to be held in the above Hall, with but few interruptions, until their new meeting-house on Summer Street was finished. The latter was erected in 1825, and dedicated April 12, 1826.†

February 28, 1826, Rev. Thomas G. Farnsworth, of Newton, received an invitation to settle with the society as their pastor, which was accepted, and he was installed April 11th of the same year.

The society was "taken into Fellowship" by the General Convention of Universalists, in 1828. In 1829, "a stove and funnel and other apparatus for warming the meeting house," was presented to the society by a large number of individuals. The next year, "a large Base Vial" was presented. A year still later, the present of a set of blinds for the windows was also suitably acknowledged. In January, 1836, a fine bell was presented to the society, by its members.

Mr. Farnsworth continued with the society until June, 1833, a period of a little more than eight years.‡ On the 27th of the last named month, thirty-seven members of the society were dismissed, "to become members of the First Parish." For an explanation of this movement, we refer the reader to our history of that parish.

At the close of the memorable strife for the parish funds, the seceding members returned, bringing with them their share, as will be seen from the following:—

"To the Committee of the First Universalist Society in Haverhill—
Gentlemen. The undersigned, a committee appointed by certain persons, late members of the First Parish in Haverhill, have certain moneys

^o *Merrimack Intelligencer*, March 9, 1811.

† The meeting-house was of brick, fifty-five feet long by forty wide, and "with five arched windows each side." It was at first without a steeple. The latter was added about 1835.

‡ Mr. Farnsworth was afterward settled over the Universalist Society, in the West Parish. In 1842, he removed to New Bedford, where he was installed June 8th of the same year. He is now a resident of Waltham.

Jany 23, 1835. Signed Ira Noyes
E G Eaton } Committee of the
Andrew Johnson } Seceders from
the First Parish."

In September, (2d) Rev. Otis A. Skinner, of Baltimore, received and accepted a call to become their pastor. He commenced his labors November 1st, and was installed over the society the following January (January 20, 1836).† Mr. Skinner labored with great faithfulness, and in the enjoyment of the esteem of all who knew him, until December, 1836, when the society reluctantly yielded to his request for a dismission, that he might accept a pressing invitation to remove to a more important field of labor. He was soon after installed over the Fifth Universalist Society in Boston.

During the ministry of Mr. Smith, a church was organized in connection with the society. It was organized June 14th, and "publicly recognized," June 25, 1837. The officers of the church are, a moderator, two deacons, a clerk, and a treasurer. The pastor is *ex-officio* moderator. The deacons, previous to 1857, were John Crowell, Samuel Johnson, John S. Fuller. The number of admissions to the church during the same period were forty-eight.

† Rev. J. B. Morse was ordained to the ministry at the same time and place.

In March, 1838, Rev. Henry Bacon, of East Cambridge, received and accepted an invitation to settle with the society, and was installed April 18th. March 31, 1840, Mr. Bacon was dismissed at his own request. He was afterward settled in Philadelphia, where he died, in 1856.

After the dismissal of Mr. Bacon, the society was without a settled pastor a little more than a year, during which time invitations were extended to a Rev. Mr. Quimby, (July 12, 1840,) and Rev. J. Shrigley, (August 23, and again November 30, 1840) neither of which were accepted.

Rev. T. P. Abell, of Castine, Me., commenced preaching for the society in March, 1841, and with such acceptance, that, April 4, he was invited to settle with them. He accepted, and was installed June 15, of the same year.

Mr. Abell was succeeded, in 1844, by Rev. Massena Goodrich, who continued with the society from November, 1844, to April, 1849.

May 6th, 1849, Rev. L. B. Mason was invited to become the pastor of the society. He accepted, May 20th, and was installed on the 30th of the following October.

In July, 1853, Rev. Calvin Damon, of South Boston, was invited to settle with the society, but declined. The following November, Rev. J. E. Pomfret received a similar invitation, which was accepted. Mr. Pomfret continued to labor with them until December 31, 1854, when he was dismissed, at his request. He immediately took charge of the society in the West Parish, where he remained until 1858. He is now engaged in the practice of medicine, in Albany, N. Y.

In 1853, the society purchased the Sheriff Bartlett estate, (where the Exchange Building now stands) intending to erect a new church edifice on that eligible site. But subsequently, the interest centered on the old site, and, in 1854, the above property was sold to Dr. George Cogswell, of Bradford, and the society proceeded to erect the present elegant church on Summer Street. The new edifice was dedicated January 10, 1856.

In 1855, the call to Rev. Mr. Damon was renewed, and accepted. Mr. Damon labored with general acceptance until October, 1857, when impaired health compelled him to seek a relaxation from pastoral labors, and the society yielded to his request for a dismission.

January 2d, 1857, the church was re-organized, and its Articles of Faith, Covenant, &c., revised. The following is its Confession of Faith:

Articles of Faith. — 1. We believe in *One Living and True God*, who is infinite in *Wisdom, Power, and Goodness*, and in every possible perfection. 2. We believe in *One Lord Jesus Christ*, who is the *Son of*

God, the promised Messiah, and the Savior of the World. 3. We believe in the *Scriptures* of the *Old and New Testaments*, as being a revelation from *God*, as containing rules for the regulation of our conduct, in all the relations and circumstances of life; as declaring the character and government of *God*, the rewards of virtue, the punishment of vice, and also revealing the great truth of the final reconciliation of all things to *God*, so that He, at last, shall be 'ALL IN ALL.' 1 Cor. 15, 18."

Since the re-organization, twenty-seven persons have signed the church covenant and articles.

The successor of Mr. Damon, was Rev. William McNeil, who commenced his labors with the society early in 1859, and continued them until January 1st, 1860, when he was dismissed at his own request.

Soon after the dismissal of Mr. McNeil, a call was extended to Rev. J. W. Hanson, who accepted, and entered upon the duties of the office in November. Mr. Hanson is the present pastor of this church and society.*

CENTRE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

This church and society had its origin in the controversy which arose in the First Parish during the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Phelps. Soon after the dismissal of the latter, in November, 1832, most of the members of the church, and others of the society, seceded, and united in the formation of an "Independent Congregational Society."† The first meeting was held April 27, 1833, at which about one hundred persons were present, and the new society was organized. The church was organized August 28, 1833, with ninety members. Barnard Brickett and Samuel Chase were chosen deacons, and on the same day Rev. Joseph Whittlesey, of Connecticut, was installed their first pastor.

The new society worshiped for a time in the Summer Street Church, then in the First Parish Church, and for a while in the Academy Hall. The corner stone of their first meeting-house was laid June 28, 1834, and

* John Wesley Hanson was born in Boston, May 12, 1823. He was ordained to the ministry at Westworth, N. H., in June, 1845, where he remained about one year, when he accepted a call as pastor of the First Universalist Society in Danvers, Mass. In 1848, he removed to Norridgewock, Me., where he remained two years, as pastor of the Universalist Society at that place. Two years later, he accepted a call from the First Universalist Society in Gardiner, Me., where he remained until his removal to Haverhill. In addition to his pastoral labors, Mr. Hanson has been almost constantly engaged in other literary pursuits. He is the author of a *History of Danvers* (1847), *History of Norridgewock* (1851), *History of Gardiner and Pittston* (1853), and of several smaller works. From 1854 to 1860, he was editor of the *Gospel Banner*, a weekly paper, published at Augusta, Me. In 1856 he represented the city of Gardiner in the State Legislature.

† In 1840 the name was changed to "Centre Congregational Society."

the edifice was dedicated on the 17th of the December following. Its cost was about \$8,000.

In February, 1837, Mr. Whittlesey was dismissed at his own request. During his pastorate fifty were added to the church. In 1836, Ezra C. Ames was chosen deacon, in place of Deacon Brickett, deceased.

After the dismissal of Mr. Whittlesey, the society experienced considerable difficulty in the selection of a successor. Among the candidates was Rev. Job H. Martyn, who occupied the desk for several months. When the council, called to consider the matter, finally decided that it was inexpedient to settle Mr. Martyn as pastor of the society, sixteen members of the church withdrew, and, with others, united in organizing the Winter Street "Union Evangelical Church." Finally, a call was extended to Rev. Edward A. Lawrence, who accepted and was ordained and installed May 4, 1839.

Mr. Lawrence labored with much acceptance and success until June 12, 1844, when he was dismissed at his own request. During his pastorate, one hundred and twenty-one were added to the church.*

The successor of Mr. Lawrence was Rev. Benjamin F. Horsford, who was settled May 21, 1845, and has labored with great faithfulness and success until the present time.†

In 1858, this church and society was again the theatre of intestine commotion. The trouble, which originated from a variety of influences, finally culminated in the spring of 1859, in the withdrawal of nearly one hundred members of the church, who immediately united in a new organization, under the name of the "North Church." Soon after the withdrawal of the above members, the parent society remodeled and enlarged their house of worship, at an expense of about 11,000. The edifice was rededicated January 27, 1860. Large accessions have since been made to the church and society, — many of them from the late Winter Street society, — and, at the present time, it is abundantly blessed with peace and prosperity.

* Mr. Lawrence was born in St. Johnsbury, Vt., October 7, 1808, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1834, and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1838. A few months after leaving Haverhill, he was settled over the church in Marblehead, where he remained until July, 1854, when he was elected Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology, in the Theological Seminary at East Windsor Hill, Conn., to which place he removed.

† Mr. Horsford was born in Thetford, Vt., November 11, 1817; graduated at Dartmouth, 1838, and at Andover Theological Seminary, in 1841. He was ordained at Haverhill May 21, 1845.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The earliest mention we find of this religious denomination in the town, is in the records of the West Parish, and we learn from persons now living that Methodism was established in the above parish many years before it took root in the First Parish.* As near as we have been able to ascertain, the first attempt to hold regular meetings in the village, was in 1830, when such meetings were held every other Sabbath, for a period of six months, in the old Masonic Hall, near the ferry-way. The next movement of the kind originated with four individuals, — Osgood G. Boynton, Moses M. Chase, Joseph T. George, and Mrs. ———, — who commenced meeting as a "class," in April, 1836, at the house of Mr. Boynton. Their success was such, that, in the following July, regular weekly services were commenced in Academy Hall. For about a year their preaching was furnished by itinerants, after which, they were regularly supplied by the Conference. The *church* was regularly organized in the spring of 1837, and continued to prosper until about 1842, at which time it numbered about two hundred members. For various reasons — prominent among which were the distractions attendant upon the "Miller delusion," — the interest about this time began to decline rapidly. In the fall of 1843, the place of meeting was removed from Academy Hall, to the new hall in the rear of the old tavern of Rufus Slocumb, known as Union Hall. At this place the meetings continued to be kept up for about one year, when they were discontinued altogether.

The present church and society originated in the formation of a class of fifteen to twenty members, August 18, 1851. They commenced holding regular services in Atheneum Hall, February 14, 1852, with an audience of forty persons. The following May, a Sabbath School was organized, consisting of four officers and six scholars. March 3, 1854, the society was legally organized, in conformity with the laws of the Commonwealth, as "The First Methodist Society in Haverhill, Mass." The present elegant church edifice on Winter Street was erected the same year, at a cost of about \$10,000, and dedicated February 16, 1855. From that time to the present, the society has continued to increase and prosper.

WINTER STREET CHURCH.

This church, at first styled the "Union Evangelical Church, of Haverhill, Mass.,"† was organized in the spring of 1839. Its origin may be

* It will be seen, by a reference to our history of the West Parish, that the Methodists held religious services in the West Parish meeting-house as early as 1806. It is worthy of note that Universalism and Methodism both made their first appearance in the town in the West Parish.

† The name was changed in May, 1853.

principally traced to the differences, or divisions, which followed the unsuccessful effort to settle Rev. Job H. Martyn over the Centre Congregational church and society. Soon after the final decision of the Ecclesiastical Council, (in January, 1839,) that it was inexpedient to instal Mr. Martyn over the last named church, he commenced preaching at the Academy Hall, whither his earnest manner, and popular style, drew large audiences. A deep religious interest was soon awakened, which finally resulted in the organization of a new church, of which he was at once the founder and the first pastor. The following account of the formation of this church, is mostly taken from the early records of the church itself.

"A number of brethren, members of the Congregational and Baptist churches of Haverhill, feeling that the interests of the cause of Christ required the organization of a new church in this place, met, at the house of brother Joseph Johnson, on Thursday, May 2d, for consultation upon the subject. After a season of prayer, and a free and protracted discussion of the subject, it was unanimously

Resolved, That in the judgment of this meeting, the interests of the cause of Christ demand the organization of a new church in this village."

One week later, an adjourned meeting was held at the same place, when "A Confession of Faith, and Form of Covenant, together with several fundamental principles of Congregational Church Government were brought forward by the Moderator, the Rev. J. H. Martyn; & after examination and discussion, with a few alterations, were approved and adopted."

The meeting then adjourned to Wednesday, the 15th inst., at which time "The brethren and sisters who were to compose the new church, assembled, at 9 o'clock A. M., at the house of brother Joseph Johnson, and spent the forenoon in prayer, for the blessing of God upon their enterprise. At this time most of them subscribed the Confession of Faith. At 2 o'clock P. M., public services were held at the Academy Hall. The Rev. J. H. Martyn preached a sermon on the nature and powers of a church."

After the sermon, twenty-eight individuals,* "having previously obtained letters of dismissal from the several churches of which they were members, for the purpose, proceeded to organize themselves into a church." (The record here gives the names of the persons, and then proceeds.)

"The principles of Church Government, the Confession of Faith, the Fence to the Communion, and the questions for self-examination, were read and publicly adopted. o o o o o The Church then proceeded

* Eleven males and seventeen females. Three of them were received "on Confession of Faith."

to the choice of officers; who were chosen by ballot. The Rev. J. H. Martyn was chosen Pastor, and Dea Tappan Chase, and Edward B. Dike, were chosen Deacons."^o

May 19th, the new church commenced holding their regular meetings in the school-house near the foot of High Street. One week later, thirty-one persons (twenty-one of them males) were received to membership in the church, by profession. Twenty-one of them were baptized the same day, by immersion, and six by sprinkling. The other four had received baptism in infancy. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to the church on the above occasion, for the first time.

As the new church was not organized by a council, according to the custom of Congregational churches, some of the neighboring churches refused to recognize it as regular, and declined granting letters of recommendation to those who desired to join it. This did not, however, prevent the new church from receiving such persons. They were "received on Confession."

Within a month from the first meeting to organize the church, a lot of land was purchased, and the erection of a meeting-house commenced. The site selected, was that on which the church now stands — on the north side of Winter Street, corner of Franklin Street. So rapidly was the work pushed forward, that services were held in the new house July 28th, — only fifteen days after the frame was raised. Temporary seats were put up while the house was being finished.

The *Society* was regularly organized August 10, 1839, by virtue of a warrant from Charles White, Esq., on the petition of Esekial Hale, Jr., and nineteen others.

The pews of the new house were completed in the following March, when they were appraised, and rented. The rents were payable monthly. This plan of raising money for the support of the gospel, continued in operation until the house was remodeled, during the ministry of Mr. Comings, when the pews were appraised and sold, and the more common plan of raising money by annual subscription, was adopted.

The whole number admitted to membership in the church, during the first year of its existence, was one hundred and seventeen, sixty-six of whom were admitted by profession.

^o June 16, Benj. Emerson, 2d, was also chosen deacon. In January, 1846, Alfred Gage was chosen, in place of Edward B. Dike, resigned. In 1857, Joseph B. Spiller was chosen, vice Tappan Chase, deceased. The latter was one of the most active and prominent of the first members of this church and society. Says one who knew him well: "Dea. Chase was a rare man. He was a safe counsellor, and an efficient actor. He was ever in his place. The church lost in him a most valuable member."

May 3d, 1841, Rev. Mr. Martyn was dismissed, at his own request, after having labored as the pastor of the church for two years. The whole number admitted during his pastorship, was one hundred and twenty, all but three of whom were admitted during the first year. Mr. Martyn immediately removed to New York, and was soon after settled over the Second Congregational Society of that city. He has since left the work of the ministry, and engaged in the practice of medicine. He is now a resident of New Bedford.

On the 23d of May, 1841, an invitation was extended to Rev. Charles Fitch to become the pastor of the church. He accepted, and entered upon his charge soon after. His salary was \$700. Mr. Fitch continued with the church but one year, when he was succeeded by Rev. George W. Finney. He had recently adopted the views of the somewhat celebrated William Miller, concerning the second coming of Christ. He preached his farewell discourse to the society May 8, 1842, and his successor commenced his labors on the 12th of the following month.^c

Rev. Mr. Finney labored with faithfulness and success for two years. He was an early and zealous supporter of the Washingtonian movement, and his labors in that direction were not without effect. After his release from the pastorship of this church, he was for several years employed by the State Temperance Society as its Agent, in which capacity he travelled somewhat extensively. He is now a resident of California.

It was during the pastorship of Rev. Mr. Finney, that the extraordinary religious excitement occurred, of which we have already made mention. In this remarkable delusion, many of the members of this church became participants, and it was nearly ten years before the church recovered from the disastrous shock. Some idea of its extent, may be judged from the fact that, in 1845, ten members of the church were excommunicated, and nine others stricken from the roll. These were "those who *went off* from this church during the excitement of '43 and '44, called the Miller excitement." From March, 1843, to May, 1853, we find no society records; and from a petition dated May 6th, of the latter year, we learn that, "for the want of officers, the society were unable to assemble in the usual manner," and it was therefore organized anew.

The successor of Rev. Mr. Finney, was the Rev. D. N. Merritt, who commenced his labors with the church January 1, 1844. He received an invitation to settle, in January, 1846, which was accepted in the March

^c Mr. Fitch died in Cleveland, Ohio, soon after.

following, and he was installed in April. Mr. Merritt remained pastor of the church until July 10, 1848, when he resigned.^c

In the November following, Rev. E. J. Comings received a call to settle as pastor of the church. He accepted, and entered upon his duties December 5, 1848. His salary was \$400. He served as pastor until April 25, 1852, when he was dismissed, at his own request. He soon after went to Ohio, and subsequently to Vermont, where he still resides.

April 28, 1850, (during the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Comings) the church unanimously voted to invite an ecclesiastical council, to consider the subject of receiving the church into fellowship with the other churches. The council met May 7th, and, after due deliberation, resolved to recognize the church, and receive them into fellowship, *provided* they would "adopt the Congregational platform as the basis of their ecclesiastical order." May 10th, the church unanimously agreed to the terms, and on the 15th of the same month, it was publicly recognized and received into fellowship, as proposed.

The total number of recorded admissions to the church, from the close of its first year to January 1, 1853, is forty. We find no record of admissions from 1852 to December 1858, though it is certain there were admissions during that period.

March 16, 1853, Rev. Leonard S. Parker was unanimously called to the pastorate of this church. He was installed June 1st of the same year. His salary was \$800. Under his ministry there was a steady and healthy growth of the church and society, the former nearly trebling in numbers, and the latter increasing in proportion. The Sabbath school became one of the largest in town, including many children whose parents attended public worship nowhere. In 1854, several members of the church united in building a house to be occupied as a parsonage. In 1856, a fine organ was placed in the church at an expense of \$1,000. In 1858, the congregation had increased to such an extent, that the house of worship was enlarged by the addition of twenty pews. At the same time a large and convenient vestry was built in the basement, and other extensive improvements made in and about the edifice. The whole cost of these changes fell a little short of \$3,000. The same year the pastor's salary was increased to \$1,000. The formation of the North Congregational Church led to the inquiry whether it was best for the cause of Christ to have three churches of the same order in the village, especially as the religious wants of the community were largely met by the new churches of other denominations. The unhappy revival of a family feud soon after, which found its way into

^c In 1853, he was deposed from the ministry, for gross immorality.

the church, and resisted its utmost efforts to settle it, although aided by the unanimous decision of two councils, and in August, 1859, issued in the secession of thirty-four persons from the church, strengthened the opinion of some, that the disbandment of this church might be a christian duty. After many meetings for conference and prayer in reference to the subject, and taking the advice of the neighboring pastors and churches, the conclusion was reached to unite with the other churches in town. Rev. Mr. Parker accordingly resigned his charge, and was dismissed by an ecclesiastical council March 26, 1860, and a few months later was installed as the pastor of the First Church and Parish in Derry, N. H. The church having previously granted letters to many of its members, on the 25th of June, 1860, voted letters to all the remaining members in regular standing, and then voted to disband. The church edifice was soon after sold to the Free-will Baptist Society for \$11,000, including the organ.

Though this church existed but twenty-one years, and passed through severe trials, yet its usefulness was marked, especially during a part of its history. The stranger was ever welcomed; and the young were particularly cared for. Probably no society in town has been sustained by more cheerful, generous, and self-denying benefactions. Many of its former members are now adding to the strength and usefulness of other churches, while some have joined the church in heaven.

THE TABERNACLE CHURCH.

When Rev. Henry Plummer left the Christian Union Society, in 1843, he was accompanied by a number of the principal members of that church, among whom were the two deacons,—Deacons John Morse and David Evans. These were joined by others,^o who believed with them that the second coming of Christ was then near at hand, and immediately after, a temporary building was erected by them for worshipping purposes, in the rear of Essex Street, near the freight depot of the Boston & Maine Railroad Company, which was known as "The Tabernacle." They temporarily organized by the choice of Mr. Plummer as pastor, and the above named Morse and Evans as deacons.

In 1852, the Tabernacle building was removed, and the present larger and more permanent building was erected in its place. The new chapel was dedicated January 27, 1853.

Mr. Plummer remained as pastor of the society until 1855, when he resigned his charge, and entered upon a new field of labor—that of an Evangelist. In 1858, the Tabernacle building was sold at public auction,

^o Principally from the Winter Street Church.



Henry Hammer

and was purchased by Mr. Plummer, who immediately re-commenced holding regular services in it, at the solicitation of some ten or twelve families of his former charge, and has so continued from that time to the present.

The church and society worshipping in the Tabernacle, at the time of the transfer of the property, in 1858, immediately removed to the Athenaeum Hall, where they have continued to hold meetings, a part of the time only, until the present time.

Rev. Henry Plummer, the founder of the Tabernacle church and society, and for so long a time its spiritual leader, is a native of this town, where he was born February 22, 1794. At an early age he learned the trade of a baker, and in 1823 established himself in that business in this town. He was engaged in this business at the time of his ordination to the ministry, and for some time subsequently, when he was appointed Agent of the Haverhill & Boston Stage Company, and relinquished the former business. In 1831, he removed to Philadelphia, and engaged in the shoe business, with his brothers. He also preached in that vicinity regularly upon the Sabbath. While in Philadelphia, he was frequently urged to return and take charge of his former church, and finally consented, after being absent about a year. Upon his return, the chapel was enlarged, of which we have already given an account.

It is worthy of note, that Mr. Plummer has never received a regular salary as pastor. From his ordination, in 1826, to his removal, in 1831, his pastoral labors were entirely gratuitous, unless we except an occasional individual donation. He was induced to return to his former charge in 1832, by assurances of an adequate support, and from that time to the present he has labored faithfully and constantly in his chosen field, relying upon the free-will offerings of his church and people. He believes that "the gospel should be free," and that its preaching should never be made a matter of bargaining; and for nearly forty years he has applied the principle to his daily practice. Mr. Plummer is a man of more than ordinary ability, perseverance, and consistency; and whether we regard him as a preacher of the gospel, or as a neighbor and a citizen, he has always commanded the respect, the confidence, and the love of all.

ST. GREGORY'S CHURCH.

The first time that religious services were held in the town, upon the Sabbath, according to the forms of the Roman Catholic Church, was the second Sabbath in September, 1850. Previous to this time, the town had been occasionally visited by the officiating priest at Lawrence, who

had several times held religious services with the people of that faith, upon a week-day. On the 10th of August, 1850, Rev. John T. McDonnell, a native of Galway, Ireland, arrived in Boston, and was immediately sent to Haverhill, for the purpose of establishing a church at this place.^o On the second Sunday in September, mass was performed for the first time. A few days later, the foundations for a church edifice were laid, and on the 4th of July, 1852, the new church was appropriately dedicated. A commodious house for the priest was also erected immediately adjoining the church. In 1859 the church edifice was considerably enlarged, to make room for the increasing congregation. Soon after the completion of the above improvements, a school for Catholic children was opened in the vestry of the church, by Mr. Francis J. Nichols, which is still in a flourishing condition.

TRINITY CHURCH.

The following account of the early history of this church, is principally taken from a pamphlet entitled "An Historical Sketch of the Church Missionary Association of the Eastern District of the Diocese of Massachusetts," by Rev. Wm. S. Perry, Boston, 1859:—

Toward the close of the year 1853, a renewed missionary spirit seems to have pervaded the Association. A committee appointed at the forty-third meeting, held at St. Stephen's, Lynn, July 19th and 20th, of that year, to address the Diocesan Board with reference to the appointment of an itinerant missionary for the Eastern district, and to devise means for his support, reported at a subsequent meeting the favorable answer of the Secretary of the Board, and an assessment on the parishes of the district for the amount of eight hundred dollars. In view of this response, and the circumstances of the town of Haverhill, a committee was appointed to visit this place, and to hold services there if deemed expedient. This was the beginning of another and a most flourishing parish.

Forming, as it did, the residence of the Rev. Moses Badger, M. A., itinerant missionary of the venerable society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New Hampshire and parts adjacent, from the years 1767 to 1774, it can hardly be supposed that one so efficient in ferreting out, in towns and hamlets, the scattering churchmen of his cure, should not have occasionally held services in Haverhill, the home of his family and his connections by marriage. In confirmation of this supposition, we may refer to casual allusions in the "Frontier Missionary," to exchanges between

^o Rev. Mr. McDonnell was born May 20, 1822. He was educated principally at Rome, and came to America soon after the completion of his studies.

the Rev. Jacob Bailey, of Maine, and Mr. Badger, which strengthen the inference that the services of the church were, from time to time, held at Haverhill. Be this as it may, the Rev. Rana Cossit, who was licensed by the Bishop of London to officiate in New England, March 27th, 1778, and who seems to have shared to a certain extent the itineracy of Mr. Badger, is expressly registered in the records at Fulham as incumbent of "Haverhill parish."^o

From this time until about the year 1820, but few services appear to have been held in this immediate vicinity.† At this date, an effort was made to introduce the church in Haverhill, and services were celebrated in a hall for nearly six months, with a regular attendance of about sixty persons, embracing some of the most intelligent and influential men of the town. The pulpit was supplied by the Rev. Drs. Wainwright and Eaton, of Boston, Morss, of Newburyport, and others, and in their absence, the services were conducted and sermons read by Mr. Hovey, a devoted churchman of the place, and a young lawyer, the present Hon. J. H. Duncan. Soon after, Mr. Hovey was removed by death, and, for want of ability to secure the services of a resident clergyman, the effort was discontinued.

Occasional services were, however, held from 1833 to 1835, mainly through the personal exertions of A. W. Thayer, Esq., now of Northampton, Mass. The Rev. James Cook Richmond, at that time in deacon's orders, officiated several times, in the Baptist meeting-house, during the winter of 1833 and the following summer. On Sunday, March 1st, 1835, the Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, D. D., Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, preached three times to large and attentive congregations, in one of the meeting-houses of the town.

Early in the month of June, 1855, Charles Wingate,‡ a parishioner of St. Peter's, Philadelphia, removed from that city to Haverhill, his native town. Anxious to extend to his relatives and friends the privilege of the church of his love, he at once began his efforts by opening, on the 17th of the same month, as a preparatory step, a Sunday school in a neighboring school-house. A correspondence with the Rector of Christ Church, Boston, requesting a supply of Testaments for the little school, revealed, incidentally, to Mr. Wingate, the fact that another gentleman in that vicinity,

^o See page 578.

† We find, in the *Merrimack Intelligencer* of August 20, 1814, the following:—"The Rev. Asa Eaton, Rector of Christ Church, Boston, is expected to preach to the Episcopal Society in this town, tomorrow." This is, we believe, the only reference of the kind we have noticed in an examination of a nearly complete file of Haverhill newspapers from 1793 to 1816.—G. W. O.

‡ Mr. Wingate is a son of Moses Wingate, Esq., and is now Rector of a flourishing church in Newport, R. I.

Mr. B. R. Downes, of Bradford, was a churchman. An interview with Mr. Downes resulted in the securing of the Unitarian meeting-house for July 22d; on which occasion the Rev. Dr. Packard of Lawrence officiated morning, afternoon, and evening, to large and interested congregations. So great an interest was excited, that a vigorous effort for the introduction of the church in this important town was resolved upon. In view of the pressing need of immediate action, the Rev. Thomas F. Fales, of Waltham, wrote at once to the Rev. W. Colvin Brown, at that time connected with the diocese of Missouri, inviting him in behalf of the Association, to take charge of the new movement, and offering to be personally responsible for his salary until his appointment was confirmed. Mr. Brown, accepted this invitation, reached Haverhill on the 11th of August, and the following day held the first regular service of the new enterprise in the chapel of the Centre Congregational Society. Beginning with a congregation of from twenty to thirty at the morning service, and a fuller attendance at evening prayer, the increase was steady and promising. The Association at their next meeting approved the course of Mr. Fales, and immediately undertook the whole support of Mr. Brown. On the 8th of October, 1855, a parish was organized by the name of Trinity Church, and the Rev. Mr. Brown invited to the rectorship. Pledges to the amount of \$2,000 for church-building purposes were immediately secured in the town, which were considerably increased in Lowell, and subsequently in Boston; and so speedy was the success of this new movement, that on the 15th of the following May, the Bishop of the diocese laid the corner stone of a neat and beautiful building, which, on the 7th of January, 1857, was consecrated by him to the worship of Almighty God. The consecration of this new church, costing, with the ground, \$6,500, of which amount \$4,800 was raised in Haverhill, and the remainder contributed by friends in Boston, Lowell, Waltham, Andover, and Lawrence, was rendered doubly pleasant to the parishoners by the meeting at the same time of the Church Missionary Association of the Eastern District, to whose willing help this rewarding result was mainly due.

Rev. Mr. Brown remained with this church until June, 1858, when he accepted the Rectorship of Zion Church, Newport, R. I., where he still resides. In October of the same year, Rev. Charles H. Seymour commenced his labors with this church, under whose care it has steadily continued to increase and prosper. The number of church members at the present time is about seventy.

Mr. Seymour is a native of Watertown, Conn., where he was born May 15, 1829. He graduated at Trinity College, Hartford, in 1851; was

admitted to Deacon's orders in 1855, and Priest's orders in 1859. In 1850, (continuing his college studies in the meantime) he became connected with the Military school, at Hamden, as instructor, where he remained about three years, when he established a similar school at West Hartford, under the name of "St. James' School." In 1854 he disposed of his interest in this school, and soon after opened another upon the same general plan, at Litchfield, in the same State, under the name of the "Wolcott Institute." Both of these schools are still in successful operation. In 1855 he was elected Principal of the "Punchard Free School," at Andover, Mass., to which place he immediately removed, and where he remained until called to take charge of the above church, in 1858.

THE THIRD BAPTIST CHURCH.

The flattering and almost unexampled prosperity of the First Baptist Society in the years immediately preceding 1858, led to the consideration of the question whether it was best to provide adequate worshiping accommodations for the large and rapidly increasing number of applicants, by an enlargement of the already capacious church edifice, or by the organization of a new society. After much consideration, the latter course was decided upon, and thirty members of the church withdrew for that purpose, and commenced holding religious services in the Town Hall, on Sunday, December 12, 1858, under the direction of Rev. Benjamin Wheeler. Early in the following February, the new church was regularly organized. They continued to worship in the above named hall until January, 1861, when they removed to the new building on Winter Street, near Spring Street, known as Music Hall, and which had been erected by some of the members of the society, partly for that purpose. The present number of church members is about one hundred and twenty.

Rev. Benj. Wheeler, the pastor of this church and society, is a native of Salem, N. H., where he was born March 14, 1807. He fitted for the ministry principally at New Hampton, N. H., and was ordained as first pastor of the First Baptist Society in Plaistow, N. H., in November, 1836. With this society, the fruit of his first, earnest, and well-directed ministerial labor, he remained until April, 1852, when he accepted an invitation to a larger field of labor, and was settled over the First Baptist Society in Randolph, Mass. In 1858, impaired health induced him to resign his position as pastor of the above church, and accept the charge of the proposed new society in Haverhill. He came to this town in December, 1858, immediately entered upon the work, and was installed as its first pastor, at the organization of the new church, in February, 1859.

THE NORTH CHURCH.

The North Congregational Society was organized March 1, 1859, and the Church was constituted on the 30th of the same month. This Church had its origin in the differences which convulsed the Centre Church and Society in the year preceding, and, with a few exceptions, was at first composed of members of the latter, who had been regularly dismissed for that purpose. April 12th, a call was extended to Rev. B. F. Horsford, to become the pastor of the new church, which was declined. Soon after, an eligible lot of land was purchased, situated on the south-east corner of Maine and White Streets, and July 20th the corner stone of a new church edifice was laid, with appropriate ceremonies. July 28th a call was extended to Rev. Alonzo U. Quint, of Jamaica Plain, which was also declined.

The new church edifice was completed the following winter, and was dedicated February 21, 1860. The cost, including the organ, was within a fraction of \$30,000. The number of pews is one hundred and thirty-two, ninety-three of which were sold for a total of \$22,500. From the organization of the church, until their new place of worship was ready for occupancy, regular services were held in the First Parish Church.

June 4, 1860, a call was extended to Rev. R. H. Seeley, which was accepted, and he was installed August 8th of the same year.

Rev. Raymond H. Seeley, is a native of Norwalk, Conn. He graduated at the New York City University, in 1839, and at the Union Theological Seminary, New York city, in 1842, and was ordained as pastor of the Congregational Church in Bristol, Conn., July 5, 1843. In March, 1849, he was called to the pastorate of the North Church in Springfield, Mass., where he remained until February, 1858, when he was selected to take charge of the American Chapel, in Paris. He remained in Paris until November, 1859, when he returned to Springfield, from which place he removed to Haverhill, in August, 1860.

FREE-WILL BAPTIST CHURCH.

This society originated in 1858, when a number of persons in Haverhill and Bradford, believing in the principles of faith as laid down in the order of the Free-will Baptist denomination, commenced holding regular meetings in the Atheneum Hall, on Main Street. The first services were held June 27th, by Rev. William C. Clark. Soon after, a lot of land was purchased on the east side of White Street, near Winter Street, and a vestry, capable of accommodating two hundred persons, was immediately erected on the rear of the lot. The building was dedicated January 6, 1859, at which

time a church was regularly organized. The latter consisted of twenty-three members.

Soon after the organization of the church, a difficulty arose among its members, which finally, December 10, 1859, resulted in a division of the church,—or, rather, the secession of a part of its members, including its pastor. A few months later, (April, 1860,) the original society purchased the church edifice of the Winter Street Congregational Society, then recently disbanded, at a cost of \$11,000, and immediately removed to that place.

A call was soon after extended to Rev. Joseph S. Burgess, then of Lewiston, Me., which was accepted, and he was regularly settled over the church and society in the following October.

RANDALL CHURCH.

This church and society had its origin in the schism which took place in the Free-will Baptist Church, in 1859, and was originally composed of the members who seceded from that church, December 10, 1859. Soon after the above division, the seceders commenced holding meetings in a hall finished for that purpose in the house of their pastor, Rev. Mr. Clark, on Duston Street. On the 13th of April, 1860, the hall was formally dedicated, and a church regularly organized by a council, under the name of the "Randall Church."° The latter now numbers fifty-four members. Though organized by a council, the church as yet stands as an "independent" church, not having applied for admission to the fellowship of the other churches of the denomination.

Rev. Wm. C. Clark, the pastor, is a native of Middleborough, Mass., where he was born, September 13, 1817. He prepared for the ministry principally at Holliston Wesleyan Academy, and was ordained at Lowell, in 1846, by the N. E. Wesleyan Methodist Conference, as pastor of the church at Leicester, Mass. In 1848 he removed to Duxbury, where he remained as pastor of a similar church, until 1850, when he accepted a call from the church in Rockport, Mass., where he remained one year, when he removed to Exeter, N. H. He continued with the church in Exeter until 1855, when he removed to Elliot, Me. Two years later, he removed to Hampton, where he resided until called to take charge of the new movement in this town, in 1858.

FREE EVANGELICAL CHURCH.

In May, 1858, a new religious society was organized in the Central village, under the name of the *Free Evangelical Church*. Rev. Charles H.

° The church is named for Benjamin Randall, the founder of the Free-will Baptist denomination in 1790.

Cole, (who had been for some time employed as a missionary in the town,) was chosen *pastor*. The object of the organization of this society, was, to provide a free meeting for all who could not, or did not choose to attend any other church. Sustained by the contributions of the public generally, it was for a time successful in accomplishing its object. The attendance was quite large,—many being induced to attend who had long been strangers in a religious meeting,—and the interesting Sabbath school connected with the society was the means of exerting an extensive and favorable influence over large numbers, who otherwise would not have been reached. Owing to a variety of causes, prominent among which may be mentioned the formation of several other new churches, and the extensive increase of worshipping accommodations, this society failed to receive sufficient support, and, after an existence of about two years, the organization was abandoned.

CHAPTER XXX.

BIOGRAPHY AND GENEALOGY.

AYER, JOHN, Salisbury, 1640, had Hannah, born 21st December, 1644, removed to Ipswich 1646, Haverhill 1647, there died 31st March, 1657. (See page 73). *John*, Haverhill, son of the preceding, born in England, married 5th May, 1646, Sarah, daughter of John Williams of the same, and next, after 1659, Susanna, daughter of Mark Symonds, of Ipswich, and removed to Brookfield as one of its first settlers, there killed by the Indians when they destroyed the town, 3d August, 1675. He kept the inn, and his children were (besides Sarah) Samuel, John, Thomas, Joseph, Mark, Nathaniel, and Edward, of whom some lived at Brookfield after its renovation. Another *John*, perhaps a son, perhaps a nephew of the preceding, was of Ipswich, lately from Haverhill, in 1679, and had a wife Mary. *Peter*, of Haverhill, 1646, youngest son probably of the first John, married 8th October, 1659, Hannah, daughter of William Allen, was freeman in 1666, a representative in 1683-5-9, and 90, and died at Boston 3d January, 1699, aged about 66. *Robert*, of Haverhill, brother of the preceding, freeman 1666, married in 1659, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Palmer, of the same, and had Samuel. *Samuel*, of Haverhill, son of Robert, freeman, 1683, married Elizabeth, daughter of Simon Tuttle, had Obadiah, (Harvard College, 1710,) John, and James; was selectman and killed by the French and Indians when they surprised the town in August, 1708. *Thomas*, of Haverhill, 1646, was probably son of John the first, and may have removed to Newbury, there had John, born May 12, 1657, and was freeman 1666.*

BADGER, GEN. JOSEPH, was the eldest child of Joseph Badger, a merchant of Haverhill, where he was born January 11, 1722. His mother, Hannah, was a daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Peaslee, one of the wealthiest and most influential men of this town.

The first person of that name in this vicinity, was *Giles Badger*, who settled in Newbury, Mass., 1643, and died July 17, 1647. His son, *John Badger*, born June 30, 1643, by his first wife, Elizabeth, had John, died in infancy; John, born April 26, 1665; Sarah, and James. Mrs. Badger

* The above is from Savage's Hist. and Gen. Dict.

died April 8, 1669. He married, for his second wife, Hannah Swett, February 23, 1671, by whom he had Stephen, Hannah, Nathaniel, Mary, Elizabeth, Ruth, Joseph, Daniel, Abigail, and Lydia. John Badger died March 31, 1691, of the small pox, and his wife soon after, of the same disease. John Badger, Jr., a merchant in Newbury, married Rebecca Brown, October 5, 1691, and had John, James, Elizabeth, Stephen, *Joseph*, (born 1698) Benjamin, Dorothy. *Joseph Badger*, son of John, Jr., was the above mentioned merchant of Haverhill, and the father of seven children, *Joseph*, Judith, Mehetable, Mary, Nathaniel, Mary, and Peaslee. Only two of them lived to settle in life, viz.: Joseph and Judith. Mrs. Badger died January 15, 1734. July 29, 1735, he married for his second wife, Hannah, the widow of Ebenezer Pearson, whose maiden name was Moody. She had by her first husband, six children, Hannah, Moody, Ruth, Ebenezer, Thomas, and Samuel. By her second husband, Mr. Badger, she had three, Enoch, Nathaniel, and Moses. Moses married a daughter of Judge Saltonstall, and settled as an Episcopal minister in Providence, R. I. Enoch moved to Gilmanton, N. H., and died in Sandown. Mr. Badger died April 7, 1760, aged 62.

Gen. Joseph Badger, son of Joseph, the merchant, married Hannah Pearson, daughter of his father's second wife, by a former husband, January 31, 1740.^o Their children were William, Hannah, Mehetable, Joseph,[†] Rebecca, Ruth, Peaslee, Ebenezer, Mary and Nathaniel (twins), Sarah, and Judith. Gen. Badger, (then *Capt.*) went to Gilmanton, N. H., then a new settlement, in the spring of 1763, sowed and planted his land, and removed his family in the July following. His was the eighteenth family in the new settlement, and at the raising of his barn that season, (the first framed building erected in the town,) he had, as he often afterward related, every man, woman, and child, to take supper with him.[‡] Before removing to Gilmanton, he lived in Haverhill and Bradford.

Gen. Badger, while a youth, served in the militia in the capacity, successively, of Ensign, Lieutenant, and Captain. He was frequently a selectman of the town, and moderator of its meetings. He was appointed, at the age of twenty-three, a Deputy Sheriff for the County of Essex, which office he held until he removed from Massachusetts to New Hamp-

^o His only sister, Judith, married at the same time Nathaniel Cogswell, a merchant of Haverhill, by whom she had nineteen children.

[†] Afterward known as the Hon. Joseph Badger, and the father of Hon. Wm. Badger, late Governor of New Hampshire.

[‡] Mr. Badger became a proprietor in the new town by purchasing shares that were forfeited and sold at auction.

shire, in 1763. He was the first magistrate in the place, and his commission as Justice of the Peace, was renewed in 1768. He also officiated in various offices in the town. In July, 1771, he was appointed Colonel of the Tenth Regiment.

In the time of the Revolution, Col. Badger was an active and efficient officer. He was muster-master of the troops raised in his section of the State, and was employed in furnishing supplies for the army. He was a member of the Provincial Congress, and also of the Convention which adopted the Constitution.

In 1784, he received the commission of Justice of the Peace and Quorum throughout the State. The same year, he was commissioned, in company with John Wentworth, John Plumer, and Ebenezer Smith, to administer the oaths of office and allegiance to the civil and military officers of the County. He was appointed Brigadier-General, June 27, 1780, and Judge of Probate for Strafford County, December 6, 1784, which office he held till May 13, 1797, when he resigned. He was also a member of the State Council in 1784, 1790, and 1791.

As a military man, Gen. Badger was commanding in his person, well skilled in the science of tactics, expert as an officer, and courageous and faithful in the performance of every trust. With him, order was law, rights were sacred, and the discharge of duty was never to be neglected. He was a uniform friend and supporter of the institutions of learning and religion. He not only provided for the education of his own children by procuring private teachers, but he also took a lively interest in the early establishment of common schools for the education of children generally. Not content with such efforts merely, he did much in founding and erecting the Academy in Gilmanton. He was one of the most generous contributors to its funds, and was one of its trustees, and the President of the Board of Trust, until his death. He was also a generous supporter of the gospel, a consistent christian, and to his hospitable mansion the ministers of religion always found a most hearty welcome.

Gen. Badger was nearly six feet in stature, somewhat corpulent, light and fair in complexion, and dignified and circumspect in his manners and conversation. His whole life was marked by wisdom, prudence, integrity, firmness, and benevolence. Great consistency was manifested in all his deportment. He died April 4, 1803, in the 82d year of his age, ripe in years, in character, in reputation, and as a christian. The text selected for his funeral sermon was strikingly appropriate: — "And behold, there was a man named Joseph, a counsellor; and he was a good man and a just."

His widow died February 19, 1817, aged 95. Her children were twelve, grand-children forty-five, great-grand-children ninety-five, and her great-great-grand-children twenty-five.*

BARTLETT, HON. BAILEY. The following sketch of this estimable man is from the *Essex Gazette*, of September 11, 1830:—

"Died in this town, on Thursday last, (September 9, 1830,) the Hon. Bailey Bartlett, the venerable Sheriff of Essex County, aged LXXX. Mr. Bartlett was descended from one of the earliest settlers of Newburyport. His paternal ancestor, John Johnson, was settled in Haverhill, by a formal writing with its principal inhabitants in 1657, who conveyed to him a house on the site of the mansion of Sheriff Bartlett, on condition of his doing the Smith's business for the Village for seven years. Mr. Johnson lived to an advanced age, when he and his wife were butchered by the Savages, and his house burnt, when Haverhill was attacked in 1708. His grand-daughter was married to Dr. Joshua Bayley, a distinguished Surgeon in the British Navy, and afterwards Physician in the village of Haverhill. Sheriff Bartlett was the only son of one of his three daughters,† and was named for his grand-father. His father was an importing merchant, and kept an English Goods store, as did the Sheriff, until 1789. Mr. Bartlett received only a common school education, but a taste for reading marked every period of his life from youth to old age; and very few men in the country have read more than Mr. Bartlett. He also had a great taste for agriculture, to which he devoted much time, and in this pursuit he made many useful and successful experiments. He was early a member of the Agricultural Society of the State and of the County. A taste for Mechanics was also a distinguished trait in the character of Mr. Bartlett. In his office he kept a Lathe and the tools of a joiner, and some of the handsomest pieces of furniture were made by him for the various members of his family; this was indeed his favorite amusement. He particularly directed his attention to the art of constructing bridges and suggested many improvements in that art.

Living at the most interesting period of our revolution, he early mingled in political life. He was one of the earliest and most constant friends of the venerable John Adams, and the fellow boarder with him and Samuel Adams, in Philadelphia, on the 4th of July 1776. He was present in the yard of Congress Hall, when the Declaration of Independence was first proclaimed, and he has often observed that it was received with great murmuring by the crowd there assembled. In 1783 he represented the

* The above notice of Gen. Badger, and his family, is mostly taken from Lancaster's *History of Chumtonton, N. H.*

Gen. Bartlett was born in Newburyport, Mass. in 1749 at Newburyport.



J. H. Bufford's Lith. Boston

"Bailey" Bartlett

town of Haverhill in the House of Representatives, and in 1789, the County of Essex in the Senate. On the first of July of that year he was appointed Sheriff of Essex. Gov. Hancock presented him the Commission in person, and stated to him that he did it with peculiar pleasure as it was the only nomination during his administration that met the unanimous concurrence of his council. He held the Office until the day of his death, with the exception of about six months, from Dec. 5th, 1811, to June 20th, 1812, when he was made the victim of the unfortunate policy of Gov. Gerry, which resulted in his defeat at the subsequent election. During the time that Mr. Bartlett was thus out of Office, his fellow citizens with great unanimity elected him Treasurer of the County. In his Office of Sheriff he was distinguished by his courtesy—his house was the mansion of elegant hospitality. Kind and indulgent almost to a fault to the unfortunate victims of the law, his purse often paid the exactions of the unfeeling creditor rather than imprison the poor debtor. In all cases of difficulty he was firm, fearless and immovable. Though decided in his politics, he never suffered political feeling to enter into his official duties, and many of his deputies were his warmest political opponents. His kind treatment to the victim of a political libel estranged some of Mr. Bartlett's political friends, but added to his character one of his brightest laurels. The same thing took place, when during the great excitement of the late war, an attempt was made to tax the humane Marshal of Massachusetts with barbarous treatment of the British prisoners, the Sheriff immediately fearlessly vindicated the character of Marshal Prince and bore testimony to his humanity.

Sheriff Bartlett, was a member of the Convention that adopted the Constitution of the United States, and that which was called to amend the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1820. In 1797 he succeeded Judge Bradbury as Representative of Essex North District, in the Congress of the United States, of which he was a member four years;—he being a member of the last Congress holden at Philadelphia and of the first which met at Washington. He was member of Congress during the contest between Mr. Jefferson and Aaron Burr, and whilst a member, was the chamber companion of the lamented Chief Justice Parker, between whom, until the death of the latter, the warmest and most cordial friendship continued to exist. Speaking of Sheriff Bartlett, just before the commencement of the late trial, to which they both fell victims, Judge Parker says in a letter to a friend, "he is one of the last men whose feelings I would intentionally

wound, having for more than thirty years known the purity and integrity of his character, both public and private."

These two friends devoted their last moments to duty and society; and though Sheriff Bartlett, at the advanced age of 80, was afflicted with a malady which would have excused a young man of thirty from attending Court, still he was determined whilst he held his office to discharge its duties. Nineteen days before his death, he attended Court, when the sentence of death was pronounced on the unhappy Knapp. He returned to Haverhill the same day, when he arrived at his house, it took several men to remove him from his chaise. He immediately took to his bed and never left it. It was his last sickness as it was his first. He never having been severely indisposed before. A life of the greatest temperance secured health to a good old age, and in his last sickness he scarcely felt a pain.

Mr. Bartlett was one of the Electoral Candidates on the federal ticket in 1804, and was elected an Elector in 1828. Mr. Bartlett was the oldest public officer living in Massachusetts, except the clerk of the County of Middlesex, and he has probably held the office of Sheriff longer than any other individual ever held it. The best commentary on his public life is, that without a dissipated or extravagant habit, he leaves his family less than half the property he possessed when appointed Sheriff.

Such was the public life of this amiable, honest, faithful and unostentatious public servant. But the brightest trait of his character cannot be known to the world. To see that, they must know the family he has reared, trained and stamped with his own similitude. Fifteen children, thirteen grown to middle age, and eleven who survive him, who never knew an angry passion or a selfish feeling. This is the brightest gem in the diadem. Seven daughters softening the dying bed of virtuous old age, is a scene which celibacy cannot witness without effect. Blessed was he in life, and thrice blessed in its close."

BARTLETT, HON. ISAAC. The Bartlett families are said to have come into England with William the Conqueror in 1066; and one of them—Adam De Barrot—settled in Stapham, Sussex. However this may be, it is certain that the Bartletts who settled at Bartlett's Cove, in Newbury, Massachusetts, came into this country from 1634 to 1637. John Bartlett came in 1634, from the County of Kent, England. He died in 1678. Richard Bartlett, a shoemaker, supposed brother of the first John, came in 1637, and died in 1647. His son, Samuel, married Eliza Titcomb, and died in 1732. His youngest daughter married the Rev. Matthias Plant, who has left MSS relating to his own time. Thomas Bartlett, son of the above Samuel, married Sarah Webster, and died in 1744. His wife died



HON. ISRAEL BARTLETT.



HON. SAMUEL BLODGET.

in 1728. Their children were Israel, Tabitha, Enoch, (who was the father of Hon. Bailey Bartlett, of Haverhill,) Dorothy, Nehemiah, James, Thomas, and Sarah.

Israel Bartlett, son of the above Thomas, married Love Hall in 1738, and died in 1754. His wife died in 1806. Their children were Joseph Hall, Sarah, Thomas, Israel, Mary, and Josiah.

Israel Bartlett, son of the above Israel, was born in Nottingham, N. H., May 8, 1748, and died in Haverhill, April 21, 1838. He married Tabitha, Walker, June 8, 1775. She died December 18, 1824. Their children were Samuel, Enoch, Mary, Henry, James, John, Sarah, George, and Charles. Only one of these (John) are now living. After the death of his father, which occurred when Israel was but six years of age, the latter went to reside with his uncle, at Bartlett's Cove, where he remained until he went as an apprentice to the Goldsmith's trade, to a Mr. Moulton, in Newburyport. When his term of apprenticeship was completed, he came to Haverhill, and established himself in the same business.

Though his early education was limited, Mr. Bartlett made such good use of his odd hours, that he became well versed in ancient and modern history, and familiar with the standard literature of his day. He enjoyed, deservedly, the respect and attachment of all who knew him. In his earlier years, he was active in the service of his country; he was present at the surrender of Burgoyne, and has left a brief account of that expedition. In 1810 and 11, also from 1816 to 21, he served the Commonwealth as a member of the State Senate. He sustained various offices in the town, and always discharged his duties with great fidelity. Shortly before his death, at the advanced age of 90, he received a renewal of his appointment, as a justice of the Peace.

For very many years he was an honored and consistent member of the First Church in this town, and, at the ripe age of 90 years, he went down to his grave strong in the hope of a glorious immortality.

BLODGET, SAMUEL, better known to our elderly citizens as Judge Blodget, was a native of Woburn, Mass., and a man of superior ingenuity, intelligence, and enterprise. He was at the taking of Louisburg, in 1745, and came to Haverhill some time previous to 1748, in which year he married Hannah White, of "Haverhill District." In 1759, he established pot and pearl ash works in this town, which were among the first in the country, and kept them in successful operation for many years. Removing to New Hampshire, some time previous to the Revolution, he was appointed Judge of the Inferior Court, in the County of Hillsborough, which office he held for some years. Judge Blodget was possessed of great

mechanical ingenuity, and was the originator of several valuable inventions. In 1783, he bought a ship which was stranded near Plymouth, and with a machine of his own invention raised the vessel, and recovered the whole cargo. The latter was mostly tea, which the Judge carefully dried, and sold, making quite a fortune by the operation. Encouraged by this success, he went to Europe, for the purpose of raising money from a rich Spanish ship, but was not permitted to make the attempt. He then went to England, and sought permission to attempt the raising of the *Royal George*, one of the largest ships in the British Navy, but with no better success. He was looked upon as a Yankee enthusiast. Returning to the United States, he soon after established in this town a factory for the manufacture of linen duck. A part of the machinery was of his own invention, and his factory, which was one of the very first in the country, was one of the principal objects of attention in the town at the time of President Washington's visit. The enterprise proving unprofitable, it was finally abandoned.

Judge Blodget was one of the first to advance the idea that it was the duty of the government to encourage and protect home manufactures, and in the hope that his influence might make a greater impression upon the public mind, he was, in 1791, chosen to represent the town in the General Court.

In 1793, he began a canal at Amoskeag Falls—known as Blodget's Canal. Upon this, and in attempting to lock the falls he labored several years, and expended all his property—but without accomplishing his object.

The Judge was a generation ahead of his time, which will account for nearly all his failures. He was possessed of a genius which would, under proper cultivation, and favorable circumstances, have immortalized his name. He intended to have lived to the age of 100 years, at least. Rigid temperance, activity, and sleeping with open doors and windows, were, in his opinion, the true *elixir vitæ*. He therefore slept with the windows of his chamber open, in all weathers and at all seasons, and never allowed himself to wear either "great coat" or mittens. He enjoyed uninterrupted vigor, cheerfulness and health, until his 85th year, when his scheme like so many of his others, failed. Early in 1807, in travelling from Boston to Haverhill on a cold and stormy night, in an open sleigh, he was so thoroughly chilled, that on arriving home he was unable to speak, and was with great difficulty rescued from immediate death. From this shock he never recovered, In the following August he died, of consumption.

BRADLEY, ISAAC. "*Died*.—In this town, on the 15th inst., Mr. Isaac Bradley, aged 83. It is remarkable that his grandfather assisted to build the first meeting house in this town; his father the second; and he the third in the same parish. His grandfather was killed by the Indians; and his father, a captive among them, made his escape at 15 yrs old thro the trackless wood from Winnepiseogee Pond to Saco fort without any guide but sun and stars, or rather a kind and wonderful Providence. The subject of this obituary sustained a state of almost helpless infirmity for 30 years with patience and unrepining submission. Near his death he called around him his children and grandchildren, and like a good old patriarch, gave them his affectionate blessing and pious counsels. He died full of the hopes of that religion of which he had been a professor thro a long life."—*Observer*, (Haverhill) Jan. 22, 1802.

BRICKETT, GEN. JAMES, was a native of Haverhill. He practiced physico successfully for many years, in this town, both before and after the war of the Revolution. He was Surgeon's mate in Col. Frye's Regiment, at Fort Frederick, from March 30, 1759, to July 30, 1760, and perhaps longer. On the breaking out of the dispute between the Colonies and Great Britain, he ranked himself with the Whigs, and became a firm and devoted patriot. He was one of the principal movers in the organization of the Haverhill Artillery Company, in 1774, and was its first Captain. He was a member of the first "Committee of Inspection" in the town, (1775.) On the breaking out of hostilities, in April 1775, he hastened to Cambridge, where he was commissioned (May 20) as Lieutenant Colonel in Col. Frye's Essex Regiment. Owing to the illness of the latter, Lieut. Col. Brickett commanded the regiment at the occupation of Bunker Hill, on the night of June 16, 1775, and until wounded on the day following.* He was subsequently (July 5, 1776,) appointed by the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, Colonel of a Battalion to be raised in the Counties of Essex, &c. A few days later, (July 11,) he was appointed Brigadier-General of the forces to be sent to Canada, and commanded the Massachusetts Levies for the Northern Army, arriving at Ticonderoga, August 12th, 1776. He was President of a Court Martial held at Albany, December 2, 1776, for the trial of Arnold, on complaint of Col. Hazen, (5 Am. Arch. iii, 1012). In September, 1777, he went as a volunteer with the company which marched from Haverhill to the Plains of Stillwater, under the command of Capt. Nathaniel Marsh, and arrived just after the cessation of arms had been declared. He was appointed (October, 1777,) one of Gen. Gate's Brigadiers, and commanded an escort of about five hundred militia, detached to

* See page 592.

guard a division of Gen. Burgoyne's troops from Saratoga to Boston.^o In this expedition he incurred considerable expense, and when he laid his account before Congress, that body refused to remunerate him, because he was not then an officer of the army.

He was chairman of the committee of the town of Haverhill in 1786, and drafted the reply to the town of Boston, addressed to all the towns in the State concerning the common interests of the country, which was characterized by the most ardent patriotism, and signal ability.[†]

He was a member of the Constitutional Convention at Boston, in June, 1780; was chairman of several important committees in the town during the great struggle for Independence, and an active and influential member of most of them; was moderator of the town meetings from 1780 to 1784, inclusive; and was chairman of the board of selectmen from 1779 to 1782, inclusive, during which time the board were also, *ex-officio*, assessors and overseers of the poor. Gen. Brickett, or, as he was usually called by his townsmen, "Dr. Brickett," was highly respected by all who knew him, as a kind and skilful physician, an obliging neighbor, a genial companion, a liberal and enterprising citizen, and a man of undoubted honor, patriotism, and integrity. He died December 9, 1818, aged 81 years.

BROWN, HENRY YOUNG, was born in Haverhill October, 1730, and died at Fryeburg, Me., October 15, 1796. He married Elizabeth Lovejoy, of Andover. Their only child who survived infancy was Elizabeth, (born 1757, died 1790,) who married Col. Joshua B. Osgood, senior, also a native of Haverhill, (born 1753, died 1791).

Captain Brown was a prominent and influential man. A Captain in the French War, he had granted him, by the General Court of Massachusetts, a township of land adjoining Fryeburg, Maine, to which he gave his name — Brownfield. The limits of the town originally included a part of Fryeburg Village, and the Brown mansion was at the head of the Main Street, where his descendants still reside. He was one of the founders of Fryeburg Academy; was a man of great energy, and public spirit, and has left a memory that will not soon die in that region of country.

CHASE, AQUILA, mariner, said to have been from Cornwall, England, was in Hampton in 1640; he then married Anne, daughter of John Wheeler, formerly of Salisbury, England. He had a grant of four acres of land at Hampton. His dwelling was near the landing. In 1646, he removed to Newbury, that town having "Granted to Aquilla Chase, anno 1646, four acres of land at the new towne for a house lott where it is to

^o See page 402.

[†] See page 433.

be had, also on condition that he do go to sea, and do service in the towne with a boat for foure years."^o There is a tradition in the family that he was the first person who brought a vessel over Newbury bar. The children of Aquila were Sarah, Anne, Priscilla, Mary, Aquila, Thomas, John, Elizabeth, Ruth, Daniel, and Moses. Aquila, son., died December 27, 1670, aged 52. His will is dated December 19, 1670. His estate was inventoried at £336.14.3.

John, son of Aquila, born November 2, 1655; the first Chase who settled in upper Newbury; married, first, Elizabeth Bingley; and, second, Lydia ———. His children were William, Phillip, Charles, Jacob, Abraham, John, Phebe, Mary, Lydia, Elizabeth, and David.

David, born October 20, 1710, the eleventh, and probably youngest child of John (by his wife Lydia) married Sarah Emery, November 24, 1729, and had several children: — David, born December 1, 1730; Joshua, born October 21, 1733; Anthony, born December 6, 1735; Tristram, born January 23, 1737; Simeon, and three daughters.

Anthony, son of the above David, and who was a soldier in the expedition to Cape Breton, married Abigail Woodman, of Newbury, June 29, 1758, and settled where Deacon Charles Coffin now lives, in East Haverhill. He purchased the water privilege and about two acres of land at that place, about a year previous to his marriage, and at once erected a clothing-mill and a dwelling-house. He subsequently erected a saw and grist-mill, and became in time a large land owner. His children were Robert, 1759; Sarah, 1761; Robert, 1763; Woodman, 1765; Stephen, 1767; Joseph, 1769; Abigail, 1771; John, 1773. He married, second, May 1, 1782, widow Sarah Swett, of Haverhill, by whom he had Nancy, 1784; and David, 1787.

Joseph, son of Anthony and Abigail, born —, 1769, married Deborah Williams, of Amesbury, born —, 1763, and settled on the farm now owned and occupied by John B. Nichols, Esq., in East Haverhill. Their children were Nancy, born —, 1793; Tappan, born May 22, 1795, died March 6, 1796; Mary, born August 14, 1797; Tappan, born January 16, 1800; William, born March 10, 1802, died October 14, 1831. Joseph, the husband, died February 17, 1845; Deborah, the wife, died May 14, 1847.

Tappan, son of Joseph and Deborah, was born January 16, 1800, and married, September 14, 1825, Hannah, daughter of Col. John Johnson, of Haverhill, born July 8, 1803, and settled on the farm above mentioned. Their children were George Wingate, born June 19, 1826; Abigail Johnson,

• Newbury Town Records.

born April 23, 1828, died, unmarried, July 1, 1847; Matilda, born January 17, 1830, died May 7, 1834; Sarah, born February 14, 1832, died, unmarried, August 4, 1848; Matilda, born February 7, 1834, died, unmarried, August 27, 1852; William, born December 27, 1835; Charles Tappan, born August 28, 1837, married, October 8, 1857, Charlotte Elizabeth Burr, born May 22, 1837, children, Emeline Frances, born August 4, 1858, Frederick Henry, born September 12, 1860; Emeline, born July 23, 1841, died August 10, 1841. Deacon Tappan Chase died April 27, 1857.

George Wingate, son of Tappan and Hannah, married, December 29, 1849, Frances A., born June 9, 1830, daughter of Christopher Dyer, Esq., of New Sharon, Me. Children, Charles Dyer, born November 16, 1850; Abigail Matilda, born June 19, 1853; Sarah Ann, born May 21, 1861.

COGSWELL, NATHANIEL, Esq., son of Hon. Thomas Cogswell, was born in Haverhill, January 19, 1773, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1794, studied with Ebenezer Smith, Esq., of Durham, N. H., and commenced the practice of the law in 1805. He soon after took the tour of Europe, returned, and, in 1808, established himself in Newburyport. He was appointed Aid to Major-General Brickett, afterward went to Mexico, where he became a General in the Spanish Patriot army, and died at the Rapids of Red River, in August, 1813, aged 40.

Hon. Thomas Cogswell, son of Nathaniel and Judith (Badger) Cogswell, was born in Haverhill, August 4, 1746. He was one of a family of nineteen children. At the age of 24, (February 26, 1770,) he was married to Ruth Badger, daughter of General Joseph Badger, of Gilmanton, N. H. He lived in Haverhill, where he had three children, until the commencement of the Revolutionary War, when he entered the army, and his wife and children went to reside with her father, in Gilmanton. He was out during nearly the whole war. He entered the service as Captain, and rose to the rank of Colonel. At the close of the war, he returned to Gilmanton, settled near his wife's father's, and was soon a prominent man in the town. He served as moderator, and frequently as selectman, and was one of the original trustees of the Academy. In 1784, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, which office he held till his decease, in 1810. He had eleven children, one of whom, Nathaniel, was the second graduate at Dartmouth from Gilmanton. Two other sons died in the army, during the war of 1812: — Francis, who graduated at Dartmouth College, in 1811, and was a Lieutenant in the army, died at Plattsburgh, N. Y., December 8, 1812; and Thomas was killed at Chatteaugay, N. Y.,

October 26, 1813. Judge Cogswell was twice a candidate for Representative to Congress. In September, 1804, he donated \$75 to the First Congregational Church in his town, for the purpose of purchasing a "sacramental service" for its use. After his decease, the church erected a large pair of grave-stones to his memory. He died September 3, 1810, aged 64 years. His widow died October 16, 1839, aged 88 years.

CORLISS, GEORGE, was born in England about the year 1617, and came to this country 1639. He married Joanna Davis, October 26, 1645; she came from that part of England called Wales; they had one son and seven daughters. Corliss died October 19, 1686. He left an extensive farm in the west part of Haverhill, which he divided, by will, among his children, giving his home farm to his son John. To his daughter, Mrs. Mary Neff, he gave the farm one mile east of his home farm, being the farm where William Swasey now lives. Mrs. Neff was taken by the Indians with Mrs. Duston, and remained with her through the whole captivity.

John, son of the above George, was born March 4, 1647, and married Mary Milford, December 17, 1684; they had four sons and two daughters. He lived and died on the same farm and over the same cellar where his father had lived and died. He died February 17, 1698, leaving the farm to his eldest son, John.

John, grandson of George, was born March 14, 1686, married Ruth Haynes, of Haverhill, about 1711. They had thirteen children. He was a man of large stature, more than six feet in height and well proportioned. He had a commanding voice, spoke loud and distinctly, and was often well understood at the distance of more than a mile. He died November, 1766. At his death, his son Joseph came into possession of the farm—having previously received a deed of it from his father, who reserved a privilege in it for himself and wife.

Joseph, son of the last named John, was born in 1724. He married Mary Emerson, February 19, 1746, and had seven children. He died November 3, 1762, leaving his farm to his sons, Joseph and Ephraim.

Ephraim, son of Joseph, was born August 13, 1751. At the age of twenty-one, he came into possession of that half of the farm which his father left him, by will, and soon after, he purchased of his brother Joseph the remainder of the farm. At the age of twenty-five, he married Lydia Ayer, of Haverhill. Twelve days after his marriage, he joined a company of militia, and served three months as a private soldier, travelling more than nine hundred miles that winter. He had three sons and two daughters, and died October 25, 1824.

Ephraim, son of Ephraim, was born March 13, 1782, married February 21, 1826, had one son and two daughters, and died July 5, 1858, leaving his home farm to his son, *Charles*, (of the seventh generation) who now lives on the farm inherited from his father, and the same that was first owned by George Corliss, in 1640.

DUNCAN, GEORGE, son of George, (who lived and died in Ireland) came to this country with the early settlers of Londonderry, N. H., accompanied with his second wife, Margaret Cross, and his seven children. They were John, the eldest by a former marriage; and George, William, Robert, Abraham, Esther, and James, by the second marriage.

James, son of the above George, married Elizabeth Bell, third daughter of John and Elizabeth Bell, and was a merchant in Haverhill, Mass. He died in 1818, aged 92 years. His wife died in —, aged about 47 years. Their children were, John, who died unmarried; Samuel, of Grantham, N. H., who married a Miss Emerson, and had several children; Robert, who was a Representative of Grantham, married a Miss Emerson, had a son, Samuel B., and died in 1807; Abraham; William, who lived in Concord, N. H., married a Miss Harris, had a son James, and three daughters, and died about 1795; (his widow removed to Ohio with her son James, and died in 1835); James, who married Rebecca White, of Haverhill, and died January 5, 1822, leaving two sons, Col. Samuel W., who died October 21, 1824, aged 34, and Hon. James H., who married Mary, daughter of Benjamin Willis, of Boston; Elizabeth, who married John Thaxter, Esq., of Haverhill, and afterward Joshua Carter, of Boston; Margaret, who married Thomas Baldwin, D.D., of Boston; Mary; and three others.

Hon. James H. Duncan, was born in Haverhill, Mass., December 5, 1793. His father, James Duncan, Esq., was a prominent merchant, and a descendant of the colony of Scotch-Irish who settled Londonderry, N. H. His mother, Rebecca White, was a descendant of William White, one of the first settlers of Haverhill. The subject of this sketch early manifested a love for books, and having passed the usual course of preparation at Phillips' Exeter Academy, entered Harvard University, in 1808, at the early age of fourteen. Notwithstanding his youth, he maintained a high rank in scholarship, and graduated in 1812, with an honorable part. Having pursued the study of the Law in the offices of Hon. John Varnum, at Haverhill, and Leverett Saltonstall, Esq., at Salem, he was admitted to the Essex Bar in 1815, and immediately entered upon the practice of his profession, in Haverhill, and continued in it with fidelity and success.



Respectfully Yours
James H. Duncan.

until he took his seat in Congress, in 1849, when he resigned the active duties of the profession.

A short time previous to his admission to the Bar, he was elected Ensign in the Haverhill Light Infantry Company, of which he was a member, and, passing through the various grades of militia service, he rose to the rank of Colonel, which office he held several years, and until he resigned his commission. Being extensively engaged in farming, in which he has always taken a lively interest, he was early elected a Trustee of the Essex Agricultural Society, of which he was also President from 1836 to 1839. On the formation of the National Republican party, in 1827, he was, by the united votes of the Federal and Democratic parties, elected to the House of Representatives, and in the following year to the Senate, of which he continued a member three successive years, and until he declined a re-election. In 1837, and 1838, he was again elected to the House, and in the two following years to the Council of Massachusetts. On the adoption of the district system, in 1857, he was again elected to the House of Representatives, where he at all times held an honorable and influential position.

On the passage of a State Insolvent Law, in 1838, he was appointed one of the Commissioners in Insolvency; and on the passage of the United States Bankrupt Law, in 1841, he was appointed Commissioner in Bankruptcy, which office he held until the law was repealed.

In 1839, he was elected as delegate to the National Republican Convention at Harrisburg, which nominated General Harrison for President. In 1848, he was elected to represent his district,—then the largest manufacturing district in the United States—in Congress, and was re-elected for a second term, in 1850.

Having always manifested a lively interest in all literary and benevolent institutions, his education and character have marked him as a prominent member of many of them, particularly those of the Baptist denomination, of which he is a member. Since 1835 he has filled the office of Fellow of Brown University.

Mr. Duncan is one of our largest, and most liberal, as well as enterprising real estate owners, and has done much toward promoting the general business prosperity of the town. He has for many years resided upon the beautiful estate, corner of Main and Sumner Streets, originally owned by Moses B. Moody, Esq. The elegant mansion was designed by the celebrated architect, Haviland, and we believe there is but one other of the same style of architecture in the United States.

EAMES, THEODORE, was a native of Haverhill, and a graduate of Yale College. He studied law in the office of Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, at Salem, and for several years successfully practised in that city. He afterward, and for a number of years, was Principal in the Salem Grammar School. From Salem he removed to Brooklyn, N. Y., to take charge of a school in that city; and was subsequently appointed Police Judge, which office he held at the time of his death, in 1847. He was a man of strict integrity, great energy, and universally respected.

EATON, PETER, D.D., was a native of Haverhill; one of the early pupils at Phillips' Academy, at Andover, and a graduate of Harvard College of the class of 1787. After completing his professional studies at Haverhill, he was settled as pastor of the church in Boxford, in 1789, where he continued to labor until his death, April 14, 1848, at the age of 83 years, and in the 58th year of his ministry. His erect and manly bearing; his ardent piety; his frank and cordial greeting; his generous hospitality, and open-handed charity, will not soon be forgotten by the many who knew him and loved him.

EMERSON, CAPT., NHEMIAH, was a descendant of Michael Emerson, who settled in Haverhill in 1656, married Hannah Webster, and whose eldest daughter, Hannah, married Thomas Duston, of heroic memory.

Mr. Emerson was one of those who "marched on ye alarm April 19, 1775." When the alarm reached Haverhill, he was at work on the roof of Deacon Dodge's house, corner of Main and Vestry Streets. He at once hurried home, changed his clothes, joined the company of Lieutenant Samuel Clements, and made all haste to the scene of action. From a private he gradually rose to the rank of Captain. He served through the whole of the war, visiting his home but once during the whole period.* He was at Bunker Hill; at Valley Forge, during that memorable winter; at Burgoyne's surrender; and was one of the guards at the execution of Andre. His persevering patriotism, courage, and integrity, secured him the friendship and esteem of Washington, Lafayette, Kosciuszko, and Steuben, the memory of whom was dearly cherished by him to the end of life. Several years after the war, as Mr. Willis of this town was walking through the grounds at Mt. Vernon, he met President Washington, who engaged in conversation with him. On learning that he was from Haverhill, Washington enquired particularly about Captain Emerson, who, he observed, was "a brave officer, a good disciplinarian, and *never lost his temper.*"

* Four of his brothers, — Jonathan, Samuel, Nathan, and Moses, — were also in the army of the Revolution.



Nehemiah Emery

Mr. Emerson settled on the old homestead, so long in possession of his family, where he continued to reside until his death. He was a kind-hearted, gentlemanly man, not ambitious of worldly distinction, but honest and upright; and his memory is cherished with respect. He died December 11, 1832, aged 84 years.

How, DAVID, son of Deacon James How, was born in Methuen, Mass., in 1758. He was the third of a family of ten children, — six sons and four daughters. All the sons served in the Revolution. Three of them were at the battle of Bunker Hill.

David was a currier by trade, having learned the business while living with his grandfather (Farnham) at Andover, Mass. He was one of those who marched to Cambridge on the Lexington Alarm, and was also of the number that occupied Bunker Hill on the night of the 16th of June. On the day of the battle, he was stationed in the "fort," and thus took an active part in the struggle. Just at the close of the action, having discharged his gun, the soldier who stood at his side was shot down, when How seized his comrade's gun, "let fly" at the British, and under cover of the smoke, retreated from the fort. Mr. How always gave a large part of the credit due for the glorious work of that day, to Col. Prescott. Many years after that eventful day, and but a few months before his death, a person read to Mr. How an article from a Boston paper, relating to the battle, and asked his opinion of Gen. Putnam. He replied that he "never heard anything against him in the army." He was then asked what he thought of Col. Prescott. He answered, "had it not been for Col. Prescott there would have been no fight." Pretending that he was not quite understood, the person repeated the question, but the answer was the same. Not yet satisfied, the question was again pressed, when How arose from his chair, stood erect, and, raising his hand, exclaimed, with all the power of voice he could summon — (for some years his voice had been scarcely audible,) — "I tell ye that, had it not been for Col. Prescott, there would have been no fight. He was all night, and all the morning talking to the soldiers and moving about his short sword among them, in such a way, that they all felt like fight."

On the 27th of the December following the above battle, How, then scarcely seventeen years of age, enlisted for the war. Though young, his spirit had already caught the true patriotic fire, and through all the long and arduous struggle, he never for a moment doubted the final result. He was at Haarlem Heights, and at Trenton. At the latter battle, he took from a Hessian soldier his gun and knapsack, both of which are still in the possession of his grandson, David W. Howe, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

After the close of the war, Mr. How went to New London, N. H., where he bought and partly cleared a lot of land, intending to settle upon it as a farmer. But his wife was so unwilling to remove thus far into the wilderness,^o that he gave up the idea of becoming a farmer, and finally removed to Haverhill, where he commenced, in a very humble way, in the basement of a small shop on Water Street, the business of currying. His peculiar suavity of manner, strict integrity, industry, and Yankee propensity to "trade and dicker," soon secured him a firm hold upon the business of the place. He gradually added a variety of other articles of trade to his little stock of leather, until in time he became the largest trader in the town.

From his little shop on Water Street, he removed to a store near the west end of the Bannister Block, on Merrimack Street. Subsequently he built the block now occupied by John Davis, and Willett & Co., (next but one south of Mechanics' Court, west side of Main Street,) to which he removed. He occupied nearly the entire building, which was kept literally filled with goods. Still later, he was instrumental in the erection of the pile of brick buildings extending from the bridge to the Essex Block, on Merrimack Street, and had charge of their erection. The two west stores were owned by him; the next two by James Duncan, Esq., and the rest of the block, to the toll-keeper's house on the bridge, was owned by Wm. B. Bannister, Esq., of Newburyport.

Mr. How was among the first to engage in the wholesale manufacture of shoes in the town, and was the first one who manufactured them in large quantities, for a distant market. During the war of 1812, he sent a large lot of them to Philadelphia, by his own team, realizing a handsome profit on them. He was the first to keep on hand large quantities of leather, to exchange for shoes. Such was his interest in the business, and his energy and enterprise in carrying it on, that he may almost be called the *founder* of the shoe business in this town.

An idea of the large amount of business done by him may be judged from the fact that during the war of 1812, he was offered \$100,000, for the stock of goods he then had in his store, but refused.

With his early love of farming, Mr. How invested largely in farming lands, and was at one time probably one of the largest land owners in the County, if not in the State. Liberal minded and enterprising,† he im-

^o His first wife was a Whittier, of Methuen; his second, a daughter of Isaac Reddington, Esq., of Haverhill; and his third, Sarah, daughter of Samuel White, Esq., also of this town.

† Mr. How was the first one to introduce and advocate the use of plaster on lands. To prove its efficacy, he caused it to be sown in a peculiar manner, on the southerly side of Golden Hill, and for months afterward, the mammoth "D H" etched in living green, proved to the passer-by its claims to confidence.

parted a like spirit to his fellow-townsmen, the surpassing influence of which cannot be estimated. Thousands upon thousands of apple and pear trees, now in the full vigor of maturity, and yielding their ample crops of delicious fruit, are visible and tangible monuments of his enterprise and practical forethought. Through all the sixty years of his residence in this town, Mr. How commanded the unqualified respect and confidence of all who knew him. Mr. How was never an office-seeker, and therefore the fact that he represented his town in the General Court for twelve years, is ample proof of the confidence reposed in him by his fellow-citizens. During the early years of the Merrimack Bank, he was its President. He was a large owner in the Haverhill Bridge, and, indeed, was more or less connected with every worthy local enterprise of the day.

His farming operations were never profitable, from the fact that he could not personally oversee such extensive operations, and at the same time carry on a large commercial business.

For many years, he was a sort of "savings bank" for those of his townsmen, and others, who happened to have money that they did not wish to make use of for the time.^o Such were always glad to have him invest their money for them, and his simple promissory note was considered equally as secure as the best bank stocks of the present day.

The knowledge on the part of those to whom he was thus indebted, that his farms were rather a pecuniary damage to him, and that^u his liabilities were large, ultimately proved his misfortune. A rumor (unfounded, but equally fatal,) that he had recently become embarrassed by heavy losses, led to a sudden "run" upon him by these persons. Unable to meet the sudden torrent of demands, and refusing *security*, (never having done such a thing in his life!) suits were piled upon suits, and costs upon costs, until a large property was nearly consumed. It is a remarkable fact, that, at the time the panic occurred, not a dollar of the large property then in his hands was mortgaged!

Mr. How died February 9, 1842, in the 85th year of his age. Many yet living have ample cause to remember him with love and respect. To the poor, he was no ordinary friend. His hand was always open to their wants, and they never failed to find relief in his charities. His enterprise furnished employment for many an humble individual, whose wages were regulated by no miserly standard. He was a "father of the town," in the highest sense of the title, and will long be remembered for his sterling worth.

^o The first Bank in the town, was incorporated in 1814. The Savings Bank was not established until 1839.

Isaac Redington How, son of David How, Esq., was born in Haverhill, March 13, 1791. He graduated at Harvard 1810, and after pursuing his legal studies with Hon. William Prescott, of Boston, commenced his profession at Haverhill, and acquired in it a highly respectable rank. But his taste and inclination led him, mainly, to literary pursuits, and he gradually avoided his practice in the law. He was a constant and severe thinker, and wrote much for the press. He was especially interested in whatever related to the mechanics and the arts, and in these matters his mind was far in advance of his age. He was never selfish or partizan in his character, or committed his conduct or opinions to the dictation of others, but aimed at truth, and the general good. He was a useful and respected citizen, and a high-minded, intellectual, christian gentleman. He died at Haverhill, January 15, 1860.

JOHNSON, JOHN, the first of this name who settled in Haverhill, was a son of William, a brick-maker of Charlestown, Mass. He came to Haverhill in the fall of 1657, with his wife, Elizabeth, who was a daughter of Elias Maverick, of Charlestown, and one child, John, who was born August 3, 1657. He settled near the corner of what is now Main and Water Streets, and a part of his original house-lot is still in the possession of his lineal descendants.* As a blacksmith's shop in those days was one of the most public places in a town, it is quite probable that his settlement in that place was a prominent reason why the principal business of the town became located in that vicinity. Besides the house-lot and other town accommodations given him, February 9, 1659, to encourage him to settle here, he bought parcels of land, at various times, until he became quite a large land-holder, but at the time of his death he had sold and given away to his children, all but about seventy-five to one hundred acres — some of which was situated in the town of Charlestown.

Mr. Johnson was an active and useful citizen, and became the founder of one of the largest and most respectable families in this town. He represented the town in the General Court, in 1691; was one of the deacons in the church; and an officer in the militia. At the terrible slaughter of the inhabitants by the Indians, August 29, 1708, he was killed at his own house, and buried in the old burying-ground, with the other officers in the militia, near Mr. Rolfe, their pastor.

Mr. Johnson was married three times, — first, to Elizabeth Maverick, October 15, 1656, who died March 22, 1673-4; second, to widow Sarah Gillo, of Lynn, March 3, 1674-5, who died July 24, 1676, at the time

* See page 82.

her twin-daughters were born; and third, September 8, 1680, Katherine, widow of John Maverick, and formerly Katherine Skipper, of Boston, who was killed by the Indians at the same time as was her husband.

He had at least ten children: John, born August 8, 1657; Elizabeth, born November 16, 1659; Ruhama, born September 10, 1661; William born November 14, 1663; Sarah, born August 2, 1665; Ruth; Ruth, born February 14, 1669; Timothy, born June 31, 1672; and Mary and Rebecca, twins, born July 17, 1676.

Timothy, son of John, married Ann Maverick, and died September 21, 1696, leaving one child, Elizabeth, who married Dr. Joshua, Bailey, by whom she had Ann, Mary, Sarah, Elizabeth, Mary, Anna, (who was the first wife of Enoch Bartlett, by whom she had one child, Bailey, who was the Hon. Bailey Bartlett,^o) and Abigail, (who married Isaac Osgood, from Andover).

John, (a blacksmith, and who was also called Lieut. Johnson,) son of John and Elizabeth (Maverick) Johnson, was also married three times, — first, to Mary Mousall, September 8, 1680; second, to Lydia Clement, February 19, 1689; and third, to Mary, daughter of a Joseph Johnson, May 17, 1697. He died March 9, 1723-4. His children were — John, 1688; Thomas, 1685, (ancestor of most of the Johnsons of Haverhill and Bradford); William; Lydia, 1689; Nathaniel, 1691; Mary, 1693-4; Sarah, 1695-6; Elizabeth, 1699; Timothy, 1701; Rebecca; Maverick; Hannah, 1707; William, (who succeeded his father as blacksmith) 1709, Abigail, 1711-12; Samuel, 1715-16.

Thomas, son of John, Jr., and Mary (Mousall) Johnson, settled on the northeast side of Kenoza Lake, where Daniel Hoyt now lives, which farm was given him by his father. He married, first, Ruth Bradley, November 18, 1706, who was killed by the Indians the same day;† and second, Rachel Ordway, who died 1764. Mr. Johnson died July 22, 1754. His ten children were — Lydia, 1707; Ruth, 1710; Daniel, 1711-12, who with his brother, Maverick, had the homestead; Maverick, 1714, one of

^o Hon. Bailey Bartlett married Peggy, daughter of John White, Jr., of this town, and had Anna B., born 1787, who is the widow of the Hon. Wm. Jarvis, of Weathersfield, Vt.; Elizabeth, 1789, married Hon. Joseph R. Sprague, of Salem; Margaret, 1790, married Dr. Rufus Longley, of Haverhill; Harriet died unmarried; Sarah L., 1793, married Hon. J. E. Sprague above (for second wife); Bailey, 1794, now resides in Lawrence, Mass.; Katherine, 1795; Edwin, 1796; Mary; Abigail O., married Rev. Moses Kimball, of Weathersfield, Vt.; Charles L., 1802; Mary A., 1804, married John Tenney, Esq., of Methuen, Mass.; Fred. A.; Francis, 1806; and Louisa, 1800, who married Oliver Carleton, of Salem.

† Mr. Johnson's grandfather was slain in 1706, but the savages spared their infant, — which was probably the same child that Mirick says was in the arms of its step-great-grandmother, when she was killed.

whose children was the late Col. John Johnson, of the Rocks' Village, who died 1861; Nathan, 1718; Peter, 1721, who settled near his father; Seth, 1723, who settled on the farm next south-west where Joshua Lake now lives; Rachel, 1726; Anna, 1728, and Moses, 1730.

Captain Daniel, son of Thomas and Rachel (Ordway) Johnson, married, first, April 3, 1734, Susanna Bixby, of Boxford, and second, Widow Susanna Russell, in 1779. He died in March, 1794. His children were—Deacon Elias, 1735, who built the house (1772) and settled on the place now owned by John B. Nichols, Esq., and where his son Daniel afterward lived and died; Captain Timothy, 1737, an officer in the Revolution; Lydia, 1739; Susanna, 1743; Mary, 1749; and Rachel 1753.

Seth, son of Thomas and Rachel (Ordway) Johnson, married Hannah Greeley, March 25, 1756, and had seven children, viz.: Thomas, 1757; Thomas, 1760, who settled near Cottle's Ferry, where he erected and owned a grist-mill; Nathaniel 1762; Seth, 1764, settled in Campton, N. H.; Nathaniel, 1767, who settled near Cottle's Ferry, and one of whose sons, Joseph, married Mary, daughter of Joseph and Deborah (Williams) Chase, of East Haverhill; John, 1772, a blacksmith, who finally settled in the village, and died September 3, 1843; and Benjamin, 1774.

Deacon Thomas, son of Seth and Hannah (Greeley) Johnson, who settled near Cottle's Ferry, married Lydia Noyes, of West Newbury, and died January 13, 1845. His children were Hannah, 1786; Frederick, October 26, 1789, who settled in West Bradford, and married Nancy, daughter of Joseph Chase^o; Nathaniel, 1794, a farmer in East Haverhill; Leonard, July 27, 1796, a shoe manufacturer, resides in Bradford; Francis, 1798, unmarried; Louisa, 1804; Lucinda, 1806; and Mary Brickett, 1812.

John, son of Seth and Hannah (Greeley) Johnson, married Sarah, daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Wingate) Bradley, of Haverhill, August 27, 1795. She died September 26, 1831, aged 62 years and 11 months. Their children were,—Andrew, born October 7, 1796, married Ruth, daughter of Wm. Edwards, of Haverhill; Samuel, born January 5, 1798,

^o The children of Frederick and Nancy Johnson, were, Leonard, born 1815, died unmarried at Hamohala, Sandwich Islands, in 1832; Wm. Fred. born 1816, resides in Muscatine, Iowa, married, first, Sarah Ann Vanderbilt, and second, Sarah Proctor; George, born October 14, 1818, an extensive shoe-manufacturer and dealer in leather in Boston, resides in Bradford, who married Emma Eldredge Hodgkins, of Newburyport, and has Geo. Hazen, born December 3, 1848, Herbert Morris, born December 8, 1850, Emma Ann, died young, Frederick Wm., born October 24, 1853, Helen Louisa, born July 7, 1855, Alice Rebecca, born July 12, 1856, and Allan Macfarlan, born January 13, 1860, died August 23, 1880; Ann Maria, born October 13, 1830, married John Girdler of Manchester, Mass., both deceased; Isaac W., born 1812, died 1830; James T., died young; Emeline L., born 1826, died 1841; Abby Hazeltine, born March 26, 1828, is Preceptress of Bradford Academy; and Charles Everett, born November 1, 1830.



J. H. Bufford's Edth. Boston

Rufus Longley

married, first, Sally, daughter of David Gleason, second, Abigail S. George, and third, Mary, widow of Samuel Russell, and died November, 1845; Sally, born February 8, 1801, died unmarried in 1822; Hannah, born July 8, 1803, married Tappan, son of Joseph and Deborah Chase; Washington, born August 22, 1805, a blacksmith,^o married Harriet, widow of Samuel S. Burr, of Haverhill; Abigail, born February 14, 1808, died unmarried, August 29, 1841; Nathan, February 15, 1810, married first, Elizabeth H., daughter of John Whittaker, second, Abigail, daughter of Wyded Sawyer, and third, Lois Ann, daughter of Joshua Davis; and William, born January 10, 1813, married Maria L. Anderson, of Hampstead, N. H.

LONGLEY, DR. RUFUS, was a native of Shirley, Mass. Having pursued the preparatory studies at Lawrence Academy, in Groton, he entered Harvard University, and remained there about two years, but left College, with a number of his Class, before he had completed his collegiate course. An Honorary degree was subsequently conferred on him by that Institution. Having completed a full course of medical studies, and received a medical degree from Dartmouth College, he commenced the practice of his profession in Haverhill, in 1812. His talent, manly bearing, and professional ability, soon won the respect and confidence of the people, which he retained undiminished to the close of life. He was an eminently useful citizen, taking a lively interest in the well-being of the community, and his fellow-citizens were glad to place him in municipal offices whenever he would accept them. In politics, a decided and consistent yet liberal disciple of the school of Washington, he was always active and zealous in the support of the principles to which he was attached; but although favorably known through the County, his professional engagements would not allow him to be a candidate for political office, except that he yielded to the wishes of the District and was chosen one of the Harrison Electors of President in 1840. Such was the confidence in his integrity and ability that a full share of the responsibilities of this community were devolved upon him. He was for many years President of the Savings Institution, and also of the Merrimack Bank, which latter office he held at his decease; he was a prominent member of the Merrimack Lodge of Free-masons in this place, and was its Master from 1817 to 1826, and also from its re-organisation, in 1852, to his death, in 1854. It may be mentioned, as a somewhat remarkable fact, in his forty-three years of professional experience, that his first patient in the town was also the last to

^o See page 64.

receive a professional visit from him. Mr. Longley died March 12, 1854, aged 66 years.

MARSH. This is the name of an ancient family in the town, whose descendants have become numerous and gone out into every part of our wide land.

Onesiphorus, who was the son of George Marsh who was admitted a "freeman" in the Mass. Colony, in 1635, and settled in Hingham, immigrated to this town within ten years of its settlement. He located at what was long called "Marsh's Hill," a mile west of the village. He left at least three sons and two daughters,—*Onesiphorus, Jr., John, Thomas, Mary, and Abigail.* Thomas died 1690, of—as it is called in the town records—the "Canada pox;" the other children married and had large families.

John married, November 16, 1688, *Lydia Emerson*, and had ten children: *Elizabeth*, born August 13, 1689; *Sarah*, born June 2, 1691; *John*, born August 19, 1693; *Thomas*, born October 23, 1695; *David*, born January 21, 1698; *Jonathan*, born June 15, 1700; *Mehitabel*, born July 20, 1702; *Abigail*, born May 28, 1705; *Hannah*, born November 27, 1707; and *Ephraim*, born April 2, 1710. *Lydia*, the wife of *John*, died in 1719, and he married widow *Mary Eaton*, in 1720.* In 1721, he was chosen deacon of the First Parish Church, and died November 24, 1734.

David, son of *John*, married *Mary Moody*, of Newbury, August 1722, and had twelve children: *Elizabeth*, born June 29, 1723; *Mary*, March 12, 1725; *Judith*, May 5, 1727; *Cutting*, March 20, 1728; *David*, March 27, 1731; *Moses*, February 9, 1732; *Jonathan*, May 25, 1735; *Enoch*, August 3, 1737; *Nathaniel*, December 31, 1739; *John*, November 2d, 1743; *Lydia*, February 5, 1745; and *Abigail*, April 3, 1747. *David*, senior, was chosen deacon, instead of his deceased father, in 1737, and filled the office until his death, November 2, 1777. *Mary*, his widow, long survived him, and died May 12, 1794, in the 91st year of her age. This family presents a rare example of long life in all its members. The shortest lived one, *Enoch*, lived to be 68 years old; and the average of the twelve was eighty-two years and one month. Perhaps the cause lay in the temperance, frugality, and industry, of which they were all bright examples. Their parents removed, about 1731, from Marsh's Hill to the village—to the site adjoining, on the north, the Centre Church, and still in possession of a descendant.

Moses, son of *David*, married *Rebekah Walker*, February 6, 1759, and had twelve children: *Lydia*, born June 23, 1760, died aged 8 years; *Moses*, born December 21, 1761; *Mary*, born August 23, 1763; *Lydia*



David March

born July 28, 1765; David, born July 26, 1767; James, born October 6, 1769; Nathaniel, born August 11, 1771, died young; Nathaniel, born July 1, 1774; Rebekah, born February 11, 1777; John, born February 10, 1780; Jonathan, born July 30, 1782; and Samuel, born January 19, 1786. Of this once numerous family, only Samuel, the youngest, survives at the present; he resides in New York, and enjoys, amid active pursuits, comfortable health. The father died October 20, 1820, and the mother, January 15, 1823, the former aged 88, and the latter 84. Most of the children also lived to an advanced age. David, whose likeness is here inserted, copied from a portrait painted when he was about 77 years old, died August 30, 1854, in his 88th year. While he passed his long life in the humble paths of mechanical, mercantile, and agricultural occupations yet no one of the name is more worthy to be contemplated by his numerous relatives, as a model of every virtue. Many, on seeing the likeness, will recall pleasant recollections of events long since passed away.

In partnership with his brother, John, he did business for nearly fifty years on Merrimack Street, in a store on the river-side, just east of the residence of John Plummer, while their residences were on the opposite side of the street—the fifth and sixth houses from Little River. There they manufactured hand-cards for carding wool, before machines for that purpose, driven by water, were introduced here. After their introduction, and during the second war with England, they began to make the *machines* also, and the cards with them. They made, probably, the first carding machine used in this part of the country, for Mr. Marland, of Andover, and under his direction. Subsequently, they sent many into New Hampshire and Maine. They were engaged, too, for some years, in the earlier stage of the business here, in the manufacture of *shoes*. And, in the long course of their business, the example of David and John Marsh became proverbial, not only for the fairness of their dealings and their promptness to meet all obligations, but likewise for the brotherly kindness which marked their intercourse with each other.

MERRILL, HON. JAMES CUSHING, son of Rev. Gyles Merrill, was born in Haverhill, September 27, 1784, and graduated at Harvard College in 1807. He settled in Boston as a lawyer, and was afterward Judge of the Police Court in Boston. He married, November 28, 1820, Anna, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, by whom he had four children. Judge Merrill died October 4, 1853. His widow still resides in Haverhill.

MINOT, HON. STEPHEN was born in Concord, Mass., September 28, 1776, and graduated at Harvard College, in 1801. He studied law with

Hon. Samuel Dana, of Groton, and was admitted to the Middlesex bar, in 1804. He practiced his profession about one year in New Gloucester, and Minot, Me., and then removed to Haverhill, where he continued to reside until his death, April 6, 1861. In 1810, he purchased a water privilege at Methuen village, and soon after erected the first cotton mill at that place, which he continued to operate for several years. He was at one time County Attorney for Essex, and was Judge from 1811 to 1820.

His mind was clear in its perception and logical in its conclusions. Firm in purpose, exact and punctual in method and habits, of strict integrity, fearless in spirit, he was ever prompt to say or do whatever his judgment approved. He was a liberal supporter of the institutions of religion, whose ministrations he attended with great regularity, as long as his infirmities would admit. Of great regularity and temperance in his manner of life; in his private relations, a true, affectionate, generous friend. In conversation, he was genial, and rich in anecdote. During the latter part of his life, having withdrawn from professional labors, he spent much of his time in mathematical studies, in which he took great delight, and in reading the Latin classics. The late George Minot, Esq., a sound and able lawyer, of Boston, author of *Minot's Digest*, a work well known to the profession, was his youngest son.

MOOERS, GEN. BENJAMIN. As Gen. Mooers was a native of Haverhill, we copy the following obituary notice of him from the *Plattsburg (New York) Whig*, of the 24th February, 1838:—

“Died in this village, on the 20th inst., Major General Benjamin Mooers, in the 80th year of his age.

The venerable man whose loss the public are called to mourn, was born in Haverhill, Mass., April 1st 1758—and consequently would have been, had he lived to the first of April next, eighty years old. In 1776, when he was eighteen years of age, he entered the army as a volunteer. In the summer of this year, he was at Ticonderoga, at which place he read, for the first time, the Declaration of Independence, adopted by Congress on the 4th of July of that year. In the winter following he was appointed ensign in the 1st Congress Regiment, or as it was usually termed ‘Congress’ own.’ This was a favorite regiment, made up mostly of Canadian refugees—said to be as brave and gallant a corps as any in the army. This regiment was commanded by Col Moses Hazen,^c a gallant officer, who subsequently rose to the rank of Brigadier, but retained through the war the Colonelcy of his regiment of ‘Congress’ own.’ Ensign Mooers was soon after promoted to the rank of Lieutenant and Adjutant of the

^c Also a native of Haverhill.

regiment in which capacity he served until the end of the war. The regiment to which he was attached was not an idle one in the great struggle which was then going on, and consequently Adj't Mooers saw much military service. Besides various other active duties, he was present at the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne at Saratoga, and at the siege of Yorktown, and at the surrender of Lord Cornwallis.

At the close of the war in 1783, he, with two other officers and 8 privates of his regiment (now disbanded) left the head quarters, at Newburgh, and came to this country, then a perfect wilderness. There was not at this time a civilized inhabitant within the borders of this county.

Gen. Mooers has been a citizen of this county ever since he first landed, now nearly fifty years."

He was the first Sheriff of this county — and represented the County in the Assembly of this State four terms. He has also served four years in the Senate of this State, and was chosen President pro tem of that body. He became an officer in the militia at an early day, and finally rose to the rank of Major General, in which capacity he was in the service of the United States in 1812; and, with the detached militia, commanded at the siege of Plattsburg in 1814, with so much credit to himself as to merit the commendation of the legislature of his state, and the presentation of a sword. For thirty-eight successive years Gen. Mooers was the treasurer of the County.

In all the charitable and benevolent institutions of the day, General Mooers was always conspicuous — was President of the Clinton County Bible Society, and of the County Temperance Society.

General Mooers sustained all the relations of life without reproach. As a citizen his example is worthy of all imitation. As a husband, father, neighbor or friend, he was kind and affectionate, but just. As a subject of the laws of his country, he obeyed with alacrity all their obligations, moral, civil and social. As a military man, he combined the rare qualifications of moderation and firmness. In his civil employments, he always acted with sound judgment and uncompromising principle; and he never failed to secure the good will of those with whom he acted, or of his constituents."

NEWELL, HARRIET. Harriet Atwood, afterward Mrs. Newell, was a daughter of Moses Atwood, an extensive and respected merchant of Haverhill, where she was born October 10, 1793.* Of a cheerful disposition

* The house in which she first saw the light is still standing, and is the one next west of the First Parish Church. It is partly occupied by Robert Willis, Esq., whose wife is a sister of Harriet Newell.

and ardent feelings, she early manifested a strong love of books, and a thirst for mental improvement. In the summer of 1806, she attended Bradford Academy, and while there, a powerful religious awakening, in which she was a participant, visited the school. During that revival, the subject of our sketch became hopefully pious, and engaged in the work of her Master with all the ardor for which she was so greatly distinguished a few years subsequently.

In the fall of 1810, when she had just completed her seventeenth year, her attention was first turned to the subject of missionary labor among the heathen. Under date of October 10, of the above year, she thus writes:—

“A female friend^o called upon us this morning. She informed me of her determination to quit her native land for ever, to endure the sufferings of a christian amongst heathen nations, to spend her days in India's sultry clime. How did the news affect my heart! Is she willing to do all this for God; and shall I refuse to lend my little aid, in a land where divine revelation has shed its brightest rays? I have felt more, for the salvation of the heathen, this day, than I recollect to have felt through my whole past life.”

A few days later, she had her first interview with her future companion in life. She thus speaks of it:—“Oct 23, Mr M introduced Mr Newell to our family. He appears to be an engaged christian. Expects to spend his life in preaching a Savior to the benighted pagans.”

(Rev. Samuel Newell was a graduate of Harvard College, and pursued his studies for the ministry, at Andover. In June, 1810, he and four other young men,[†] consecrated their future labors to the cause of foreign missions, and offered their services for this object to the General Association of Massachusetts, then in session at Bradford. This offer led to the establishment of the “American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” under whose direction they placed themselves.)

In the following April, Miss Atwood received a formal proposal from Mr. Newell to become his wife, and with him devote her life to missionary labor. The letter called for an immediate answer. She was then in Boston, but immediately hastened home, to ask a mother's advice. Of the interview, she thus writes:—“Dejected and weary, I arrived at the dear mansion where I have spent so many happy hours. My dear mother met me at the door with a countenance that bespoke the tranquility of her mind. o o o o o With tears in her eyes, she said ‘If a conviction

^o Miss Nancy Haseltine, afterward Mrs. Judson.

[†] Adoniram Judson, Jr., Samuel Nott, Jr., Samuel J. Mills, and ——— Hall.

of duty, and love to the souls of the perishing heathen, lead you to India, as much as I love you, Harriet, I can only say, *Go.*' " She accepted the proposal.

After a few months' preparation, the hour of her final departure drew near. On the 6th of February, 1812, the missionaries were ordained at Salem; on the 9th of the same month, she was married to Rev. Samuel Newell,^o and ten days afterward, Mr. and Mrs. Newell, and their missionary associates, Mr. and Mrs. Judson, sailed from Salem, in the *Caravan*, for Calcutta.

After a tedious voyage, they arrived at Calcutta on the 17th of the following June. They found the East India Company violently opposed to missions, and within a short month were "ordered by the government to leave the British territories, and return to America immediately." The captain of the *Caravan* was refused a home clearance for his vessel, unless he engaged to take the missionaries with him. Finally, after many trials, and perplexities, they obtained liberty to go to the Isle of France, where they heard the English governor favored missions, and where there was a large field of labor,

They embarked on the 4th of August. The next day Mrs. Newell was ill of a fever, but after a few days recovered, and again enjoyed a fair degree of health. After nearly a month of contrary winds and bad weather, during which but little progress was made, the ship sprung a-leak and put about for the nearest port, which happened to be Coringa, a small town on the Coromandel coast. Four days before their arrival at that port, Mrs. Newell was again prostrated by sickness, but after a fortnight's rest, she so far recovered as to be able to re-embark. Three weeks after leaving the port, she gave birth to a daughter. Four days later, in consequence of a severe storm, the "little Harriet" took cold, and the next day expired in its mother's arms. In a few days, the symptoms of that dread disease which numbers so many among its victims, and which had already claimed her father and several of her family connexions, made their appearance, and she gave up all hope of recovery.

On the 31st of October, they came to anchor in the harbor of Port Louis. Her husband in a few days rented a small house in a healthy part of the town, and removed her, but her symptoms became worse, and she continued to fail. On Monday, the 30th of November, 1812; at the early

^o From the *Merrimack Intelligencer* of February 15, 1812, we copy the following:—"Married, at Bradford, Rev. Adoniram Judson, missionary to India, to Miss Nancy Haseltine. In this town, Rev. Samuel Newell, missionary to India, to Miss Harriet Atwood."

age of 19 years and two months; she calmly fell asleep, and was buried at that port.

A marble monument has since been erected over her grave, with the following inscription:—

“ Sacred to the memory of Mrs Harriet Atwood, wife of Rev. Samuel Newell, missionary at Bombay. Born, Haverhill, Mass., U. S. A., Oct. 10, 1793. Died, after a distressing voyage from India to this place, November 30, 1812. Early devoted to Christ, her heart burned for the Heathen; for them she left her kindred and her native land, and welcomed danger and sufferings. Of excellent understanding, rich in accomplishments and virtues, she was the delight of her friends, a crown to her husband, and an ornament to the Missionary cause. Her short life was bright, her death full of glory. Her name lives, and in all Christian lands is pleading with irresistible eloquence for the heathen. This humble monument to her memory is erected by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.”

PEASLEE, JOSEPH, came from England, and settled in Newbury, Mass. He was made a freeman in 1642, and removed to Haverhill before 1646. For a time he supplied the place of a minister in Amesbury, as a lay preacher, a “gifted brother,” as the church records call him, and occasionally, he practiced medicine. His wife's name was Mary. He died in 1661, leaving two children, Joseph and Elizabeth.

Joseph, Jr., was born at Haverhill, September 9, 1646, and died November 5, 1723. He was a physician, and married Ruth Barnard. Col. Nathaniel Peaslee, of this town, was his son, and was born June 25, 1682. The latter married for his first wife, Judith Kimball, by whom he had Hannah, born May 1, 1703, married Joseph Badger, a merchant of Haverhill, and was the father of Gen. Joseph Badger, of Gilmanton, N. H.: Susanna, born May 10, 1712, married Rev. Christopher Sargeant, of Methuen, who was the father of the Hon. Nathaniel Peaslee Sargeant, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Col. Peaslee's wife died August 15, 1741. He married for a second wife, Abiah Swan, of Methuen, by whom he had one child, Abigail. The latter married Humphrey Moody, of Haverhill, the father of William, a graduate of Dartmouth College. For her second husband, Mrs. Moody married Gen. James Brickett, a physician of distinction. Gen. Brickett married, for his third wife, Mrs. Martha Hutchins, whose maiden name was Greelee. Col. Nathaniel Peaslee was a merchant, and a large land-owner, and a prominent man in the town.

SALTONSTALL, HON. GURDON, son of Nathaniel, was born in Haverhill, March 27, 1666, and graduated at Harvard College in 1684, where he was distinguished as a profound scholar, and gave promise of his future greatness. In May, 1688, he received a unanimous call to settle as pastor of the church in New London, Conn., which call he accepted, and was ordained November 19, 1691. He was in person tall and well proportioned, of dignified demeanor, of eminent intellectual endowments and acquirements, and a graceful and impressive elocution. He was an advocate of vigorous ecclesiastical authority, always striving to exalt the ministerial office, to maintain its dignity, and to enlarge the powers of ecclesiastical bodies; which gave him unbounded popularity among his clerical brethren.

He soon became a celebrated preacher, and so rapid was the growth of his reputation, that, in 1707, upon the death of Fitz-John Winthrop, he was chosen Governor by the Legislature. So great was the respect for his character, that "the Assembly repealed the law which required that the Governor should always be chosen from among the magistrates in nomination, and gave liberty for the freemen to elect him from among themselves at large. Mr Saltonstall accepted of the appointment, and entered upon the duties of his office, January 1, 1708. He was continued in the office until his death, which was very sudden, on the 20th September, 1724.

Hon. Richard Saltonstall was born in Haverhill, June 24, 1703, and graduated at Harvard College in 1722. In 1726, (at the age of 23 years) he was commissioned as Colonel; and was appointed Judge of the Superior Court, in 1736, at the age of 33 years. He was for several years one of His Majesty's Council. He "was a man of talents and learning; was distinguished for generous and elegant hospitality, and for his bountiful liberality to the poor. His address was polished, affable and winning, his temper was gentle and benevolent, and he enjoyed the love and esteem of all." He married, first, January 6, 1726, Abigail, daughter of Richard Waldron; second, March 4, 1740, Mary, daughter of John Jekyll, Esq., of Boston; third, Mary, daughter of Elisha Cooke Jr., Esq., of Boston. His children were—Abigail, married Col. George Watson, of Plymouth; Elizabeth; Richard, the loyalist; William; William; Nathaniel, physician, of Haverhill; Mary, married Rev. Moses Badger; Middlecott Cooke; and Levrett, a Captain under Cornwallis. Judge Saltonstall died October 20, 1756, after a long illness, and in the 54th year of his age.

Col. Richard Saltonstall was the eldest son of Judge Richard Saltonstall, of Haverhill, where he was born, April 5, 1732. He graduated at Harvard College in 1751. He was appointed Colonel of the regiment at the early age of twenty-two years, and was the fourth of the family in succession who held the office of Colonel. In the rank of Major, he was engaged in active service in the French War on Lake George, and belonged to that body which capitulated at Fort William Henry, August 9, 1757. When the Indians fell upon the unarmed prisoners, he fled to the woods, and very narrowly escaped death in that horrid massacre. He commanded a regiment from 1760 until the end of the war. Soon after this, he was appointed High Sheriff of the County of Essex.

Col. Saltonstall was a firm loyalist, and uniformly opposed the measures taken in opposition to the royal government. He deemed the proceedings of the British Parliament extremely inexpedient, but he never doubted their right to tax their American Colonies. In the autumn of 1774, he fled to Boston, and soon afterward embarked for England. He refused to enter the British service, lest he should be directed to act against his native country. The King, nevertheless, granted him a pension, and he never returned to America.

Col. Saltonstall resided upon the family estate in Haverhill, in a liberal and hospitable manner. He was characterized by integrity, frankness, a benevolent disposition, polished manners, and a superior understanding and knowledge of the world, which made him much beloved, and gave him great influence. He died unmarried, October 6, 1785, at Kensington, England, where there is a monument erected to his memory.

Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, son of Judge Richard, was born in Haverhill, February 10, 1746. At the age of ten years, upon the decease of his father, he was received into the family of his uncle, Meddlecott Cooke, Esq., of Boston. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1766, and settled in Haverhill, where he devoted his life to the practice of medicine. His classical education and general intelligence, his eminent professional skill, and conscientious discharge of duty, his gentle manners and kind disposition, and his strong attachment to the liberty and independence of his country, acquired for him great respect in the community, and the affection and entire confidence of his patients. He was remarkable for his humane and assiduous attention to the poor, consoling them by his friendly, cheerful demeanor, and by the medicines and other necessaries which he freely supplied, without the prospect of any pecuniary remuneration.

At a time when all his brothers, and brothers-in-law, adhered to those principles of loyalty in which they had been educated, Dr. Saltonstall remained true to those principles of civil liberty and humanity which he inherited from his worthy ancestor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and his not less worthy son, Richard, of Ipswich. He was a firm and self-sacrificing patriot. This conscientious adherence to his principles separated him forever from those he most loved. It was to him a severe trial, and gave the strongest proof of his sincerity, and the strength of his principles. These had probably been much invigorated by his training in the patriotic Cooke family. He died May 15, 1815, aged 65.

Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, eldest son of Dr. Nathaniel, of Haverhill, was born June 13, 1783, prepared for College at Phillips' Exeter Academy, entered Harvard University, in 1798, at the early age of 15, and was graduated with distinction, in 1802. He began the study of the law with Ichabod Tucker, Esq., then of Haverhill, who subsequently, for many years, was Clerk of the Courts in Essex County; and completed his legal studies under the direction of the late learned and lamented Hon. William Prescott, of Salem. He entered upon the practice of his profession in his native town, in 1805, but in May, 1806, removed to Salem, Mass., where the remainder of his life was passed, and became distinguished as an advocate. He was early called upon to take part in the public councils; was a member, at various times, of the Massachusetts House of Representatives; President of the State Senate, in 1831; first Mayor of the city of Salem; Representative to Congress; President of the Bible Society, of the Essex Agricultural Society, and of the Essex Bar; a prominent member of various literary and scientific institutions, and of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, from which institution he received, in 1838, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He ever cherished an ardent affection for the places of his education, and in his will he made a bequest of books to the library of the Exeter Academy; and a legacy to Harvard College, to increase the fund long before bequeathed to it by his ancestors. He attended every annual Commencement of his Alma Mater, except two, from the time he graduated until his death. As a public man, Mr. Saltonstall was an effective debater, a pleasing and favorite speaker, in politics a Whig, inflexible in his principles, unwavering in his course, and unstained by a single suspicion of vacillation or inconsistency. He was in every sense "a true son of Massachusetts," and his death was mourned as a public bereavement. He died May 8, 1846.

SERGEANT, HON. NATHANIEL PEASLEE, was a son of Rev. Christopher Sargeant, the first minister in Methuen, Mass. His mother was a daughter of Nathaniel Peaslee, Esq., of Haverhill. He received his public education in Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1750, and soon after commenced the practice of law in this town. He had the character of an able and honest attorney, though never distinguished at the bar as an advocate. He possessed sound judgment, and excellent learning, and but few men were more respected for integrity, and uniformity of conduct. He may justly be ranked among the patriots of 1770 and 1775. He was not, perhaps, so ardent as some others; but he was decided in support of civil freedom, and could always be depended upon, as a prudent and efficient supporter of the ancient privileges and rights of the colonies. Mr. Sargeant was a delegate from this town to the Provincial Congress, which met at Cambridge, in February, 1775; and, in 1776, was a member of the House of Representatives. In both of these bodies he was a prominent *working* member, and was frequently placed on the most important committees.

After the Constitution of Massachusetts was adopted, in 1780, he had a seat on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court; and on the appointment of William Cushing, to be a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Sargeant was made Chief Justice. As a Judge, he won the respect and commendation of all, for his ability, integrity, and impartiality. He died in 1792.

SIBLEY, JACOB, (born May, 1746, died June 25, 1831, at Hopkinton, N. H.,) married Anna, daughter of Gideon George, a shoemaker and farmer of East Haverhill, Mass., whose wife, a Jewett, came to this country when fourteen days old. She was born September 11, 1749, and died September 20, 1828. After their wedding they rode on one horse from Haverhill to his sister Stevens', on Sugar Hill in Hopkinton; whence, there being no road, they walked two miles in a narrow path, through the woods, to their humble dwelling, driving before them a little spotted pig. Her "fitting out" consisted of three white cups and three saucers, three knives, three forks, one coverlet made of hair and tow, and one of wool. In 1774, they took a journey, on horseback, to Haverhill and Stratham, and back; the mother seated behind the father, who carried his only child in his arms before him. In 1776, Mr. Sibley was in the military at Portsmouth, and worked on Fort Constitution. While there, his wife, besides attending to her domestic duties and taking care of her two children, hoed three acres of corn upon burnt land. This was a few months before the

birth of her third child. In the latter part of her life, her physical strength gradually failed, till she lost entirely the power of locomotion. She left ten children. — *From Sibley's Hist. Union, Me.*

SMILEY, DR. DAVID, was born in Haverhill, Mass., April 10, 1760. At an early age, he was bound an apprentice to a Mr. Hale, in this town, a shoemaker. He continued to work with his master till his seventeenth year, when he enlisted in the American army. He was stationed at Winter Hill for three months, the period of his enlistment, when he returned home. He afterward enlisted again, and was at Stillwater, West Point, and in New Jersey. He was finally placed in command of a small guard on Fishkill Mountains, where he remained until his term of service expired. In returning to Haverhill, he walked, in company with five others, sixty miles in one day, and spent the greater part of his wages, in the depreciated currency of the country for his day's food. In 1782, he married Rachel Johnson, of the East Parish in this town, and in the same year moved to Peterborough, N. H., where he worked at his trade for about two years. In 1784, he moved to Alstead, N. H. Two years later, he purchased a small farm in the northeast part of Peterborough, where he immediately moved. In 1793, he began the study of medicine, with Dr. Stephen Jewett, of Rindge, N. H. His practice commenced almost simultaneously with his studies, and for many years he had a large practice. His ride extended into all the neighboring towns, and not unfrequently into more distant towns in other counties. Though not a regularly educated physician, he enjoyed the confidence of many of the most intelligent families, and commanded the respect of all who knew him. He resided on his farm until the death of his wife, in 1842, when he went to live with his son in the village of the same town. He gave up the laborious duties of his profession only when compelled to do so by the infirmities of age. He died at the same place, October 3, 1855, aged 95 years and nearly six months.

VARNUM, HON. JOHN, was born in Dracut, in 1778, graduated at Harvard College, in 1798, and entered the office of Judge Smith, of Exeter, as a student. In 1802, he came to Haverhill, and commenced the practice of the law. He was highly successful. Liberal to a fault, warm-hearted and gentlemanly in his profession, he usually had the satisfaction of conducting his cases without giving offence to either party. He was of the Federal school of politics. In 1811, he was elected to the Senate, and in 1826, he was elected to Congress from the Essex North District. He was re-elected in 1828. During this period he was associated in business with

Isaac R. Howe, Esq. After he returned from Congress, he removed to Lowell, and from thence to Niles, Michigan, where he died July 23, 1836, after a short illness. He married, October 9, 1806, Mary Cooke, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, of Haverhill, by whom he had three sons.

WHITE, HON. LEONARD, was a native of Haverhill, a direct descendant of William White, one of the first company of settlers in Haverhill, and the Rev. George Phillips, the first pastor of Watertown. He took his christian name from his maternal grandfather, the Rev. Nathaniel Leonard, of Plymouth, who was a descendant of James Leonard. His grandfather, Leonard, married the daughter of Daniel Rogers, of Ipswich; was the Register of Probate for this County for twenty years, and a practicing physician, who, on his return from a visit, was bewildered in a snow-storm and perished. Mr. White was the class-mate and friend of John Quincy Adams, and they were, before going to college, fellow-students with the Rev. Mr. Shaw, of Haverhill. They were of the class of 1789, at Harvard College. At the period of his college life, every freshman had his patron, selected by himself, in the senior class; and Mr. White was the patron of President Quincy.

Mr. White married early, Mary, the eldest daughter of Hon. Tristram Dalton, and the grand-daughter of "King" Hooper, of Marblehead. By this marriage he had a numerous family. This lady died some ten years previous to Mr. White, and he afterward married Mrs. Cummings.

Perhaps no man ever lived more distinguished for fidelity to every trust and punctuality in the performance of every duty. He was for many years Town Clerk and Treasurer, and represented his town in the Legislature, and his District in Congress, from 1811 to 1813.

At this period, the Merrimack Bank was incorporated, and he became its first cashier, which office he held, with unsullied reputation, for a quarter of a century, and until the infirmities of age rendered repose from its arduous duties necessary. He was a real gentleman of the old school, of the kindest and most cheerful disposition. He was a member of the Baptist Church, and his old age was cheered by the benignant light and cheering hopes of the gospel, in which he was a firm believer, and an humble and faithful follower. Modest, retiring, and unassuming, he enjoyed the most unbounded confidence and trust in his integrity. For the last two years of his life, he declined, under the repeated attacks of paralysis, and his death was as quiet and undisturbed as an infant's sleep; and on his tomb-stone may be most emphatically inscribed — "Here lies an honest man." He died October 10, 1849, aged 82 years.



Leonard White

WOODBRIDGE, BENJAMIN, who married Mary, the daughter of Rev. John Ward, (see page 168) was probably a son of John Woodbridge, who was born in Stanton, Wiltshire, in 1613, came to New England in 1634, and to Newbury in 1635. The latter married Mercy Dudley, daughter of Gov. Thomas Dudley, and died March 17, 1695. He was town register of Newbury, in 1636.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

NEWSPAPERS. — The first newspaper published in this town, was the "*Guardian of Freedom*." Printed and published every Friday morning, by E Ladd and S Bragg, in Haverhill (Massachusetts,) 9s. pr. ann." The first number was issued September 6, 1793. It contained sixteen columns of print, each fifteen and one-half inches long and two and one-quarter inches wide, nearly all of which was in small pica type. At first, the paper hardly contained a "stickful" of advertisements, and it was nearly two years before they had increased so as to occupy one whole column. In politics, the paper was classed as Federal. The publication day was changed in a few weeks, to Mondays, and still later, to Thursdays.^a May 10th, 1794, (vol. 1, No. 29,) Eliphalet Ladd assumed the sole proprietorship of the paper. On the 29th of the same month, (vol. 1, No. 35,) he was succeeded by Samuel Aiken, who, four weeks afterward, (June 26th, vol. 1, No. 40,) transferred his interest to Benjamin Edes, Jr.

In 1793, the above paper was discontinued, but was soon succeeded by another, styled the *Impartial Herald*. This enjoyed an existence of only two years, however, when it, in turn, was allowed to die, for want of support.

In November, 1800, *The Observer* was started, by Galen H. Fay. This was continued until December 4, 1804, when the establishment was sold to Francis Gould, who changed the name of the paper to *Haverhill Museum*. The *Museum* was published two years, (until November 22, 1803, — just two volumes,) when it was discontinued, for want of support. The printing office, however, was not abandoned.

^a The first newspaper published in America, was the *Boston News Letter*, April 24, 1704. In 1771, there were but twenty-five published in America. The first published in this country, was the *Essex Gazette*, at Salem, in 1766. The first printing-press in the country, was established at Cambridge, Mass., in 1638.

In 1809, Wm. B. Allen, who had succeeded Gould in the printing business, commenced the publication of a paper, styled the *Merrimack Intelligencer*. In February, 1812, Mr. Allen formed a partnership with his brother, and the paper was published by the firm of Wm. B. & H. G. Allen. August 1, 1813, the senior member of the firm disposed of his entire interest to his partner, who continued the paper until the following January, (January 1, 1814,) when he sold out his paper, printing-office, and book-store, to William Greenough and Nathan Burrill.*

Mr. Burrill was a book-binder, and the first one in the town. He removed here, and commenced the business, in February, 1809. Mr. Greenough was a printer, and removed his printing-office from Boston to Haverhill, on the breaking out of the War of 1812.

November 5, 1814, Mr. Greenough sold out his interest to Thomas Tileston, who had been his apprentice, and the three branches of business were carried on, under the style of Burrill & Tileston, until January, 1819, when the partnership was dissolved, and the property divided. The *Intelligencer* had never paid its cost, and when the above firm dissolved, it was made over to Peter W. Green, (afterward Nathaniel Green) as a gift. Mr. Tileston went to New York, where he founded one of the earliest and largest wholesale shoe-houses in that city — that of Spofford & Tileston. Mr. Burrill continued to carry on the book-binding and book-selling business, as heretofore.

After lingering a few weeks in the hands of Mr. Green, the *Intelligencer* died. The same gentleman soon after started a new paper, called the *Essex Patriot*. This was a "democratic" newspaper, and the first of the kind in town, — the others mentioned having all been Federal organs. Mr. Green continued to publish the *Patriot* about three years, when he sold out to William Hastings.

The gradual fading out of the federal sheet, and the establishment of the democratic *Patriot*, was not particularly agreeable to the federalists, and a new paper was soon started. This was the *Haverhill Gazette*, by Nathan Burrill and Caleb Hersey, under the style of Burrill & Hersey. The first number was issued January 6, 1821. It was published Saturdays, at two dollars per annum, and was edited by Mr. Hersey. Mr. Burrill having just received admission into the Masonic fraternity, signified his high appreciation of that mystic brotherhood, by displaying the Masonic emblems at the head of his paper. Mr. Hersey continued as editor and

* A book-store had been kept in town, in connection with the printing business, since 1804, or perhaps earlier.

joint proprietor, until the close of the second volume, when he sold out his interest to his partner, and retired from the editorial chair, leaving the whole concern in the hands of Mr. Burrill.

The able manner in which the *Gazette* was conducted, having completely eclipsed its rival, the *Patriot*, the two papers were consolidated, February 1, 1823, under the name of the *Haverhill Gazette and Essex Patriot*, — "W. Hastings, editor and printer, N. Burrill, proprietor and publisher." This change, however, was merely a plan to cover the actual death of the *Patriot*, and in a little less than two months, (March 29) Mr. Hastings retired from the establishment altogether.

In 1824, Mr. Burrill sold out his printing business, and paper, to Isaac R. Howe, Esq., and the bookstore to Mr. James Gale.^o Mr. Howe edited and published the paper until October, 1826, when he engaged the services of Abijah W. Thayer to edit and superintend its publication.[†]

In February, 1827, Mr. Thayer purchased the establishment, changed the name of the paper to the *Essex Gazette*, and assumed its entire control. Mr. Thayer was a native of Peterborough, N. H., and served his apprenticeship to the printing business, in Boston. In 1817, he worked in Andover, where he became acquainted with Caleb Hersey, a fellow-journeyman. When Messrs. Burrill & Hersey started the *Gazette*, in January, 1821, Mr. Thayer was engaged to superintend its publication, in which he took an active interest. In May, 1822, he removed to the State of Maine, where he was connected with the *Independent Statesman*, at first as editor, and subsequently as editor and proprietor. From October, 1826, to July 1835, Mr. Thayer resided in this town, during which time he was one of our most active, useful, and respected citizens. He was one of the first to enlist in the temperance movement, — was the Secretary of the first meeting, and the first Secretary of the first society when organized, in which office he continued until his removal from the town. He early advocated the cause in his paper, but such was the opposition to the movement, that in a short time he lost about four hundred subscribers. His *Gazette* was the *first political paper* that ever came out in advocacy of total abstinence from intoxicating liquors, and the *second of any kind*,

^o While Mr. Burrill was connected with the printing business in this town, quite a large number of books were printed at his office. Some of them were published by the several firms with which Mr. Burrill was connected, but the greater part were printed for booksellers in Boston, and Salem. Among the books thus printed was the Bible, Watts' Psalms and Hymns, Murray's English Reader, Watts' World to Come, Beauties of Masonry, etc.

[†] During this period, E. W. Reinhart was, for a short time, editor, and John Varnum, Esq., joint proprietor with Mr. Howe. Reinhart afterward started the *Daily Republican*, at Baltimore; and, still later, published the *Virginia Advocate*, at Charlottesville, Va.

either in America, or in the world! When the movement was commenced in Haverhill, there were twenty-nine places in town where liquors were sold, but in five years from that time there was not a single place where it was openly sold, and but one where it was supposed to be sold clandestinely. As a political paper, the *Gazette* was at that time classed among the very first in the county and State.

January 26, 1828, H. B. Brewster issued a prospectus for a new weekly paper, to be called the *Haverhill Recorder*; "impartial" in politics and religion. But it was never issued.

February 4, 1832, Mr. Thayer issued proposals to publish a semi-weekly paper, under the name of the *Haverhill Advertiser*. The price was to be \$2.50 per annum, and it was to be neutral in politics. Sufficient encouragement not being offered, the paper was never issued.

May 5, 1832, Mr. Thayer commenced the publication of the *Christian Messenger*, a small weekly newspaper, of which he was principal editor, assisted by Rev. Dudley Phelps, and Rev. Abijah Cross. It only reached a circulation of four hundred copies, and was discontinued February 23, 1833, after an issue of thirty-two numbers.

In the same year (1832) a political campaign paper was established in the town, under the name of the *Haverhill Iris*. Edwin Harriman, editor. It was started principally to advocate the election of Caleb Cushing to Congress. It was published about a year, when it was removed to Methuen. Harriman was subsequently (1838) associate editor of the *Nashville* (Tenn.) *Banner*. We believe he is now a resident reporter for the press, at Washington, D. C.

May 4, 1834, Mr. Thayer issued proposals to publish the *Essex Gazette* semi-weekly, at \$2.50 per annum, provided sufficient encouragement was offered to warrant the undertaking. But the project was abandoned before the change was made.

In July, 1834, Rev. Thomas G. Farnsworth and Eben. H. Safford, commenced the publication of the *Essex Banner and Haverhill Advertiser*, a weekly democratic paper, at \$2 per annum. The former gentleman was editor, and the latter superintended the publication. At the close of the second volume, (June 25, 1836,) Mr. Farnsworth retired from the editorial chair, and left the whole concern in the hands of his partner. From this time until January 6, 1838, the paper was edited by, "an association of gentlemen." At the latter date, William Taggart, Esq., became editor and joint proprietor, and so continued until March, 11, 1843, when Mr. Safford again assumed the sole charge and proprietorship of the paper.

From that time, until the present, Mr. Safford has continued to be the editor, proprietor, and publisher, with the exception of a short period, under the presidential administration of James Buchanan, when the mechanical department of the paper was under the charge of C. C. Dearborn.

With the exception of six months in 1830, (from January 1 to July 10) when John G. Whittier occupied the editorial chair,^o Mr. Thayer was sole editor, publisher, and proprietor of the *Essex Gazette*, from the time already mentioned, until 1835. In July of that year, he sold the establishment to Erastus Brooks, (who had been a former apprentice of his, at Portland, of which place Mr. Brooks was a native,) and removed from town.†

Soon after purchasing the establishment, Mr. Brooks received an appointment in one of the departments at Washington, to which city he removed, but continued the nominal editor of the *Gazette*, which was then published by J. H. Farwell, until the following spring.

May 4, 1836, John G. Whittier again assumed the editorial charge of the *Gazette*, Mr. Brooks continuing to furnish "letters from Washington," until the close of the volume. At the same time, Jacob Caldwell became proprietor of the paper, taking possession at the close of the volume.

September 17, of the same year, Dr. Jeremiah Spofford became associated with Mr. Whittier, taking the position of political editor.

In October, Dr. Spofford became joint proprietor with Mr. Caldwell. December 17, Mr. Whittier retired from the editorial chair, and Dr. Spofford remained sole proprietor.

January 7, 1837, the name of the paper was changed to its original one — *Haverhill Gazette*. It was now published by Spofford & Harris. At the close of the volume, in 1838, (December 28) John H. Harris became associate editor, as well as proprietor and publisher, and so continued until July 5, 1839, when he purchased the entire interest of his partner, who retired from the concern, after a connection of three years.

^o Friend Whittier was editor of the *Boston Manufacturer*, in 1828. He left the *Gazette*, in 1830, to take editorial charge of the *New England Review*, at Hartford, Conn., taking the place of George D. Prentice, who went to Louisville, Ky., to edit the *Louisville Journal*, a paper established to advocate the election of Henry Clay to the Presidency. Mr. Whittier was connected with the *Review* about eighteen months.

† Since he removed from Haverhill, Mr. Thayer has been connected with papers in Philadelphia, Northampton, and Worcester. He is at present residing in Northampton, Mass., beloved and respected in every relation of life.

May 1, 1840, Mr. Harris sold the establishment to Wm. E. P. Rodgers, who continued to edit and publish the paper until October 1, 1843, when he was succeeded by its present editor and proprietor, Edward G. Frothingham, Esq.

For many years past, Dr. Spofford has regularly contributed to its editorial columns, being virtually its political editor. Since the decease of the Whig party, the *Gazette* has advocated the interests of the so-called Republican party.

In 1845, *The Star in the East*, a religious (christian) weekly quarto paper, edited by Rev. H. P. Guilford, was published in this town for a few months, by E. G. Frothingham.

May 1, 1856, the first number of the *Haverhill American Citizen*, a weekly paper, was issued by John M. Harding, (son of Isaac) of this town. The paper, which was American in politics, was printed at Lawrence. The publication was continued but three months, when (August 2, 1856,) the subscription list was transferred to the *Haverhill Gazette*.

In April, 1857, *The Masonic Journal*, a monthly, quarto paper, George W. Chase, editor and proprietor, was removed from Brunswick, Maine, to this town.* In July 1859, it was changed to a semi-monthly, and so continued until January 1, 1860, when it was purchased by Rev. Cyril Pearl, who immediately removed the office of publication to Portland, Maine.

January 1, 1859, Z. E. Stone, formerly editor and proprietor of the *American Citizen*, Lowell, Mass., commenced the publication of the *Tri-Weekly Publisher*, "an independent paper," at \$3.00 per annum. The enterprise met with favor, and the new sheet was at once placed on a permanent footing. In January, 1860, Mr. Stone disposed of his establishment to Messrs. E. G. Woodward and J. M. Palmer, both natives of Haverhill, who have continued its publication to the present time. The paper is issued Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday evenings.

In 1859, Messrs. D. P. Bodfish and A. L. Kimball commenced the publication of a weekly paper called the *Essex County Democrat*. It was established as the organ of the administration wing of the democratic party. It is now published by Mr. Kimball.

We have, therefore, at this time, (July 1, 1861,) four newspapers published in the town, viz.: the *Haverhill Gazette*, *Essex Banner*, *Tri-Weekly Publisher*, and *Essex County Democrat*, with an aggregate circulation of a little over four thousand copies per week.

* From June, 1855, to March, 1857, Mr. Chase was editor and proprietor, of the *Brunswick Telegraph*, a weekly paper, at Brunswick, Maine.

DUSTON MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.—This Association, which originated in the West Parish, was organized in October, 1855, for the purpose of purchasing, enclosing, and improving the site of the house from which Hannah Duston was taken by the Indians, in 1697, and erecting thereon a monument to her memory. Charles Corliss was chosen President, and George Coffin, Secretary. A deed of the supposed site of the house was secured October 15, 1855, (Essex Reg. Book 520, p. 287). Soon after, (January 22 and 23, 1856,) a levee was held in the Town Hall, which realized the handsome sum of \$523.39, for the Association. Among the articles on exhibition at the levee, were, the gun which Mrs. Duston took from the Indians at the time of her escape; the scalping-knife said to have been used upon the occasion; a tankard, presented to Mrs. Duston and Mrs. Neffe, by Gov. Nicholson, of Maryland; a pair of tongs, and a platter, formerly belonging to Mrs. Duston; and the pocket-book of Thomas Duston.

In March, 1856, the Association was incorporated, by special act of the Legislature. On the first day of June, 1861, a handsome monument, of Italian marble, five feet square and twenty-four feet high, resting upon a base of granite, was erected by the Association, at an expense of about \$1,200. The tablets contain the following inscriptions:—

"*Hannah*, dau. of Michael and Hannah Emerson, wife of Thomas Dustin, born in this town Dec 23, 1657. Captured by the Indians March 15, 1697, (at which time her babe, then but six days old, was barbarously murdered, by having its brains dashed out against a tree) and taken to an island in the Merrimack, at Pennacook, now Concord, N H. . On the night of April 29, 1697, assisted by Mary Neff, and Samuel Lennardson, she killed ten of the twelve savages in the wigwam, and taking their scalps and her captor's gun, as trophies of her remarkable exploit, she embarked on the waters of the Merrimack, and after much suffering arrived at her home in safety.

Thomas Dustin, on the memorable 15th of March, 1697, when his house was attacked and burned, and his wife captured, by the savages, heroically defended his seven children, & successfully covered their retreat to a garrison.

Thomas Dustin, & Hannah Emerson, married Dec 3, 1677. Children: Hannah, born Aug 22, 1678; Elizabeth, born May 7, 1680; Mary, b Nov 4, 1781, died Oct 18, 1696; Thomas, born Jan 5, 1683; Nathaniel, born May 16, 1685; John, born Feb 2, 1686, died Jan 28, 1690; Sarah, born July 4, 1688; Abigail, born Oct — 1690; Jonathan, born Jan 15, 1691–2; Timothy, born Sept 14, 1694; Mehetable, born Sept 14, 1694,

died Dec 16, 1694; Martha, born March 9, 1696-7, died March 15, 1696-7; Lydia, born Oct 4, 1698."*

SLAVERY IN HAVERHILL. — That negroes were actually bought and sold, and thus distinctly recognized as property, in this town, is placed beyond a doubt by documentary evidence still in existence. Through the kindness of Wm. G. Brooks, Esq., of Boston, (a great-grandson of Rev. John Brown, of this town,) we have been furnished with the following, copied from the original papers, now in his possession: —

"Know all Men by these Presents — that I Thomas Russ of Suncook in County of Middlesex and Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, Cordwainer, do for and in consideration of the sum of One Hundred Pounds to me in hand paid by Benjamin Emerson of Haverhill in County of Essex and Province above mentioned — Husbandman, sell aliene convey and confirm unto him, the above Benj. Emerson his Heirs & Assigns — My Negro Boy named Cesur, being about seven years old, for and during his natural life — In witness whereof I the above named Thomas Russ have hereunto set my hand and seal this tenth day of July 1739 and in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second King of Great Britain.

Signed, sealed and Delivered

In presence of us

John Cogswell

Joseph Atwood."

Thos Russ.

"Haverhill June 16, 1740

To all peopell to Home this shall Combe

Know ye yt I Benjman Emmeson of Haverhill In ye County of Essex & province of ye Mashittusetts Bay In New England — yeoman —

for & in Consideration of one Hundred pounds In Hand paid to me by Nathll Cogswell of Haverhill aford Trader do make over & sell con vay to Him my negrow Boy cesur In all Respts as fully & absolutely as He was Con veyed to me In ye face of this Bill of sale — furthermore I do warrant and defend Him from all parties what so ever to ye above Named Nathll Cogswell, During his Natural life as witness my hand ye day and Year above written.

witness,

Nath Woodman

Jabez Emerson."

Benjamin Emerson.

* We ought, in justice, to add, that, by a strange oversight on the part of the Monument Committee, the name in these inscriptions is spelled "Dustin," instead of "Duston," by which name the Association was incorporated; and also, that, through the unwarrantable liberties taken by the engraver with the copy furnished him, the first inscription given above is rendered positively unintelligible, except to one familiar with the facts it professes to record. The latter may yet be corrected, and we hope it will be done.

" Haverhill Aug 23, 1742

Know all men by these Presents that I Nathl Cogswell of Haverhill in ye County of Essex and Province of ye Massachusetts Bay in New England, Trader for and in consideration of One Hundred & fifteen Pounds to me in hand paid Do make Over, Sell & Convey to Saml Phillips Jr of Andover, Trader, my Negro Boy Cesar mentioned above & in the Face of this Bill of Sale: this I do as Fully, Freely and as absolutely as may be.

Moreover I do Hereby Binde & Oblige myself to Warrant and Defend sd Negro from ye lawfull Claims & Demands of any person or Persons whatsoever to ye above Saml Phillips During sd Negro's life.

As witness my Hand & Seal Nathl Cogswell.

Witnessed by

Nathaniel Walker

Jonathan Buck."

POPULATION AND VALUATION OF HAVERHILL.

Population.	Valuation.	Population.	Valuation.
1764....1,920.....		1830....3,912.....	\$ 926,556 38
1767....	£4791.13.4	1840....4,836.....	1,224,379 00
1790....2,408.....	\$15,194 11	1850....5,754.....	2,243,497 00
1800....2,730.....	22,350 50	1855....7,932.....	
1810....2,682.....	32,941 16	1860....9,995.....	5,450,782 00
1820....3,070.....	37,540 45		

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS, FROM 1845 TO 1860.*

Birtn.	Marriages.	Deaths.	Birtn.	Marriages.	Deaths.
1845.....106.....	88.....	74	1853.....203.....	141.....	96
1846.....104.....	41.....	58	1854.....231.....	115.....	141
1847.....	46.....	21	1855.....202.....	113.....	95
1848.....140.....	37.....	20	1856.....256.....	119.....	122
1849.....90.....	43.....	61	1857.....279.....	101.....	128
1850.....138.....	76.....	94	1858.....301.....	106.....	126
1851.....182.....	138.....	99	1859.....298.....	133.....	127
1852.....190.....	83.....	107	1860.....312.....	126.....	164

* Taken from the State Registration Reports.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FROM HAVERHILL.

1797 to 1801—Bailey Bartlett,	1826 to 1830—John Varnum,
1811 to 1813—Leonard White	1848 to 1852—James H. Duncan.

LIST OF STATE SENATORS FROM HAVERHILL.

1789—Bailey Bartlett,	1844 and 1845—Alfred Kittredge,
1810—Israel Bartlett,	1848—Ezekiel J. M. Hale.
1811—John Varnum,	1853—Nathaniel S. Howe,
1816 to 1821—Israel Bartlett,	1857—Caleb D. Hunking,
1828 to 1831—James H. Duncan,	1860—Christopher Tompkins.
1833—Gilman Parker,	

LIST OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF HAVERHILL.

1645 to 1654—Robert Clement,	1703 { John White, 1st session,
1654—John Clement,	{ John Haseltine, 2d session,
1655 to 1660—None,	1704 and 1705—Samuel Watts,
1660—John Davis, 2d session,	1706 and 1707—James Saunders,
1661 to 1666—None,	1708—John White,
1666—Nathaniel Saltonstall,	1709—James Saunders,
1667—Henry Palmer,	1710 to 1713—John Haseltine,
1668—William Davis,	1713—John White,
1669 to 1672—Nath'l Saltonstall,	1714—John Haseltine,
1672—George Brown,	1715 and 1716—John White,
1673—Humphrey Davy, 2d session,	1717—Amos Singletary,
1674—Henry Palmer,	1718—John Saunders,
1675—George Brown,	1719—John White,
1676 to 1680—Henry Palmer,	1720 to 1726—John Saunders,
1680—George Brown,	1726 and 1727—James Saunders,
1681—Daniel Hendrick,	1728 and 1729—Richard Saltonstall
1682—None,	1730 to 1733—Nathan Webster,
1683—Peter Ayer,	1733 and 1734—William White,
1684—Robert Swan,	1735 and 1736—Richard Saltonstall
1685 to 1686—Peter Ayer,	1737—Nathaniel Peasley,
1687 to 1689—None,	1738—Richard Saltonstall,
1689 to 1690—Peter Ayer,	1739 to 1742—Nathaniel Peasley,
1691—John Johnson,	1742—Richard Hazzen,
1692 { George Brown,	1743—Richard Saltonstall,
{ Samuel Hutchins,	1744 and 1745—Phillip Haseltine,
1693 { Daniel Ladd,	1746 to 1749—Nathaniel Peasley,
{ Thomas Hart,	1749 and 1750—Nathaniel Saunders
1694—Daniel Ladd,	1751—John Haseltine,
1695 and 1696—Peter Ayer,	1752 and 1753—Nathaniel Peasley,
1697—John Page,	1754—Richard Saltonstall,
1698—Peter Ayer,	1755 to 1761—David Marsh,
1699—Richard Saltonstall,	1761 to 1769—Richard Saltonstall,
1700—John White,	1769 and 1770—Samuel Bachellor,
1701—Samuel Ayer,	1771 to 1776—Jonathan Webster jr
1702—John White,	

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Continued.*

1776 {	Jona. Webster,				Ephraim Corliss,
	Nath'l P. Sargeant,				Thomas G. Farnsworth,
1777 to 1781—	Jonathan Webster,	1834 {			Daniel P. McQuesten,
1781 to 1784—	Bailey Bartlett,				Nathan Webster,
1784 to 1785—	Samuel White,				Jacob How,
1786—	Nathaniel Marsh,	1835 {			Jesse Smith,
1787—	Isaac Osgood,				John G. Whittier,
1788 {	Bailey Bartlett,				Leonard Whittier,
	Nathaniel Marsh,				James Davis,
1789 and 1790—	Nathaniel Marsh,	1836 {			Elbridge G. Eaton,
1791 {	Francis Carr,				Ward Haselton,
	Samuel Blodgett,				Nathan Webster,
1792 to 1796—	Francis Carr,				Joseph Ayer,
1796—	None,				James Davis,
1797 and 1798—	Nathaniel Marsh,	1837 {			Elbridge G. Eaton,
1799—	Benjamin Willis,				Ward Hazeltine,
1800—	Benjamin Willis,				Nathan Webster,
1801—	None,				Charles Carleton,
1802 and 1803—	Francis Carr,	1838 {			William D. S. Chase,
1804 to 1807—	David How,				James H. Duncan,
1807 and 1808—	James Smiley,				Leonard Whittier,
1809—	Leonard White				Charles Carleton,
1810 and 1811—	Ebenezer Gage,	1839 {			William D. S. Chase,
1812 to 1819—	David How,				James H. Duncan,
1819—	Charles White,				Samuel Johnson,
1820 to 1823—	Moses Wingate,				Jonathan Crowell,
1823 and 1824—	Enoch Foot,	1840 {			Samuel Johnson,
1825—	Stephen Minot,				Alfred Kittredge,
1826—	None,				Robert Stuart,
1827 {	Moses Wingate	1841 {			Jonathan Crowell,
	James H. Duncan,				Alfred Kittredge,
1828 {	Charles White,	1842 {			Rev. James R. Cushing,
	John Brickett, jr.,				Caleb Hersey,
	Thomas Harding,	1843 and 1844—			None,
1829 {	John Brickett, jr.,	1845—			Hazen Morse,
	William Bachellor				Daniel F. Fitts,
	Thomas Harding,	1846 {			James Hale,
1830 {	William Bachellor,	1847—			None,
	John Brickett, jr.,	1848—			Benjamin Page,
1831—	Caleb B. LeBosquet,	1849—			None,
	Caleb B. LeBosquet,	1850 {			Charles B. Hall,
1832 {	Thomas G. Farnsworth,				Lemuel Leonards,
	Ephraim Corliss,	1851—			None,
	James Davis,	1852 {			Samuel Brainard,
	William Bacheller,				John B. Nichols,
1833 {	Caleb B. LeBosquet,	1853 {			Samuel Brainard,
	George Keeley,				John B. Nichols,
	Thomas G. Farnsworth,	1854—			None,

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES — *Continued.*

1855	{ Elbridge W. Chase, Jesse Simonds,	1858	{ James H. Duncan, Nathan S. Kimball,
1856	{ Truman M. Martyn, William Taggart,	1859	{ Nathan S. Kimball, James Russell,
1857	{ Jesse Simonds, William Taggart,	1860 and 1861	{ Levi C. Wadleigh, George W. Chase.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

PREVIOUS to soliciting subscriptions for this *History of Haverhill*, a Prospectus was issued, which contained the following proposition :

"As 'cash in hand' is no small advantage in purchasing material, and contracting for labor; and as it is well worth an effort to avoid all chances for embarrassments by the neglect or failure of subscribers to comply with the terms 'cash on delivery,' we make the following proposition:—A list of the names of those who advance the price of the book, at the time of entering their subscription, shall be published in the book itself. It is hoped that such an 'honorable mention' may be sufficient to insure a large proportion of advance payments."

We now take pleasure in publishing the names of those who have responded to our request, and to whom our thanks are due for their generous and timely aid:—

Geo. Johnson, Esq.,	A. W. Davis,	Geo. W. Day,
Hon. J. H. Duncan,	Joseph Gubtal,	Irah E. Chase, M. D.,
Moses How,	John A. Moody,	Edward White,
E. A. Porter,	J. B. Swett,	Edward White, jr.,
R. C. How,	Charlotte H. Pettengill,	Tristram Dalton White,
C. B. Emerson,	Walter S. Ordway,	Mary Dalton White,
Moses E. French,	A. H. Adams,	Leonard Dalton White,
Stephen Chase,	A. W. Chase,	John L. White,
Eustis Chase,	Walter Griffin,	R. H. White,
L. R. George,	Calvin How,	F. White,
John P. Randall,	D. D. Flanders,	Abner W. Pollard,
Ebenezer Webster,	Leverett W. Johnson,	Abijah W. Thayer,
Frank C. Swan,	Laburton Johnson,	Fisher Howe,
Geo. T. Brown,	Daniel Fitta,	James How,
Francis J. Stevens, M.D.	James Leach,	Benjamin W. How,
Charles E. Heath,	L. P. Shattuck,	Mary T. Waldron,
Charles C. Hills,	James A. Bartlett,	John W. Dean,
Charles J. Taggart,	Geo. K. Chase,	Wm. O. Haakell,
E. G. Frothingham, Jr.,	R. M. Ingalls,	Ann D. Bartlett,
Daniel Palmer,	Lucien George,	John Bartlett,
John E. Gale,	Enoch Ordway,	Mrs. Wm. Jarvis,
R. Stuart Chase,	N. M. Edwards,	" Margaret Longley,
Charles W. Chase,	Geo. O. Harmon,	" C. Mcachaud,
Samuel Chase	Warren Ordway,	Edwin Bartlett,
Alfred Kittredge,	C. W. Boynton,	Eben'r Porter,
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Geo. Cogswell, M. D.,	Benj. Kimball, 2d,	Hazen Morse,
David P. Harmon,	Moses D. George,	E. E. Stimpson,
Walter Goodell,	Geo. W. Ordway,	Benj. E. Sawyer,
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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

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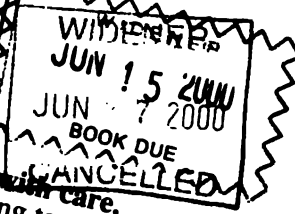
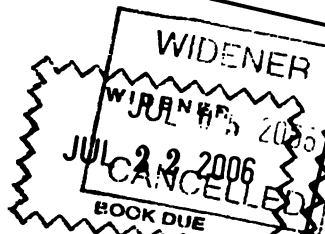
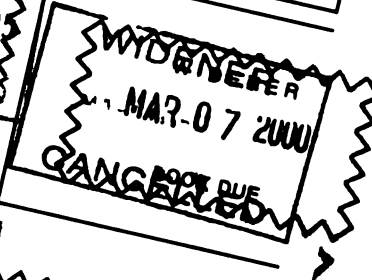
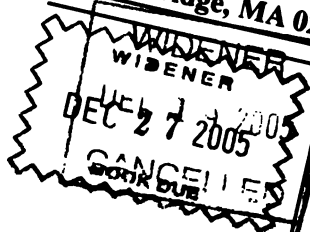


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